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**FROM IDEOLOGY TO EMPIRICAL SYNTHESIS: THE EVOLUTION OF THE SOVIET  
RUSSIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY ON THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE GOLDEN  
HORDE**

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**Abstract.** *Introduction.* While traditional critics often portray Soviet historiography of the Golden Horde as a narrow field constrained by Marxist ideology and the 'Mongol-Tatar Yoke' narrative, a closer examination reveals a far more foundational and intellectually sophisticated body of research by certain Soviet scholars. Despite ideological influences, prominent Soviet scholars (such as V.V. Barthold, F.V. Ballod, B.Y. Vladimirtsov, A.Y. Yakubovsky, and M.G. Safargaliev) identified critical dimensions and formulated conceptual frameworks regarding the Horde's political economy. Soviet authors also pioneered the scholarly integration of Oriental written sources (A.A. Romaskevich, S.L. Volin, S.A. Kozin, S.A. Anninsky), numismatic analysis (G.A. Fedorov-Davydov), and historical-geographical data (V.L. Egorov) to investigate the evolution of the state's economic institutions. Consequently, a critical review of these foundational Soviet works is necessary to reconcile their vast empirical findings with modern methodological perspectives. *Goals.* The research objective is to conduct a historiographical analysis of the seminal works and interpretations concerning the Golden Horde's political economy in Soviet historical scholarship from the 1920s to the early 1990s, while tracing their methodological evolution. *Results.* The study identifies five distinct stages corresponding to the development of Soviet historical science: early Marxist historiography (1920s); the dogmatization of the "Yoke" paradigm during the Stalinist era; the emergence of functional analysis during the "Thaw"; the interdisciplinary synthesis of the

1960s–1980s; and the methodological pluralism of the Perestroika period. Findings indicate that despite ideological constraints, Soviet authors advanced vital conceptual propositions grounded in empirical (archaeological and numismatic) data. *Conclusion.* The vast empirical sources and interdisciplinary frameworks established during the Soviet era serve as the essential foundation for modern reconstructions of the Golden Horde’s political economy within the contemporary “Pax Mongolica” framework.

**Keywords:** Golden Horde, political economy, Soviet historiography, Mongol-Tatar Yoke, fiscal system, commodity-money relations, transcontinental trade


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## ИДЕОЛОГИЯЛЫҚ ДОГМАЛАРДАН ЭМПИРИКАЛЫҚ СИНТЕЗГЕ: АЛТЫН ОРДАНЫҢ САЯСИ ЭКОНОМИЯСЫН ЗЕРТТЕУДЕГІ КЕҢЕСТІК ТАРИХНАМАНЫҢ ЭВОЛЮЦИЯСЫ


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**Аңдатпа.** *Kipisne.* Алтын Орда тарихының кеңестік тарихнамасын тек маркстік идеология мен «езгі» (иго) тұжырымдамасының шеңберінде біржақты қарастырды деген көзқарастардың қалыптасуына қарамастан, сол кезеңдегі бірқатар кеңестік медиевистердің мұрасы әлі күнге дейін іргелі әдістемелік маңызға ие. Идеологиялық қысымға қарамастан, В.В. Бартольд, Ф.В. Баллод, Б.Я. Владимирцов, А.Ю. Якубовский және М.Г. Сафарғалиев сынды көрнекті кеңестік шығыстанушылар мен медиевистер Жошы ұлысының саяси-экономикалық жүйесінің басты мәселелерін айқындап ғана қоймай, оны зерделеудің теориялық негізін қалыптастырды. Кеңестік деректану мектебі шығыс жазба ескерткіштерін (А.А. Ромаскевич, С.Л. Волин, С.А. Козин, С.А. Аннинский), нумизматикалық компаративистика әдістерін (Г.А. Фёдоров-Давыдов) және тарихи-географиялық реконструкциялауды (В.Л. Егоров) біртұтас жүйеге интеграциялау арқылы экономикалық институттардың генезисі мен трансформациясын терең талдауға мүмкіндік туғызды. Осы орайда, кеңестік кезеңдегі іргелі

еңбектерді саралау Алтын Орданың саяси экономикасын қазіргі жаңа әдіснамалық тұрғыдан қайта зерделеудің өзектілігін айқындайды. *Зерттеу жұмысының мақсаты.* 1920-жылдардан 1990-жылдардың басына дейінгі кеңестік тарихнамадағы Алтын Орданың саяси экономикасына қатысты іргелі еңбектер мен интерпретацияларға кешенді тарихнамалық талдау жасау және олардың әдіснамалық эволюциясын айқындау болып табылады. *Нәтижелер.* Зерттеу барысында кеңестік тарихнаманың даму ерекшеліктеріне сәйкес бес негізгі кезең жіктелді: 1920-жылдардағы ерте кеңестік маркстік тарихнама; Сталиндік кезеңдегі «моңғол-татар езгісі» парадигмасының догматизациялануы; «жылымық» кезеңіндегі функционалдық талдаудың қалыптасуы; 1960–1980 жылдардағы пәнаралық синтез және Қайта құру кезеңіндегі әдіснамалық плюрализм. Зерттеу нәтижелері көрсеткендей, идеологиялық шектеулер Алтын Орданың саяси экономикасын объективті зерделеуге айтарлықтай ықпал еткенімен, бірқатар Кеңес авторлары нақты эмпирикалық (археологиялық, нумизматикалық) деректерге негізделген маңызды концептуалдық тұжырымдар ұсынды. *Қорытынды.* Кеңес дәуірінде жинақталған маңызды деректер қоры мен пәнаралық тәсілдер де бүгінгі таңда Алтын Орданың саяси экономикасын қазіргі *Pax Mongolica* тұжырымдамасы аясында жаңаша реконструкциялау үшін негіз болып табылады.

