

Reflection of the History of the Crimean Ulus in the Crimean-Tatar and Turkish written sources and Historiography

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There are a lot of written sources in terms of the History of the Crimean Ulus İçnye, the contents of which is of great importance for studying the Ulus history and culture. A special attention out of all such documents, written in the Crimean-Tatar, Kypchak and Turkish-Ottoman languages, should be paid to scientific work “The organisation of the Crimean Khanate and its development and strengthening under the Ottoman protectorate” by the present-day Turkish historian Muzafer Urekli, who classifies the above said set of sources in the following way:

- 1) historical books and chronicles (*Tarih Kitapları ve Vakayi-nâme*) written in
 - the Crimean and Deshta-Kypchak;
 - books on the History of the Crimea written within the Ottoman Turkey;
 - books on the Ottoman History, as well as the general historical works written in the Sublime Porte;
- 2) genealogic works (*Şecere ve Ensâb Kitapları*);
- 3) travelling diaries (*Seyahatnâmeler*), memoirs (*Muhtırlar*) and messages (*Raporlar*);
- 4) yarlyks, orders, letters with different information (including the diplomatic one), register-books, prosaic texts (*Yarlıklar, Bitikler ve Münşeat Mecmuâları*);
- 5) books of laws (*Kanûnâmeler*);
- 6) bank notes, coins (*Meskûkât*), etc.¹.

For instance, one of outstanding chronicles “Khan Sagib Giray’s History” written in the Crimea in the 16th century. If to consider thoroughly this written source, we cannot but note, that the Crimean Khanate, that was then under the protectorate of the Sublime Porte, a powerful military force in the Northern Black-Sea Area, particularly in Eastern Europe. Anyway, while making military actions primarily in the interests of the Sublime Porte, Crimean khans attacked foreign territories to get some trophies for themselves too. However, when such governors, relying on their own military forces, crossed the set up rules, the Ottoman government

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¹ *Muzaffer Ürekli*, Kırım Hanlığının Kuruluşu ve Osmanlı himayesinde yükselişi (1441–1569), Ankara, Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü : 98, 1989, s. XI–XVIII.

undertook serious measures for restoring the violated order. So, Khan Sagib Giray I (ruling: 1532–1551), despite his great achievements (for example, in overcoming the danger from Muscovy), was executed following the order of Sultan Suleiman I Kanuni for exceeding his authorities².

Then, while considering the problems we have formulated above in regard of the main kinds of written sources, like *yarlyks*, orders, letters with information of different sorts, including the diplomatic one too, we have to mention the collection of documents prepared in 1858 by the Tartar language Instructor at the Emperor's St. Petersburg University – the Spiritual Master Gusein Feizhanoglu. The documents, titled as “The *Yarlyks* and *Hattas* (identified texts and official documents) relating to the Crimean Yurt and the Other Party”³ highlight primarily the diplomatic relations of the Crimean Ulus with Muscovy and Poland; the said documents were written within the territory of Deshta-Kypchak in the Crimean-Tatar language with Oguz elements. The documents were ranked due to their chronology. The oldest document – “A *Shertname* of Mehmed Giray [I Uklug (ruling: 1515–1523)]” to King Sigismund”, written in 926 AH (1520 A.D.), refers the needs to observe the terms and conditions of the treaty, and namely the following points: to send annually presents and gifts, not to trespass the borders, to set up unimpeded trade relations and to obligatory compensate for possibly brought losses, as well as the observation of the swear not to bring any harm⁴. The latest in respect of the time of its preparation, in the said collection of works is “The *Yarlyk* of Selamet Giray II (ruling: 1740–1744) to the King of Poland and the Grand Lithuanian Prince, Saxon Elector Frederic August II”, written in 1155 AH (1742 A.D.); it refers the required restoration of friendly relations and peace, and particularly provision of free movement of traders, having those paid the tax, and

