

How to Cite:

Chernysheva, E. V. (2021). Apperception of Sufism: sociocultural background (evidence from the Crimean ulus of the golden horde). *Linguistics and Culture Review*, 5(S2), 401-414. <https://doi.org/10.37028/lingcure.v5nS2.1362>

Apperception of Sufism: Sociocultural Background (Evidence from the Crimean Ulus of the Golden Horde)

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Abstract---The study states that the spread of Sufi teachings in Crimea in the 13th-15th centuries should be considered as a display of the continuous recursiveness of spiritual culture. The prerequisites for apperception are developing as a result of the formation of an institutional matrix, the basis of which was the union of the so-called nomadic empires and Hellenistic states. Maintenance of the Khazar heritage, the impact of the Hellenistic culture, and recursive practice contributed to the spread of Sufism. The atmosphere of the Golden Horde became a certain “fertiliser” for the establishment of the social structure and development of the spiritual life of the medieval Turkic world. The research highlights the specifics of Jochid rulers’ attitude towards Christians. The study describes the role of the first Muslim rulers in the development of new religious traditions of the state, the spread of the Arab-Muslim educational model in the Crimean ulus, the impact of Sufi brotherhoods on the socio-cultural development of Crimea and the influence of prominent Sufis on the ruling elite. In conclusion, the apperception of Sufism is an organic, tradition-based perception of doctrine as the basis of the medieval Crimea’s ideology.

Keywords---institutional matrix, Kay-Cavus, Khazar Khaganate, Sary Saltuk, Sufi brotherhoods.

Introduction

As a rule, in the Middle Ages the state development correlated with the established paradigm and long existing cultural and historical traditions. According to Lotman (2016), culture is always associated with the preservation of previous experience... it is the summation of society’s achievements through its material and spiritual development. At the same time, the formation of political subjectivity is often accompanied by innovation in the field of social relations, the emergence and spread of new ideas. There is a quite important question: was the

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Manuscript submitted: 9 April 2021, Manuscript revised: 18 June 2021, Accepted for publication: 29 July 2021

existence of a single statehood unacceptable for several communities in this era combined with a mismatch in the confessional affiliation of their representatives? Could they avoid conflict and build constructive relationships with those who worship other sanctuaries? Notably, the attitude towards *the Other* serves as the best marker for the general characteristic of the studied culture, determination of its stage and development dynamics as well as for a certain diagnosis of its quality state and prospects. It should be borne in mind that due to the medieval mentality, religious intolerance prevailed in most regions turning at some point flourishing European cities into an arena of bloodshed and mass crimes.

In this context, it is particularly interesting to study these processes in relation to the patterns of cultural development of nations which historical fate associated with the Eurasian cultural space and Crimean traditions, which encapsulated the various cultural heritage. As time has passed a specific relationship algorithm between confessions was formed in the region. The studies of significant scholars of the past and contemporary authors researched the specificity of late Middle Ages and early modern interethnic and interfaith relations on the peninsula. These are the studies of [Smirnov \(2016\)](#); [Berthier-Delagarde \(1920\)](#); [Krymskiy \(1986\)](#); [Bodaninsky \(1930\)](#); [Bakhrushin \(1993\)](#); [Filonenko \(1928\)](#); [Sekirinsky \(1955\)](#); [Dombrovsky & Sidorenko \(1978\)](#); [Achkinazi \(2000\)](#); [Garkavets \(2005\)](#); [Aradjioni \(1999\)](#); [Kizilov \(2011\)](#); [Zaitsev \(2004\)](#); [Boytsova et al., \(2009\)](#); [Prokhorov & Khrapunov \(2017\)](#); [Karpov \(2000\)](#); [Yemanov \(2018\)](#); [Gaivoronsky \(2009\)](#); [Abdulvapov \(2011\)](#); [Bakhrevsky \(1997\)](#); [Useinov \(2005\)](#); and [Yakubovich \(2016\)](#); dedicated their studies to Sufism.

Nevertheless, to this day the interdependence of the Crimean Khanate socio-historical development and the prehistory of this state has not been fully researched. The circumstances of the constructive search for the value basis of interfaith dialogue, which is a process and a state that is common to this region, have not been sufficiently analysed.

The purpose of this study is to determine the specifics and origins of these relations, to reveal the essence of the Crimean traditions, to show the role of Sufism in the socio-political and cultural development of Crimea. The specificity of the research subject involves comparative-historical, systemic, and synergistic research methods.