**Түйін сөздер:** Алтын Орда, саяси экономика, кеңестік тарихнама, «моңғол-татар езгісі», алым-салық жүйесі, тауар-ақша қатынастары, трансконтиненталдық сауда

**Алғыс.** Мақала «Ватикан мен Батыс Еуропа елдерінен алынған жаңа бірегей материалдар негізінде Түркі әлемінің ерте және ортағасырлық тарихы мен мәдениеті» ғылыми жобасы (тіркеу нөмірі: BR24993132) аясында дайындалды.

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## ОТ ИДЕОЛОГИЧЕСКИХ ДОГМ К ЭМПИРИЧЕСКОМУ СИНТЕЗУ: ЭВОЛЮЦИЯ СОВЕТСКОЙ ИСТОРИОГРАФИИ ПОЛИТЭКОНОМИИ ЗОЛОТОЙ ОРДЫ

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**Аннотация.** *Введение.* Вопреки распространённому представлению, сводящему советские исследования Золотой Орды к узким рамкам марксистских догм и концепции «ига», более глубокий анализ наследия медиевистов того времени выявляет пласт работ, значительно превосходящих эти стереотипы по своей методологической значимости. Несмотря на идеологическое давление, выдающиеся советские востоковеды и медиевисты (В.В. Бартольд, Ф.В. Баллод, Б.Я. Владимирцов, А.Ю. Якубовский, М.Г. Сафаргалиев) не только обозначили ключевые проблемные узлы, но и заложили теоретический фундамент изучения политической экономики Улус Джучи. Советская школа источниковедения обеспечила системную интеграцию восточных письменных источников (труды А.А. Ромаскевича, С.Л. Волина, С.А. Козина, С.А. Аннинского), методов нумизматической компаративистики (Г.А. Фёдоров-Давыдов) и историко-географической реконструкции (В. Л. Егоров) для анализа генезиса и трансформации экономических институтов. В этой связи изучение советского научного наследия представляется необходимым условием для верификации накопленного эмпирического массива в свете актуальных методологических парадигм. *Цель исследования* заключается в проведении комплексного историографического анализа фундаментальных работ и интерпретаций, касающихся политической экономики Золотой Орды в советской историографии с 1920-х до начала 1990-х гг., а также в определении их методологической эволюции. *Результаты.* В ходе исследования, в соответствии с особенностями развития советской исторической науки, было выделено пять основных этапов: ранняя советская марксистская историография 1920-х гг.; догматизация парадигмы «монголо-татарского ига» в сталинский период; формирование функционального анализа в эпоху «оттепели»; междисциплинарный синтез 1960–1980-х гг. и методологический плюрализм периода Перестройки. Результаты анализа показывают, что, несмотря на существенное влияние идеологических ограничений на объективное изучение политэкономики Золотой Орды, ряд советских авторов предложил важные концептуальные положения, основанные на конкретных эмпирических (археологических, нумизматических) данных. *Выводы.* Накопленный в советский период значительный источниковый фонд и междисциплинарные подходы служат фундаментом для современной реконструкции политической экономики Золотой Орды в рамках современной концепции *Rax Mongolica*.

**Ключевые слова:** Золотая Орда, политическая экономика, советская историография, «монголо-татарское иго», фискальная система, товарно-денежные отношения, трансконтинентальная торговля

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## Introduction

The economic governance of the Golden Horde—ranging from its strategic oversight of transcontinental trade to the implementation of sophisticated fiscal frameworks—constituted a pivotal factor shaping institutional dynamics across Eurasia during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This economic infrastructure encompassed a vast geographic expanse, including the Dasht-i Qipchaq, the Volga basin, North-Eastern Rus', Eastern Europe, as well as the Northern Black Sea and North Caucasus regions, extending to Khwarazm (Favereau, 2021: 8–25; Nabiev, 2014: 4–22; Arslanov, 2014: 65–77; Abdimomynov et al., 2024: 685–695). The historical trajectory of this preeminent Eurasian polity has long attracted sustained international scholarly attention. From the late eighteenth century onward, Russian historiography approached the Golden Horde primarily through the prism of “Rus'–Horde” relations. Although this research tradition continued into the Soviet era, post-

revolutionary historiography experienced a profound methodological transformation. The field became increasingly shaped by Marxist historical materialism and the restrictive “Mongol-Tatar yoke” paradigm, which significantly reoriented interpretive frameworks. The dominance of Marxist formative theory and the “yoke” paradigm—consolidated during the 1920s–1930s—led Soviet historiography to conceptualize the Golden Horde’s economy largely as an exploitative system. Such ideological constraints frequently obscured the internal economic complexity of the polity and its sophisticated institutional character. Nevertheless, despite these intellectual limitations, several prominent Soviet scholars produced foundational contributions to the study of the Horde’s political economy. Early works by V.V. Barthold (1963; 1964), F.V. Ballod (1923), and B.Ya. Vladimirtsov (1934) established an analytical basis subsequently developed by A Yu. Yakubovsky (1950), M.G. Safargaliev (1960), and L.N. Gumilev (1992). At the same time, the systematic compilation and translation of extensive Arabic, Persian, and Mongolian primary sources significantly advanced research on the Horde’s institutional development (Romaskevich, Volin, 1941; Kozin, 1941; Anninsky, 1940). The historiographical discourse was further enriched by G. A. Fedorov-Davydov’s (1966; 1973) integration of archaeological and numismatic data, as well as by V. L. Egorov’s (1985) comprehensive historical-geographical synthesis. Consequently, a critical reassessment of Soviet-era interpretations through contemporary methodological perspectives remains imperative. This re-evaluation is particularly timely as modern scholarship increasingly adopts the analytical frameworks of the *Pax Mongolica* and the “Mongol Exchange,” which foreground the Golden Horde’s central role in facilitating transcontinental trade networks and fostering systemic cultural interaction across Eurasia (Di Cosmo, 2010; Favereau, 2021; Kinayatuly, 2010; Ciocîltan, 2012; Abdimomynov, Sauyrkan, 2025).