² *Nidâi Remmal Hoca Kaysunîzâde*, Tarih-i Sahib Giray Han, Nşr. Özalp Gökbilgin, Ankara, 1973, s. 120 vd.; *Yücel Öztürk*, Kırım Hanlığı, Yeni Türkiye Dergisi, Türkler, Editörler: Hasan Celâl Güzel, Kemal Çiçek, Salim Koca. Ankara, 2002, s. 480–513; Туранли, Фергад. Козацька доба історії України в османсько-турецьких писемних джерелах (друга половина XVI – перша чверть XVIII століття) . К.: Вид. дім «Києво-Могилянська академія», 2016. С.143–144. – (*Turanly, Ferhad. The Cossacks period in the history of Ukraine in Turkish-Ottoman written sources (the second half of the 16th C. – the first quarter of the 18th C)*. Kyiv : Publishing House “Kyiv Mohyla Academy”. 2016, pp. 143–144.).

³ Qırım Yurtuna ve Ol Taraflarğa Dair Bolğan Yarlyğlar ve Hattlar قريم يورتينه و اول طرفلارغه دار بولغان يرليغ لر و خطلر.

⁴ Документи Крымского ханства из собрания Хусейна Фейзханова / сост. и транслит. Р. Р. Абдужемилев; науч. ред. И Миргалеев. Симферополь: ООО «Константа». 2017. С. 10–11; 16–18. 816 с. – (*Documents of the Crimean Khanate from Husein Feizhanov's collection / Compiled and Transl. by R.R. Abdujemilev; Acad. Edit I. Mirgaleyev. Simferopol: LLC “Konstanta”. 2017. С. 10–11; 16–18. 816 с.*); Muzaffer Ürekli, a. g. e., s. XVI–XVII.

guaranteeing absence of any pressing those ones, etc.⁵. The total number of documents in the collection is 378; 139 documents of those ones is related to Crimean-Tatar khans⁶.

As for the issue of the Crimean khanate formation is concerned, it should be noted, that it was a long-lasting process, and the final singling out and declaration of the own independence, resulting from a decay of the Golden Horde, occurred in 845 AH (1441–1442 A.D.), when the Governor was Khan Gadji Giray I (1420–1455), a Giyaseddin's son, a Tash Timur's grandson. The Giray's genealogy begins from Togay Timur, the 13th son of Djudji (the latter one was a son of Khan Djengiz). It were khans from Tash Timur's line, who governed the Crimean Yurt from the 16th century to 1783⁷. The struggle for the separation of the Crimea and formation on the "Green Island" of a state was started yet by Tash Timur, that is Gadji Giray I bin Giyaseddin's grandfather. Hence, the process of the formation and occurrence of this state form lasted for about 45 years, and it was in the time of ruling of the above said governor, that the independence of the Crimean Khanate was announced (that is proved by some coins coined in 845 AH in honour of the first above said governor⁸. Gadji Giray I, being on friendly relations with the Lithuanian Principality, in 1456 addresses Sultan Mehmed II Fatih⁹ with the request for a military support in fighting against Genoese colonies on the southern share of the Crimean Peninsula. But the final unification of the Crimean Yurt with the Ottoman State happened in 1475¹⁰.

⁵ Документы Крымского ханства... С. 324–327. – (*Documents of the Crimean Khanate... pp. 324–327*).

⁶ Вельяминовъ-Зерновъ В. В. Материалы для истории Крымскаго ханства (извлечения, по распоряженію Императорской Академіи Наукъ, изъ московскаго главнаго архива Министерства Иностраннхъ Делъ) / Издавъ Владимиръ Владиміровичъ Вельяминовъ-Зерновъ. Санктпетербургъ : «Въ типографіи Императорской Академіи Наукъ», 1864. 941 с. (ص. ٩٤١). – (*Velyaminov-Zernov V.V. Materials for the history of the Crimean Khanate (extracts, due to an order of the Emperor's Academy of Sciences, from Moscow's Main Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) / Published by Vladimir Vladimirovich Velyaminov-Zernov. St. Petersburg: "In Publishing House of the Emperor's Academy of Sciences", 1864. 941 pp.*)