Specifics of the emergence of a new cultural and civilizational paradigm on the Crimean Peninsula

The emergence of a new cultural and civilizational paradigm on the Crimean Peninsula retained the imprint of patterns related to the specifics of the natural environment that, in its turn, caused certain phenomena in social life. Since the early Iron Age various tribes have been moving from the distant corners of Eurasia towards the Crimea and the Northern Black Sea region. Many of them not only fought off the enemy but also resorted to looking for allies to defend the right to territory and resources. The migration period of the 3rd century AD – 9th century AD brought up the problem of interethnic contact, meanwhile, creating a situation for a wide variety of its solution. The change of the habitat and traditional landscape that often led to the clash and confrontation between ethnic

groups was also in some cases associated with the beginning of the intercultural dialogue ([Chernysheva, 2012](#)). [Sorokin \(2006\)](#), identifies the spatial neighborhood of ethnic groups and their forced unification conditioned by adaptation to natural environment and to forced contact as “indirect association under the influence of an external factor”. The desire to comprehend the surrounding while correlating its understanding with own ideas about the sublime forms a value-based picture of the world. The need to establish contact with another subject in a certain sense requires adjustment. The unique natural environment that contributed to preservation of the spiritual heritage with maintaining cognitive capabilities, formed a special type of communication, which purpose was to achieve maximum mutual understanding. There were multiple contacts between social groups defined “clarification of rationality” by [Habermas \(2007\)](#). It should not be dismissed that intolerance was generally immanent for the situation during the early Middle Ages associated with resettlement, the displacement of numerous tribes, and the need to defend the territory. Nevertheless, the following traditions started to emerge on the peninsula:

- Relatively independent development of the population of the peninsula's south-western and north-eastern parts. Every community developed an ecological niche. South-western Crimea, the Coast and the North-East of the peninsula gained different socio-cultural meanings. By the III-IV centuries, the main outlines of two socio-cultural worlds had been already marked. They were the community of sedentary farmers from mountain valleys and North-Eastern nomads of the steppe. The unique perception of the world in a certain natural landscape prepared further specific attitudes towards the environment and activities for its transformation. A specific spiritual culture was formed. Sedentary farmers preserved and developed existing traditions, and former nomads, who gradually moved to a sedentary lifestyle, discovered a new world that changed their attitude towards nature, where they performed their sociocultural programme ([Addas, 2020](#)).
- The Crimean Peninsula remained under the influence of Antiquity for many centuries despite the abundance of traditions introduced by various representatives of fairly young, archaic and primitive communities as well as the mental shocks associated with the crisis of the Ancient World ([Akdağ, 2019](#)). The ancient world presented an order where its peoples were closely connected by actively pursuing trade and an extensive financial system. At the same time, the centres of commodity exchange were also the centres of civilisation and cultural development. Notably, the ideology of Hellenism played an exceptional role due to its attractiveness, which gave special advantages both in the Middle East and in the multi-ethnic Mediterranean, while in many respects coinciding with the tenets of the Old Testament and with Christian principles. Many scholars recognise the universality of the relationship's pattern between the ethnic groups of the Hellenistic states ([Di Puppo & Schmoller, 2020](#); [Arjomand, 2020](#); [Arikewuyo, 2019](#)). The Hellenistic era played a special role in the establishment of the Crimean society's institutional matrix as a form of social integration in the economy, politics and ideology. In this case, tradition as the foundation of culture determined the direction of its development, setting sufficiently high bar for the latter. According to [Khachaturyan \(2011\)](#), the foundation may not be archaic but, on the contrary, more perfect. Thus, the history of mankind

knows ups and downs, at some point there can be regression, etc. At the stage of clash between European and Asian cultures, coinciding and complementary traditions become more active. Hellenistic ideas were maximally in sync with the ideology of nomadic empires that had already united continents at the dawn of the world history (Chernysheva, 2012). According to Pritsak (1997), these unifications were the accomplishment of the pro-urbanistic goals of their time. Tolerance is rightly attributed to the ideology of nomadic empires. The era preserved and reflected the cultural and civilizational experience of Hellenism leading to the revival of forgotten traditions (Hautala, 2018; 2019).