The primary objective of this research is to analyze the fundamental works, core interpretations, and conceptual frameworks concerning the political economy of the Golden Horde as presented in Soviet Russian historiography from the 1920s to the early 1990s, thereby identifying their methodological evolution. To achieve this aim, the following tasks have been established:

- to identify and categorize the research schools and the corpus of leading authors active during the Soviet period.
- to classify the evolution of economic narratives and "themes" within their collective body of work.
- to determine the extent to which archaeological, numismatic, and historical-geographic data were integrated into the scholarly discourse and to evaluate their role in the objective reconstruction of political economy.
- to assess the degree of continuity between Soviet-era interpretations and contemporary discourses regarding the *Pax Mongolica*.

### **Materials and Methods**

The empirical basis of this study comprises a vast corpus of fundamental works, monographs, and specialized inquiries published during the Soviet era. Key texts under analysis include the seminal “*The Golden Horde and Its Fall*” (1950) by B.D. Grekov and A.Yu. Yakubovsky, “*The Mongols and Rus*” (1940) by A.N. Nasonov, and “*The Disintegration of the Golden Horde*” (1960) by M.G. Safargaliev. Furthermore, the research draws upon the specialized archaeological and numismatic contributions of G.A. Fedorov-Davydov (1966, 1973), the geopolitical assessments of V.V. Kargalov (1967), and the historical-geographic synthesis of V.L. Egorov (1985). The study also interrogates the overarching methodological positions of prominent scholars such as V.V. Barthold, F.V. Ballod, B.Ya. Vladimirtsov and L.N. Gumilev, whose theoretical frameworks shaped the field’s trajectory.

To ensure a rigorous evaluation of this historiographical evolution, a multi-dimensional methodological approach was employed. The historiographical reconstruction method was used to identify the ideological paradigms within which each author contextualized the economic mechanisms of the Golden Horde, and to assess how these frameworks influenced their scholarly conclusions. Comparative-Historiographical Analysis facilitated a systematic comparison of the logic

of development, from early Marxist formulations to the methodological pluralism of the 1980s, highlighting both continuities and critical shifts in interpretation. Using a chronological-analytical lens, the study classifies Soviet research into five distinct stages. This allows for a clear description of the methodological dominants and the expanding trajectory of the source material utilized during each epoch.

### Discussion

The historiographical examination of Soviet scholarship on the political economy of the Golden Horde began during the Soviet period. In the introduction to their seminal monograph, *“The Golden Horde and Its Fall”* (1950), B.D. Grekov and A.Yu. Yakubovsky provided a comprehensive review of key research, analyzing contemporary Soviet perspectives on socio-economic issues of the Golden Horde. Similarly, A.N. Nasonov’s *“The Mongols and Rus”* (1940) established the methodological foundations for studying Rus’–Horde relations that would come to define the field. Further indirect insights into the political economy were integrated into the works of V.V. Kargalov (1967), M.G. Safargaliev (1960), and V.L. Egorov (1985), who addressed specific economic aspects while navigating the broader political landscape of the state.

A defining characteristic of Soviet historiography was the rigid dominance of Marxist ideology and the “Mongol-Tatar yoke” dogma. This created an environment in which not only “bourgeois” scholars but also post-revolutionary Soviet researchers were subjected to rigorous ideological criticism. A notable example of this internal tension is found in Nasonov’s work, in which he critically analyzed the concept of “nomadic feudalism” proposed by Academician B.Ya. Vladimirtsov (1884–1931) challenged several of its core ideas, aligning them more closely with the prevailing state-sanctioned paradigm (Nasonov, 1940: 117).

Historiographical analysis targeting the Golden Horde’s political economy has reached a qualitatively new level only in recent decades. Contemporary Russian scholar R.F. Nabiev, in his doctoral dissertation on the political and economic development of the Jochid Ulus in the 14th century (2014), offers a nuanced reassessment of his Soviet predecessors. Nabiev identifies the period between 1917 and 1930 as a unique window where, before ideological restrictions were fully institutionalized, scholars such as M. G. Khudyakov, F.V. Ballod, and A.Yu. Yakubovsky published high-quality research on economic history (Nabiev, 2014: 58). Notably, Nabiev highlights that despite the increasing pressures of the 1930s, Yakubovsky managed to introduce bold theses regarding “industry” (handicraft production) in the Golden Horde—propositions that often sat in tension with orthodox Marxist formative theory (Nabiev, 2014: 58). Ultimately, modern scholarship recognizes the profound documentary and conceptual potential in the works of Vladimirtsov, Nasonov, Yakubovsky, and Safargaliev, even when stripped of their mandatory ideological veneers (Nabiev, 2014: 53–58). Russian scholar V.V. Politov, in his work *Historiography of the Influence of the Mongol-Tatar Yoke on the Socio-Political Institutions of North-Eastern Russian Principalities* (2017), provides a systematic analysis of the two dominant intellectual currents of the era: the Marxist and Eurasianist schools. Politov demonstrates that until the late 1980s, Soviet historical science was governed by the conceptual framework established by A.N. Nasonov and B.D. Grekov. Under this paradigm, the period of dependency on the Horde was characterized as an entirely negative phenomenon; the policies of Sarai were viewed as a regressive force that stifled the centralization and development of the Russian state (Politov, 2017: 22). However, Politov’s analysis primarily focuses on political history and institutional impacts, leaving the specific historiography of the Golden Horde’s political economy as an underexplored niche.