- By the 3rd-4th centuries AD, a certain configuration of political forces had already begun to take shape. Notably, with the appearance and change of elements such as change in the political situation, the emergence of new ethnicities and confessions, this configuration remains unshakable, which means the preservation of previous alignment of forces, the dynamics of development, socio-cultural meanings and, in some cases, even geographical borders (Stănică, 2018).

It appears that the Khazar Khaganate, which controlled vast territories in the VII-XX centuries including part of the Crimean Peninsula, should be considered as a mega-system with significant adaptability, which determined the main paths of the region's development and caused the reproduction of a matrix model, which is the most identical to the model of the Hellenistic world. In the following centuries, recursive practice played a special role alongside preservation and reproduction of the existing system. This practice was a special way of solving problems, when the established traditions simplified the solution of political issues. The patterns formed in fractals, which are various systemic elements, reflected the prevailing social experience with a high degree of probability. The triune matrix's ideological aspect played a special role of facilitating the interaction of open, complex and non-equilibrium systems, which are confessional associations. It also determined the development strategy of the mega-system, which is society, and sometimes an entire civilization. O. Pritsak attributes the end of the Hellenistic era in the Eastern European steppes only to the 12th century connecting it with the capturing of Tmutarakan by Rus (Pritsak, 1997).

Thy two traditions, each of which was an original version of constructive interethnic interaction, met in Great Bulgaria, which controlled the peoples in the lower Don, Kuban, and on the Kerch Peninsula. For many centuries, the strategy for the development of civilisation was determined, on the one hand, by the mutual resonance of cultures, and, on the other hand, by the Hellenistic heritage as an ideological component of the triune matrix coherent with the old attractor chosen by the fractal of the nomadic empire. The latter can be defined as a mega-attractor immanent to a conserved and reproducible matrix. Due to coherent processes, a single economic space was naturally transformed into a single cultural space, or, more precisely, into a space of a single culture (in the broad sense – of the word). Synchronisation of the stages of Khazaria's ethnicities economic development led to the convergence of cultural life. Especially since at a certain stage of historical development, the economy and culture are generally in a state of synergy (Favereau, 2018).

The destruction of the mega-system associated with a strong fluctuation effect, which was prince Svyatoslav's Kyiv army attack in 965, was largely conditioned by the fact that a high level of complexity caused exceptional flexibility, which was hardly compatible with a colossal task. Khazaria, which was leading the world trade and ensuring the rights of the proprietors, could not mobilise resources as quickly as possible to fight off the external threats. Fateful global changes in the first quarter of the 13th century, the birth of the Genghis Empire, which was a civilisation that united the peoples of Europe and Asia, led to the emergence of a new type of statehood, economic modernization, and radical changes in social life. In the first half of the 13th century, the lands of Desht-i-Kypchak became the main lands of the Golden Horde, and the ulus system spread on these territories. The Mongolian elite managed to significantly broaden the framework in which nomadic empires such as the Hun Khaganate, the Turkic Khaganate, the Great Khazaria existed for a certain time. Although the Turks, who were Eurasia nomads based on the culture and way of life, were much closer to the conquerors than the peoples engaged in agriculture, the new system was often disadvantageous for them as they occupied the same ecological niche as the Mongols and were forced to give up the best pastures. Nevertheless, outnumbered Mongols would dissolve in the Turkic environment within a few decades ([Tanase, 2018](#)).

Thus, the previous matrix was retained, which was a coherent restoration of the system with a fractal pattern close to the previous system. History has shown that the replacement of fractals was incomplete since most of the old components were absorbed by the new systemic formation. However, global changes were introduced by recursive practice, which was the repetition of development options with the addition of innovative elements. In addition, since the system being created came to replace the existing one, i.e., using energy from the destruction of the previous structure, it turned out to be quite stable due to rationally organised management and adequate reflection of reality. The latter became apparent in the specificities of the legislation developed by the Genghis, in the creation of means of communication and in lots of other features of the new society ([Peacock, 2018](#); [Kançal-Ferrari, 2018](#)).

Farmers and merchants, who lived on the Crimean Peninsula, unexpectedly turned out to be subjects of the ruler of a huge state that united Siberia, Central Asia, the Volga region, the North Caucasus, Crimea, Cuman lands and Slavic principalities and where the completely new way of transmission of information channels and movement of goods emerged. On the one hand, it was a challenge but, on the other hand, it created unexpected opportunities. The cities that existed before the Mongol invasion survived and received further development. According to [Kulpin \(1998\)](#), all types of exchange such as economic, informational, and genetic contributed to mutual knowledge and the accumulation of historical experience.

Analysis of the interfaith relationships on the Crimean Peninsula

Christians who lived on the Crimean Peninsula during historical period were guided by Byzantium. The political subjectivity of the Christian elite of Taurica before the XIV century raises certain doubts. Nevertheless, it is possible that its

representatives received credentials from the new authorities. By the middle of the century, the governor of the Great Khan became the head of the Crimean ulus, and the new capital was founded in the Churuk-Su valley known as Crimea. While the Khazaria's experience played a positive role for the Mongol Empire, according to N.Ya. Danilevsky, the Golden Horde atmosphere was a "fertiliser" for the establishment of the social structure and development of the spiritual life of the medieval Turkic world (Akhiezer, 2019). The peaceful coexistence of followers of different religions was a prerequisite for successful trade and organisation of government for the Mongol rulers. The Sufi teaching spread in the region from the 13th century was the most modern and in tune with the cultural environment of the era, it was a way of the sacralisation of mediation processes (Rakha et al., 2013; Ward & Kennedy, 1999). As for Crimea, the reception of new ideas was facilitated by the relevancy of the Hellenistic-Khazar heritage, the mutual resonance of cultures, continuous recursiveness, which was immanent for an institutional matrix with a preserved fractal pattern (DeWeese, 2018).

According to Bartold (1968), the infiltration of Islam in the Golden Horde starts from the moment of state's establishment, and the spread of the Muslim religion was directly related to the Sufi brotherhoods' activities. Many Persian and Arab scholars wrote about the first Muslim ruler of the Golden Horde. The 13th century historian Al-Juzjani claimed that Khan Juchi exclaimed immediately after the birth of Berke: "I am making this son a Muslim", and ordered to get the child a Muslim nurse. Therewith, the author said: "His (Berke's) teaching of the Koran took place in Khojand, with one of the pious scholars from this city" (Grinberg, 2018). The sources confirm Sufi sheikh's Seif-ad-Din Boharzi impact on the khan's worldview during the military campaign of Berke in Balkh and Bukhara (Al Omari et al., 2020). The Egyptian scholar Badr ad-Din Al-Ain said that having embarked on the path of spiritual journey, Khan Berke was sincerely committed to the Sufi teachings of Kubrawiya (Balivet & Pezechki, 2018). Religious traditions in Crimea were formed under the influence of the states of the Middle East, Asia Minor, and Khorezm. Particularly, the first mosque on the peninsula was built by the Seljuk Turks under orders of Sultan Rum Ala ad-Din Key-Qubad (1219-1236). However, during his reign (from 1257 to 1266) in the Golden Horde Khan Berke played a special role for Crimea. According to the History of Tokht-bai in retelling of E. Chelebi "in 665 (1265/1266), while returning to Crimea after a successful campaign, Khan Berke "brought with him 1,800 ulama and baba from Bukhara, Balkh, Turan, Turkestan ... and he escorted them respectfully and mercifully to the Crimea. All these ulama founded mosques and madrasahs, the khan and his ghazi built houses for all the ulama and their families" (Kianifard, 2020). According to a Turkish traveller, in 1262-1263 under the ruling of Berk Bey-Haji Umar Bukhari built a mosque in Solhat the main city of Crimea (Sorgenfrei, 2018).

For the establishment of the foundations of the Crimean society, it was important that the Khan, who accepted Islam from Sheikh Boharzi Berke, could set a specific algorithm for the interaction of Muslims with scientists, sages and even with "people of the scripture", Christians in particular. The Egyptian scholar Badr-ad-din Al-Aini reported that "Having reigned in this state, he (Berke) became a Muslim, and his Islam was sincere. He established a beacon of faith and instituted Muslim rituals, honored jurists and scholars, made friends with them,