A more specialized review of economic and trade relations is offered by A. M. Arslanov in his dissertation, *Trade and Economic Relations of the Ulus of Jochi with Western Countries* (2014). Arslanov provides a comprehensive overview of Soviet researchers, emphasizing the foundational role of the archaeological school. He specifically analyzes the contributions of F.V. Ballod, A.Yu. Yakubovsky and A.P. Smirnov, who, as early as the 1920s, offered valuable insights into the Horde’s commercial networks (Arslanov, 2014: 25). Furthermore, Arslanov highlights that between the 1960s and 1980s, the works of G.A. Fedorov-Davydov, V.L. Egorov, M.G. Kramarovsky, and

A.G. Mukhamadiev marked a significant shift. By integrating archaeological, numismatic, and historical-geographic data, these scholars enabled an autonomous analysis of economic structures that moved beyond mere political narrative (Arslanov, 2014: 25–27). Arslanov also identifies M.G. Safargaliev's (1960) monograph as a landmark achievement, noting its dedicated focus on economic issues as a crucial step toward understanding the state's political economy (Arslanov, 2014: 28).

## Results

The evolution of research into the political economy of the Golden Horde within Soviet Russian historiography is defined by fundamental paradigmatic shifts in post-revolutionary historical scholarship. This field was not merely a continuation of the traditions established during Tsarist Russia; rather, it emerged as an autonomous area of inquiry, reconstructed on the foundations of Marxist-Leninist ideology and the formative approach. Although Soviet historians frequently critiqued the methodology of "bourgeois" schools, they often relied on their works regarding source-based historical foundations and empirical data. In view of the methodological shifts and the development of interdisciplinary approaches throughout the Soviet period, the study of the Golden Horde's political economy can be categorized into five primary stages:

Table 1. Key Stages in the Study of the Golden Horde's Political Economy in Soviet Historical Scholarship

Period (Chronology)	Key Authors	Research Directions, Methodology	Core Issues of Political-Economic Analysis
Stage I: 1920s (Early Soviet Period)	M.N. Pokrovsky, V.V. Barthold, F.V. Ballod, B.Ya. Vladimirtsov, M.G. Khudyakov	Marxist-formative paradigm; socio-economic determinism; Orientalist source criticism; archaeological empiricism.	The negative impact of Horde policy on the Rus' economy; transit trade and the nomadic-sedentary symbiosis; substantiating social structures via the "nomadic feudalism" model.
Stage II: Mid-1930s – Early 1950s (Stalinist Era)	Historians: B.D. Grekov, A.Yu. Yakubovsky, A.N. Nasonov. Philologists/Source Scholars: S.L. Volin, A.A. Romaskevich, S.A. Kozin, S.A. Anninsky	State-centric approach; ideological consolidation of the "Mongol-Tatar Yoke" (igo) paradigm; publication of the fundamental corpus of Arabic, Persian, and Mongolian sources.	Characterization of the Horde economy as an extractive-fiscal system (tribute, taxation, apparatus of exploitation); emphasizing "destructive consequences"; systematizing Eastern sources as a foundation for future economic reconstruction.
Stage III: 1953–1964 (The "Thaw" Period)	M.G. Safargaliev, and others	Functional-structural analysis; political-economic dynamics within the formative framework.	The Horde economy as a mechanism for maintaining state integrity; resource management; economic links between the center and the <i>uluses</i> ; the impact of shifting trade routes and fiscal weakening on the state's disintegration.
Stage IV: 1964–1985 (Interdisciplinary Synthesis)	G.A. Fedorov-Davydov, V.V. Kargalov, E.Ch. Skrzhinskaya	Numismatic-archaeological reconstruction; historical-geographic approach; study of the Black Sea-Azov transit routes.	Analysis of the financial system and monetary emission policies (e.g., the reforms of Tokhta Khan); development of urban markets and handicraft production; the economic role of Italian trade stations (Tana, Caffa) and the scale of the international slave trade.
Stage V: 1985–1991 (Methodological)	L.N. Gumilev, V.L. Egorov, and	Methodological pluralism; revival of the Eurasianist	Re-evaluating the "Yoke" (igo) scheme: the Golden Horde's role

Liberalization)	others	school; spatial-institutional analysis (Historical Geography).	as a transit integrator within the <i>Pax Mongolica</i> ; the institutional influence of fiscal-administrative practices (tax censuses, <i>tarkhan</i> labels) on Rus' institutions.
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### *Stage I: Early Soviet Historiography (The 1920s)*

The post-revolutionary years marked a period of radical ideological and methodological transformation within Soviet Russian historical science. By the 1920s, historiography began to systematically reconstitute itself around the formative paradigm, driven by Marxist historical materialism. This methodological pivot identified the class struggle, modes of production, and relations of production as the primary engines of historical development and the central objects of scholarly analysis (Politov, 2017: 77).

However, despite these emerging ideological constraints, the 1920s remained a period of relative intellectual breadth. Prominent scholars such as V.V. Barthold, F.V. Ballod, B.Ya. Vladimirtsov and M.G. Khudyakov contributed significantly to the objective study of the Golden Horde's socio-economic system. Their collective works laid the scientific groundwork for assessing the Horde's political economy with a degree of analytical seriousness that would later be suppressed.

*V.V. Barthold: The Orientalist Foundation.* A towering figure in this period was the Orientalist V.V. Barthold (1869–1930). While Barthold did not dedicate a single monograph exclusively to the political economy of the Golden Horde, his broader conceptualizations of Eurasian history during the Mongol era were transformative. Eschewing a reliance solely on Slavic chronicles, he integrated a vast array of Arabic, Persian, and Turkic sources.

Barthold's primary contribution was the substantiation of a nomadic-sedentary symbiosis. He highlighted the Horde's pivotal role in international transit trade and demonstrated its deep cultural and economic integration with Central Asia and Ilkhanid Iran. In his view, the Golden Horde was not a transient military occupation but a sophisticated imperial structure with immense economic potential (Barthold, 1963; 1964).

*F.V. Ballod and the "Volga Pompeii".* Against the prevailing "regressive factor" narrative—which depicted the Horde as a source of cultural and economic stagnation—archaeologist F.V. Ballod (1882–1947) offered a powerful empirical counterargument. Despite the chaos of the Russian Civil War and a devastating cholera epidemic between 1919 and 1921, Ballod conducted extensive excavations along the Lower Volga. His seminal 1923 work, *"Privolzhskiy 'Pompeii'"* (The Volga 'Pompeii'), provided a scientific defense of the high civilization of the Golden Horde. He concluded:

*"[Research demonstrates that] the Golden Horde of the late 13th and 14th centuries was inhabited not by savages, but by a civilized people engaged in manufactured production and trade, maintaining diplomatic ties with both East and West. [...] Tatar military successes are explained not only by their martial spirit or organizational perfection but by a demonstrably superior level of cultural development"* (Ballod, 1923: 131).

Ballod was among the first to provide material evidence for the Horde's urbanization, craftsmanship, and international transit potential. These findings fundamentally contradicted the dogmatic *Mongol-Tatar Yoke (igo)* paradigm, which then became entrenched in official Soviet discourse. While the scientific merit of Ballod's work was undeniable, his conclusions were eventually sidelined by the intensifying ideological restrictions of the late 1920s.

*B.Ya. Vladimirtsov and the "Nomadic Feudalism" Thesis.* Among the fundamental works indirectly related to this topic, the research of Academician B. Ya. Vladimirtsov (1884–1931), a preeminent figure in Mongol studies and Orientalism, holds a position of particular importance. In his seminal 1934 work, *"The Social Structure of the Mongols"*, he articulated the concept of "nomadic feudalism" to explain the evolution of steppe societies. According to Vladimirtsov, the hallmark of feudal relations in nomadic societies was the establishment of collective or private

ownership over pasture lands and water sources. In this theoretical model, "nomadic feudalism" is characterized by the dominance of large livestock owners (*noyans* and *khans*) who, through their control over essential grazing territories, maintained ordinary nomads (commune members) in a state of economic dependency (Vladimirtsov, 1934). This formulation provided a significant methodological impetus for scholarly debates regarding the Golden Horde's institutional influence on the political structures of North-Eastern Rus'.

*M.N. Pokrovsky: Early Marxist Fiscal Analysis.* In the 1920s, M. N. Pokrovsky (1868–1932) stood out as a primary proponent of interpreting the Golden Horde through a strictly Marxist lens. Within his formative framework, the Horde was viewed primarily as a mechanism of class dominance and a structure that catalyzed the formation of early fiscal institutions in Rus'. Pokrovsky provocatively described the Mongols as those who "stood at the origins of Russian tax statistics," highlighting their introduction of the "decimal system" (*sotnik* system) and new forms of taxation (Politov, 2017: 82-83). However, as noted by the scholar O. D. Sokolov, Pokrovsky arguably overemphasized the role of the Golden Horde's financial administration in organizing the domestic fiscal system of Rus'. This assessment was rooted in his broader—and later criticized—conceptual focus on the "decisive role of merchant capital" (Sokolov, 1970: 150).

Furthermore, Pokrovsky argued that economic decline in Rus' could not be explained solely by the "yoke"; he located the core of the recession in the "shifting of international trade routes" (Politov, 2017: 83-84). Such a conclusion exemplifies a trend characteristic of early Marxist historiography: the prioritization of socio-economic determinants and trade patterns as the primary drivers of the historical process.

#### *Stage II: Historiography of the mid-1930s to early 1950s (The Stalinist Era)*

From the mid-1930s onward, Soviet historical science underwent an ideological pivot toward a state-centric, patriotic narrative. In this climate, the concept of the "Mongol-Tatar Yoke" (*mongolo-tatarskoe igo*) was formally institutionalized as an unassailable dogma. As noted by V. V. Politov, the conceptual framework established by B. D. Grekov and A. N. Nasonov during this period dominated the Soviet scholarly landscape until the late 1980s.

Under this paradigm, the Golden Horde's dominion was characterized exclusively as a destructive, regressive force that effectively delayed the economic, cultural, and political evolution of Rus' by several centuries. The rise of Muscovite Rus' as a unified state was portrayed not as a result of institutional learning from the Horde, but as the fruit of a heroic, persistent anti-Horde struggle and a total rejection of Sarai's policies (Politov, 2017: 22).

*The Landmark Synthesis: Grekov and Yakubovsky:* At the zenith of this rigid ideological era, B.D. Grekov (1882–1953) and A.Yu. Yakubovsky (1886–1953) published their classical monograph, *The Golden Horde and Its Fall* (1950). In this work, the Horde's economy was defined as a parasitic feudal system sustained by the extraction of tribute, the imposition of permanent obligations, and the intensification of fiscal control over subjugated territories.

While the authors acknowledged a dual nature—the collapse of older economic structures alongside the revival of trade in specific urban hubs (Nabiev, 2014: 179)—the work's enduring value lies in its deep analysis of Russian chronicles and Eastern sources. It established the core conceptual boundaries for the era: the Horde was viewed primarily as a political apparatus of institutional coercion, and its economy as a mechanism for the extractive appropriation and forced redistribution of resources.