set up mosques and schools within the state” (Al Omari et al., 2020). At the same time, in 1261 the ruler Berke gave permission to establishment of an Orthodox diocese in the capital of the Golden Horde. It was founded by Metropolitan Kirill III of Kyiv and All Rus at the request of Prince Alexander Nevsky. As told by L.A. Kavelin (Hieromonk Leonidas): “In 1261, to the consolation of the Rus’s Church and the people who suffered from the yoke of the Tatar, the throne of a Christian bishop was set up in the Horde itself... The Divine Providence, who visited our fatherland in misfortune, was pleased to arrange so that our Orthodox faith found itself patronage in the Golden Horde among the descendants of Genghis Khan, even when the first of the Golden Horde khans Berke Khan converted to Islam. In his capital, the Rus’s clergy conducted services freely, and were not levied with taxes; and the dignity of the Orthodox faith was protected by the khan’s law, which condemned to death those who blaspheme it” (Bahauddin & Ahmad, 2018). Berke Khan, who was Khan Hulagu’s opponent and an adherent of Islam, established diplomatic relations with Mamluk Egypt. According to Rukn-Ed-Din Beibars: “... in 661 (1262-1263) the ambassadors of Berke the king of the emir Jelaeddin, the son of Elkadi, and Sheikh Nureddin Ali arrived (in Egypt) with the news that he converted to Islam. They had a letter from him (Berke), which contained the names of those who converted to Islam from Tatar houses and left the crowd of infidels (Gani, 2019). Through ambassadors Khan Berke conveyed that he had fought with the rebel Hulagu and that he was praising Allah Almighty when he heard the news of his (Sultan’s) campaign with Muslim troops in Baghdad and the liberation of this region from the hands of the infidels... The Sultan greeted the ambassadors in every possible way and ordered many wonderful gifts to be given to Berke that included “the sacred scripture, written, as they say, by (Caliph) Uthman, the son of Affan, multi-coloured pillows and carpets for (performing) prayer; Venetian fabrics and Levant dresses; carpets made of hides and skins; Kaldzhur swords with notches; gold plated clubs; Frankish helmets and gilded armour; covered lanterns; chandeliers; mechanisms (organs?) with cases”, and even “black servants and female servant-cooks; swift-footed Arabian horses and Nubian camels; best-selling pack animals; monkeys, parrots and various other objects” (Gani, 2019). Therewith, according to A.G. Sheremetyev, a lot of ordinary nomads were not significantly affected by the ideological innovations of Khan Berke, and shamanism soon returned to the Golden Horde, even though it did not last long (Sheremetyev, 2013).

According to A.N. Sukhorukov, in the mid-1260s another large group of Muslim Sufis, who arrived from Konya and Anatolia which were part of the Seljuk Sultanate, appeared in Crimea. The dervishes accompanied the former Seljuk sultan Key-Kavus II freed from Byzantine captivity (Daşdemir, 2020). The dervishes were led by the legendary Sufi preacher Sary Saltuk Baba, who was a student of Ahmet Yasavi. Khan Berke married off his daughter to the Sultan, and gave Key-Kavus two Crimean cities – his capital Solkhat and the rich port city of Sudak. Until his death, the Sultan was the patron, protector and guardian of the Sufis in the Crimea (Ward et al., 1998; Wertheim et al., 1997). According to scholar, under Khan Berke’s reign Islam was not recognised as an official religion in the Golden Horde. Moreover, Berke’s heirs were supporters of traditional beliefs and only the intercession and authority of Kay-Kavus in the part of Crimea entrusted to him allowed Muslims to noticeably strengthen their positions. For the followers of Islam in Crimea the intercession of representatives of the nobility

and authoritative scholars attracted to the Crimean ulus by Berke's policy was also crucial. [Zaitsev \(2004\)](#), noted that in 1287 another mosque was built in Crimea with funds donated by the Egyptian Sultan Kalown.

The reign of Khan Uzbek (1313-1341) was significant for the evolution of interfaith relationships on the peninsula. According to the "Genealogy of the Turks" ("Shajarat al-atrak") Uzbekkhan followed the steps of his predecessors and accepted Islam from a Sufi sheikh (probably in the lands of the Volga Bulgaria): "... Saint Seyid-Ata, instead of the name Uzbekkhan, which was given to him, named (him) Sultan-Muhammad Uzbekkhan. When Sultan-Muhammad Uzbekkhan, together with his il and ulus, reached happiness (...) the grace of God, then by a mysterious and undoubted sign, Saint Seyid-Ata led all of them towards the regions of Maverannahr" ([Kianifard, 2020](#)). The Arab traveller Ibn Battuta in his story illustrates the attitude of the ruler to the sages, teachers of Islam. He says that in a beautiful and very huge city of El-Sarai the head of scholars is considered to be the "knowledgeable Imam Noeman-Oddin el-Khovarezmi, whom Ibn Battuta met... He was very kind, treated the Sultan with pride but was humble with ordinary people. The Sultan visited him every Friday, sat down in front of him ... but the imam never changed his harsh treatment" ([Al Omari et al., 2020](#)). Thus, it is known that Khan Uzbek had several sheikhs at the court.

According to Muin-ad-din Natanzi's "Anonymous Iskender", the son of Uzbek Janibek (1342-1357) continued the Islamisation of the state after his father's death. "He converted the entire Uzbek ulus to Islam, destroyed all the temples of idols, built many mosques and madrasahs. He turned all his attention to the well-being of the people of Islam. Many excellent people and scholars from different regions and sides of the states of Islam went to his court" ([Kulpin, 1998](#)). According to [Borodovskaya \(2017\)](#), there was no opposition between canonical Islam and Sufism in the Golden Horde per se. She states that during the Golden Horde period most of the large Sufi tariqas arise and develop, the sacred ideas of Sufism are sung by Arab, Iranian and Turkic poets, including Omar Khayyam, Abu'l-Ala al-Maarri, F. Attar, D. Rumi, Hafiz. By this time, Al-Ghazali and Ibn-Arabi had already had already wrote their main theoretical works, glossaries and biographies of saints were compiled, the statutes of many tariqas were established. According to N.R. Abdulvapov, having ennobled and elevated Islam Sufi teaching has become an essential element of the life of Muslim society ([Abdulvapov, 2011](#)).

Since the Golden Horde period certain traditions were developing that manifested in the Crimea and entrenched in the Crimean Khanate. The Islamic-Sufi model of public education, a state-wide network of khanqahs and madrasahs, the opening of kuttabs at mosques influenced the growth of literacy and the general culture of the common population. According to [Borodovskaya \(2017\)](#), the language of the Quran not only allowed reading religious literature but also contributed to the folk poetry flourishing.

It is remarkable that creative freedom, which does not exclude an involuntary return to the old model when creating a new one, i.e., recursiveness, produces emergent qualities. Notably, the spiritual quests of the Sufi teachers served as the

reason for the reproduction of more archaic cultural layers; their teaching was allusive not only to the Hellenistic era of the unity and brotherhood of peoples but also to the sacred traditions of antiquity. In particular, according to [Vasiliev \(2016\)](#), the zeal the Sufis used to get closer to communicating with God is state of dhikr, which is close to the ecstatic states that shamans fall into during rituals. [Khachatryan \(2011\)](#), believes that this identity is common to a person in a so-called altered state of consciousness, i.e., in a state of mystical illumination, prayer trance. The scholar believes that a return to the archaic is not necessarily associated with social regression and degradation ([Ritter & Gemünden, 2003](#); [Ritter, 2000](#); [Roşu et al., 2013](#)). The development of the primitive human's spiritual perception was correlated with the state of prayer, which K.G. Jung would call the experience of the "archetype of infinity". In this state, the individual acquires the broadest identity possible associating oneself with the Absolute, God, humanity, the Universe and perceiving the world around as a single whole, where everything is connected ([Borodovskaya, 2017](#)). Sufi teaching is also a way of transmitting the existential and psychological memory of the people enshrined in the cults of saints, sacred places, rituals, traditions ([Abirova & Rysbekova, 2012](#)). [Vasiliev \(2016\)](#), considers that there is no coincidence in Sufism becoming a catalyst for the Islamisation of huge masses of nomads. [Trimingham \(1989\)](#), presumes that peoples of many regions perceived Sufis as heralds of a "new type of religion".

According to [Kramarovsky \(2016\)](#), the phenomenon of Arab-Asia Minor Sufism as well as the activities of the Anatolian diaspora have been already gradually leading to reformation of the cultural code of a significant portion of the Crimean population in the second half of the 13th century. The researcher believes that: "In general, there is a clear change in the directions of cultural development in Crimea: Byzantine domination based on the ideas of orthodox Christianity is retreating under the pressure of the Middle Eastern Muslim tradition." As the author says, although, other religions have not been ousted the civilizational pendulum has noticeably swung towards Muslim culture opening the way for the arrival of Sunni Islam in the form of the Hanifi madhhab to Crimea.