*Yakubovsky's Methodological Risk:* Despite the mandates of official ideology, Yakubovsky's contributions to the section on "The Formation and Development of the Golden Horde" attempted to offer objective socio-economic insights (Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1950: 95–121). As early as 1931, Yakubovsky had proposed the existence of "industrial" elements (handicraft production) within the Horde—a bold methodological risk for the Marxist-Stalinist period. He brought issues of specialized workshops, commodity production, and urban market dynamics into the scientific discourse, suggesting that the Horde's economy was a complex system of steppe-urban exchange rather than a primitive nomadic society.

Modern scholarship, including R. F. Nabiev, notes that after Barthold and Yakubovsky, the economic analysis of the Horde stagnated. This decline was due to ideological barriers; a deep economic history requires categories such as price indexes, revenue, tax burdens, and market cycles, the free application of which was often restricted in the Soviet context (Nabiev, 2014: 54, 58-59).

*Grekov and the Regressive Factor:* Conversely, B.D. Grekov focused on the Rus'-Horde relationship, defining the Horde as a regressive external factor that stifled Russian development (Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1950: 179–260). He detailed how Batu Khan established a sophisticated administrative apparatus to manage the "Horde tribute" (*ordynskii vykhod*) and feudal obligations from both nomadic and sedentary populations.

Crucially, Grekov maintained that the Russian lands did not directly enter the structure of the Golden Horde but were treated as politically autonomous regions obligated to pay tribute—a view still largely held by modern historians (Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1998: 61, 166). Alongside A.N. Nasonov, Grekov vehemently rejected the earlier 1920s thesis that the Mongols had introduced the first fiscal-tax systems to Rus', arguing instead that these institutions were domestic developments (Politov, 2017: 97). His conclusions served as the ideological backbone of official Soviet historiography for decades.

*Empirical Expansion and the Systematic Study of Primary Sources (1930s–1940s):* Despite the rigid ideological constraints of the Stalinist era, this period was characterized by a significant expansion of the empirical database and a surge in fundamental source-based research. The systematic introduction of diverse document corpora and narrative texts into scientific circulation laid the groundwork for analyzing the Golden Horde's political economy at a new methodological level. A landmark achievement in this regard was the 1937 publication of "The History of Tataria in Documents and Materials," which provided the documentary evidence necessary to analyze socio-economic relations in the Middle Volga region and the broader Jochid Ulus.

*The European and Western Frontier Perspective:* The integration of European source corpora was significantly advanced by the research of S.A. Anninsky. In his 1940 work, *Reports of Hungarian Missionaries about the Tatars in the 13th Century*, Anninsky brought the accounts of Brother Julian and Brother Johanna into the scholarly discourse. These records became vital for studying the economic conditions on the western frontiers of the Golden Horde. They provided a factual basis for examining the Horde's fiscal-administrative influence in the Volga-Ural region, the nuances of commodity exchange with local populations, and the process by which peripheral regions were integrated into the broader Eurasian trade system.

*The Oriental Corpus:* The most foundational step in understanding the economic structure of the Golden Horde was the continuation of the project to collect and translate Oriental (Arabic and Persian) sources, originally initiated by V. G. Tiesenhausen. In 1941, the second volume of *Materials on the History of the Golden Horde* (focused on Persian sources) was published under the editorship of S. L. Volin and A. A. Romaskevich. This volume included excerpts from preeminent Persian historians such as Rashid al-Din, Wassaf, and Hamdallah Qazwini. These texts provided invaluable data on the Horde's fiscal policies, the intricacies of caravan trade with Central Asia, and the technical aspects of the Khanate's monetary emission and minting processes (Volin, Romaskevich, 1941).

*Mongolian Sources and the Internal Economic Logic:* The introduction of Mongolian-language sources into Soviet scholarship played a decisive role in deciphering the specific economic nature of nomadic society, its internal institutional structure, and its property relations. This development enabled researchers to supplement descriptions by external observers (Arabic, Persian, and European travelers) with the nomads' own worldview and self-conception. The publication of "The Secret History of the Mongols" in 1941, translated and annotated by S. A. Kozin, marked a turning point in Soviet source studies. This unique document served as the basis for reconstructing the primary models of economic relations within nomadic society. Through this chronicle, scholars investigated the evolution of nomadic property rights, the traditional order for distributing military spoils, and the formation of administrative-fiscal structures during the early stages of the Mongol state (Kozin, 1941).

*Stage III: The "Thaw" and the Structural Turn (1953–1964)*

After 1953, the relative loosening of ideological pressure during the "Khrushchev Thaw" allowed for a significant expansion of the Soviet scholarly paradigm. While the official characterization of the "Mongol Yoke" remained predominantly negative, research into the internal mechanisms of the Golden Horde reached a new level of sophistication. For the first time, the Horde's urban economy, international trade networks, and fiscal systems were analyzed not merely as "instruments of exploitation," but as vital functional elements that sustained the state's longevity.

This period saw the integration of Orientalist written sources with emerging material from archaeological expeditions along the Volga, leading to a more structuralist approach to history. This shift allowed scholars to examine the Golden Horde as a complex, multi-layered socio-economic system.

*M.G. Safargaliev: Economic Determinants of Collapse:* The publication of M.G. Safargaliev's *The Disintegration of the Golden Horde* (1960) remains a milestone of this era. Despite working within the mandatory Marxist framework, Safargaliev introduced a wealth of empirical data that broadened the scope of economic reconstruction. The scholarly significance of his work lies in his decision to seek the causes of the Horde's collapse not only in political intrigue or dynastic struggles but in deep-seated socio-economic factors. Safargaliev focused his analysis on resource management systems, the structural links between the central authority and the *uluses*, and the breakdown of fiscal and trade infrastructures (Safargaliev, 1960).

*Trade Dynamics and Commodity Classification:* Safargaliev argued that the prosperity of Golden Horde cities was tied more closely to the revitalization of caravan trade than to domestic handicraft development. He demonstrated that trade security was a priority for the feudal elite, citing the merchant Francesco Balducci Pegolotti's accounts of safe passage through Mongol territories.