As for the political subjectivity of Crimea, which distinguishes the peninsula from the Golden Horde, several factors contributed to the establishment of the latter. On the one hand, it is the emerging (and for many, it has been existing for several centuries) attachment of the Turkic population to the Crimean land in general and not only to the steppe part. In addition, while fighting for power the Genghis tried to win over if not the Horde throne itself then at least the Crimean ulus since its geographical position made it almost invulnerable. It was quite difficult to collect the due payments and the attempts of the Golden Horde rulers to put Crimea in the subordination ended repeatedly in armed confrontation. In particular, the invasion of Khan Nogai in 1299 was a revenge for the murder of Ak-Tajji's grandson, who died in Kaffa while collecting taxes. There were other armed expeditions: for example, Timur's attack on Solkhat in 1395 was due to the fact that Bek-Khoja defended the interests of his adversary Tokhtamysh, etc. ([Bakhrushin, 1993](#)).

During the events that were quite typical for the feudal era the worldview of the population developed under the influence of completely different factors. N.R.

Abdulvapov noted that in the 13th century the Crimea was literally flooded with members of various dervish groups. The researcher counted 15 Sufi centres, among which the traditional ones are Halvetiye, Gulsheniyye, Jelvetiye, Mevleiye. Padiriyye, Naqshbendiyye and local centres are Koledzhli and Choyunjili (after the names of the two most famous Sufi centres in the village of Koledzh near Kefe and Choyundzhi in the vicinity of Ak-Mesjit). The latter were associated with local forms of Sufi practice (Abdulvapov, 2011). Dervishes of any orders were respected among the Crimean population. The Mevlevi order-tariqa, which was founded after 1273 in Konya by the son of the hereditary sheikh thinker and humanist Jalal-ad-din Rumi, had a tremendous impact on the formation of the ruling elite of Crimea, its upbringing and education. High moral and aesthetic standards were set both by the poetry of Rumi and by the most famous Sufi, who glorified the equality of people regardless of religion, skin colour and language. After the emergence of the Crimean Khanate the Mevlevi tariqa was under the auspices of the ruling khan dynasty of Girayev. Among the supporters of Sufi ideas were Mehmed IV Giray, Islam II Giray, Selim Giray (second half of the 17th century), Mengli II Giray (1724-1730) and others. Spiritual mentors of Sufi centres, while being members of the divan the state council, performed diplomatic assignments and were educators of princes (Abdulvapov, 2011). The centre of the tariqa was the monastery in Eski-Yurt, where the mausoleums of the khans were located.

The “silent dervishes” or the Naqshbendiye brotherhood, who were known for the practice of quiet dhikr with a specific method of concentration on breathing, were well-respected among the Crimean Tatars. According to Vasiliev (2016), the practice of “quiet dhikr” has its analogy in the prayer of Orthodox esoteric scientists or hesychasts; the methods of concentration and prayer practice among Muslim and Christian mystics were quite similar. Members of the Yasaviyya brotherhood, who were the tariqa of wanderers and preachers, were especially famous among the Turkic peoples. According to Abirova & Rysbekova (2012), Sufism of Yasaviyya is a complex synthesis of Arab and Turkic cultures, Tengrism and Islam. By the 17th century this trend would exist only in communities that had preserved their nomadic heritage, and E. Chelebi was surprised to see members of this order in Feodosia. At the grave of dervish Gazi Mansur there were centres of the Suhrawardiyye and Khalvatiye brotherhoods (Vasiliev, 2016).

Conclusion

Thus, the Crimean society during the 13th-14th centuries was influenced by global factors: the world empire, which was the power of the Genghis, and the world religion – Islam. Despite the fact that the systems that emerged and interacted in the region were an extrapolation of these factors, the constancy of the matrix substrate contributed to the acceleration of this process. The Crimean ulus as a fractal of the Golden Horde became the centre of a new systemic formation by relying on recursive processes and using the energy of the decay of the previous system, which was the Jochid state.

The ethical and humanistic aspect of the Sufi doctrine contributed to the maintenance and preservation of the value-normative attitudes that existed in previous eras and survived later. There is a certain "opening and saving" of the matrix. In contrast to recursiveness the impact of the Arabic and Islamic cultures

during their heyday contributes to the restoration of previous eras' patterns including the fundamental patterns of the Hellenistic period. This prepared the way for the complete acceptance of Sufism as the basic ideology, thereby opening the era of the Crimean Khanate, when cultural life and social creativity have flourished.

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