One of Safargaliev's most insightful contributions was his classification of goods circulating within the Horde's markets, distinguishing between "native" products and "re-exports":

Native "Horde" Commodities	Imported / Transit Goods
Livestock (horses, camels, cattle)	Grain and Wine
Slaves and Furs	Luxury fabrics and Carpets
Wax, Salt, and Fish	Silver and Pearls
Processed Leather	Porcelain and Dyes

Safargaliev explicitly corrected the historical record by noting that many items frequently described as "Tatar goods" in written sources were, in fact, imported luxuries passing through the transit system (Safargaliev, 1960: 357).

*The "Barter" Hypothesis: A Historiographical Limitation:* A controversial aspect of Safargaliev's work was his bold assertion that commodity-money relations were underdeveloped in the Horde, suggesting that trade was largely conducted via barter (Safargaliev, 1960: 359). From a contemporary perspective, this conclusion was likely a result of the period's insufficient integration of numismatic data. At the time, the sheer volume and velocity of Golden Horde coinage had not yet been fully cataloged or assessed for its role in the urban market economy.

*Stage IV: The Period of Interdisciplinary Synthesis (1964–1985)*

The period between the 1960s and mid-1980s was defined by a shift toward the systematization of research and the rigorous application of interdisciplinary methodologies. Soviet scholars began to prioritize historical geography, archaeology, and numismatics to reconstruct the Golden Horde's past. Large-scale excavations in the cities of the Volga region (*Povolzhye*), the Lower Volga, and the Azov region provided the empirical data necessary to analyze handicraft production, internal and external market dynamics, and the intensity of commodity-money circulation.

*G.A. Fedorov-Davydov: A New Methodological Frontier:* The central figure of this era was G.A. Fedorov-Davydov, whose works *Nomads of Eastern Europe under the Rule of the Golden Horde Khans* (1966) and the seminal *The Social Structure of the Golden Horde* (1973) marked a new milestone in Soviet historiography. He synthesized written records with ethnographic data,

archaeological artifacts, and—most crucially—numismatic evidence to illustrate the nomadic-sedentary symbiosis and the mechanisms of surplus product redistribution.

*The Numismatic Reconstruction of Economic Centers:* Fedorov-Davydov argued that coinage was the most accurate indicator of the Horde's urban development. His research revealed a specific chronological expansion of economic power:

- Bulgar (1250–1260s): Identified as the first major economic center of the Horde. Having recovered quickly from the initial conquest, it was the sole site of silver and copper coinage during this early period.
- Crimea (1270s), Khwarazm (1279): These regions began independent minting as they integrated into the empire's trade administration.
- Sarai (1282): Interestingly, the capital's first coins appeared relatively late. However, by the 14th century, Sarai's silver coinage began to aggressively displace local currencies across the empire's markets.

*The Monetary Reform of Tokhta Khan (1310/1311):* A pivotal contribution of Fedorov-Davydov's work was the analysis of Tokhta Khan's monetary reform. He characterized this as a sophisticated state effort to replace regional, fragmented dirhams with a unified Sarai dirham of stable weight and value.

To implement such a massive standardization, the Khanate required immense silver reserves. Fedorov-Davydov concluded that the primary source of this silver was the "Horde tribute" (*vykhod*) collected from the Russian lands. This period also marked a critical institutional shift: the system of tax farming (*otkup*) and the practice of sending tribute to the Great Khan in Mongolia were abolished. Instead, revenues flowed directly to the Khan of the Jochid Ulus. Russian princes received not only their *yarlyks* (edicts of rule) but also specific fiscal registries (*reestry*) for systematic tax collection (Fedorov-Davydov, 1973: 80–81).

*Re-evaluating the "Yoke" Paradigm:* Fedorov-Davydov's findings suggested that by the second half of the 13th century, Golden Horde rulers actively sought to limit arbitrary plunder in favor of a systematic taxation system. By allowing the population to accumulate wealth, the state ensured a more stable and long-term fiscal base. This conclusion served as a powerful scholarly counter-argument to the one-sided "negative" tradition established by Nasonov and others, framing the Golden Horde not merely as an invading force, but as a sophisticated empire that fostered a complex socio-economic and diplomatic ecosystem in Eurasia.

V.V. Kargalov: *Geopolitical Determinants and Economic Stagnation:* In his 1967 study, *Foreign Policy Factors in the Development of Feudal Rus'*, V.V. Kargalov explored how external pressures shaped the Russian state. His findings offered a more nuanced view of trade than earlier Stalinist works; he argued that the Mongol-Tatar period did not result in the total structural isolation of Rus'.

Instead, Kargalov identified a significant re-orientation of trade routes:

- Western Vectors: Trade with Western Europe persisted through the northern gateways of Novogorod and Smolensk.
- Eastern Vectors: Following the stabilization of Horde-Rus' relations, the "Volga Route" was revitalized, re-establishing vital links with the Orient.

However, despite these active corridors, Kargalov remained a proponent of the regressive impact theory. He argued that the invasion severely hindered the evolution of commodity-money relations, forcing Rus' into a prolonged state of subsistence (natural) economy. He attributed this stagnation to the erosion of grand princely authority. Ultimately, Kargalov adhered to the prevailing Soviet dogma: the Mongol presence was the primary catalyst for the widening developmental gap between Rus' and Western Europe (Kargalov, 1967: 215–216).

*E.Ch. Skrzhinskaya: The Italian Factor and the Tana Nexus:* A more specialized perspective on the Horde's global economic integration was provided by E. Ch. Skrzhinskaya, who focused on the trading colony of Tana (Azov). Her research highlighted a unique geopolitical reality: unlike the Genoese factories like Caffa, which maintained a degree of maritime autonomy, Tana was deeply integrated into and dependent upon the internal political stability of the Golden Horde (Skrzhinskaya, 1971: 38).

Skrzhinskaya proposed a macro-economic periodization for Tana's operations:

- The Golden Age: From the late 13th century until Timur's (Tamerlane's) devastating invasion in 1395.
- The Decline: From the post-Timur recovery until the Fall of Constantinople in 1453.

Drawing on the merchant manual of Pegolotti, she identified the transcontinental slave trade as Tana's most lucrative economic sector (Skrzhinskaya, 1971: 50–54). Beyond this, Venetian merchants were not mere transit agents; they were active participants in the local economy, engaging in large-scale fishing operations on the Don River, collaborating with local merchants, and even trading in gemstones. Her work demonstrated that the Horde's political economy was not a closed system, but a vital node in the Mediterranean-Black Sea-Central Asian commercial arc.

*Stage V: Methodological Liberalization and the Eurasian Turn (1985–1991)*

The period between the late 1980s and 1991—the era of *Perestroika*—was defined by a profound dismantling of the rigid ideological barriers that had long constrained Soviet historiography. This methodological liberalization allowed scholars to move beyond the "politicization, bias, and stereotyping" that characterized earlier decades. This new phase was marked by a fundamental shift in research foundations and the rapid integration of Golden Horde history into the broader context of regional and national narratives (Arslanov, 2014: 32).

*The Pax Mongolica and Global Integration:* During this era, scholarly interest shifted toward "long-term" models of Eurasian integration. Researchers began to conceptualize the *Pax Mongolica* as a sophisticated transit corridor and a precursor to a globalized trade-economic system. Trade routes, security protocols, monetary circulation, and fiscal policies were no longer viewed in isolation but as components of a single, interconnected mechanism. This period saw an increased professionalization in the study of financial institutions, led by scholars such as L.N. Gumilev, V.V. Kargalov, V.A. Kuchkin, I.B. Grekova, V.L. Egorov, and V.T. Pashuto.

*L.N. Gumilev: The Ethnogenetic Perspective.* With the easing of censorship, the late 1980s saw the publication of L. N. Gumilev's most influential works, including *Ancient Rus' and the Great Steppe* (1989) and *From Rus' to Russia* (1992). Gumilev, the architect of the "passionary theory of ethnogenesis," argued that ethnic groups undergo life cycles driven by "passionary impulses" (impetus).

In his framework, the 14th-century Golden Horde had entered a new "acmatic" phase (the peak of ethnic energy). Crucially, Gumilev rejected the traditional narrative of "eternal struggle" between the Forest (Rus') and the Steppe (the nomads). He argued that their relationship was defined more by intensive commodity exchange and cultural symbiosis than by constant warfare (Gumilev, 1992: 155, 296). While controversial, Gumilev's work provided a powerful alternative to the "Yoke" dogma, emphasizing cooperation over conflict.

*V.L. Egorov: The Spatial-Institutional Framework:* If Gumilev provided the ethnic philosophy, V. L. Egorov provided the structural geography. His seminal 1985 work, *Historical Geography of the Golden Horde*, established the "geospatial infrastructure" of the state. Egorov meticulously reconstructed the empire's network of cities, communication routes, and administrative-political zones. Egorov's analysis of the political economy centered on three key pillars:

- Urbanization: He identified and cataloged over 100 Golden Horde cities, tracing the dynamics of trade between disparate regions.
- Trade as an Urban-Generative Factor: Egorov argued that caravan trade was the primary "city-forming" (*gradoobrazuyushchiy*) element, dictating where and how urban centers developed.
- Empirical Synthesis: By synthesizing Russian and Oriental chronicles with archaeological and numismatic data, he provided a comprehensive overview of the Horde's export commodities and popular trade routes (Egorov, 1985: 78).

## Conclusion

The analysis of Soviet Russian historiography on the Golden Horde's political economy reveals that the formation of knowledge about the state's institutional-economic system followed a remarkably complex and contradictory path. This historiographical reconstruction highlights a

persistent tension between ideological imperatives and objective scientific inquiry. The research demonstrates that for much of the Soviet era, scholarly discourse was confined within the rigid parameters of Marxist formative theory and the "Mongol-Tatar Yoke" paradigm. This ideological dominance fostered a reductive, one-sided characterization of the Horde's economy as a purely "extractive-exploitative" system, effectively marginalizing its role as a transit-integrator and its sophisticated fiscal policies. B.D. Grekov and A.N. Nasonov, this school of thought interpreted the Horde's influence as a purely regressive factor, framing administrative tools—such as censuses and tax collection—not as instruments of statecraft, but as mere mechanisms of subjugation.

Throughout this study, the trajectory of economic research into the Golden Horde was found to have evolved through five distinct stages, each marked by specific conceptual transformations. Following the relative methodological flexibility of the 1920s (seen in the works of F.V. Ballod and V.V. Barthold), and despite the subsequent period of Stalinist dogmatism, the "Thaw" and the ensuing era of interdisciplinary synthesis (1960–1980) significantly expanded the qualitative and quantitative scope of the source base.

In the final analysis, the vast source corpus and the empirical data amassed during the Soviet period provide the necessary foundation for recognizing the Golden Horde as an empire characterized by a complex fiscal-administrative system across Eurasia. The early Soviet observations regarding "merchant capital" and "extractive systems" are substantively linked to contemporary global discourses on the *Pax Mongolica*, "transit empires," and early "free trade zones."

Consequently, the methodological deconstruction of Soviet scientific terminology and interpretive models is not merely an academic exercise; it is essential to advancing the study of the Golden Horde's political economy to a new qualitative level. By stripping away the mandatory ideological veneers of the past, we can more clearly perceive the Horde's enduring institutional legacy.

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