⁷ Родовід Гіраїв походить від Тоґая Тимура, сина хана Джуджі (останній був сином хана Дженгіза). Саме кримськотарські хани по лінії Таш Тимура, сина Тоґая Тимура, які правили Кримським юртом з кінця XIV ст. до 1783 р. Див.: – (*The Giray's Genealogy begins from Togay Timur, a son of Khan Juji (the later one was Khan Jengiza's son). It was the Crimean-Tatar Khans from Tash Timur line, a son of Togay Timer, that governed the Crimean Yurt from the end of the 16th C. to 1783. See: ...*) Hasan Ortekin, Kırım Hanlarının Seceresi, İstanbul, Bürhaneddin Matbaası, 1938, s. 1–10; Muzaffer Ürekli, Kırım Hanlığının Kurluşu ve Osmanlı Himayesinde Yükselişi (1441–1569), Ankara, Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü : 98, 1989, s. 1–5, V–XXV s., 109 s.; Halil İnalçık, Giray, İslam Ansiklopedisi, Cilt 14, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmalar Merkezi, İstanbul 1996, s. 76–78.

⁸ Muzaffer Ürekli, a. g. e., s. 11.

⁹ Мехмед II Фатих / Здобувач — 1451–1481, 2-ге правління (Туранли, Фергад. Назв. праця. С. 558–559). – (*Mehmed II Fatih / Applicant — 1451–1481, 2nd (Turanly, Ferhad. Ibidem. pp. 558–559)*).

¹⁰ Yılmaz Öztuna, Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi: Osmanlı Devleti'nin Siyasî, Medenî, Kültür, Teşkilât ve San'at Tarihi, 10 Cilt, Birinci Cild, İstanbul, Ötüken Neşriyat A.Ş., 1994, s. 362–365, 479 s.); Muzaffer Ürekli, a. g. e., s. 9–20; Туранли, Фергад. Назв. праця. С. 560 (*Turanly Ferhad. Ibidem. p. 560*).

حليم گرای سلطان، گلین حانان یاخود قریم تاریخی، تابع و ناشر، جودی استانبول، نجم استقبال مطبعه سي، ١٣٢٧، ص. ٤-٧، جدول ٣، ٢٣٢ (٢٠) ص.

The most powerful Turkic statehood formation, located in the steppe band of the Northern Black-Sea Area and the Azov Area, that is the Crimean Khanate, was finally included under the protectorate of the Sublime Porte in the spring of 1475. Speaking of the military and political situation that set up during the 16th century in the Northern Black-Sea Area, it should be underlined, that the Crimean Khanate was in Eastern Europe an actual powerful military force, which regularly made its permanent military invasions on the lands of Muscovy, Polish and Lithuanian Commonwealth, as well as those of Ukraine.

However, the conquer by the Trardom of Muscovy of Kazanian Khanate in 1552 and of Astrakhan Khanate in 1556 happened to become the external cause, which resulted in breaking the said military and political balance. The sources we have studied include data about the military activities of Prince Dmytro Vyshnevetskyi¹¹: for example, there is said about surrounding in 1559 the fortress of Azov which was then in the Ottoman possessing, about a Cossack troop headed by the above said prince, as well as about the measures aimed at improving the defense of the Ottoman Empire's borders in the Northern Black-Sea Area, the fortress of Ochakiv including, from attacks from the north¹². Particularly, in the document there is said, that the above described situation caused respective measures from the side of the Sublime Porte's government, aimed at cancelling the siege of the fortress, and specifically – about sending additional detachments of the governmental army and ammunition as an urgent help for the surrounded garrison of the fortress of Azov; besides, the government warned the Crimean Khan Devlet Giray [I] (ruling: 1551–1577) of a probable repetition of those attacks and called the governor of the Crimean Khanate to be cautious and ready to implement the tasks he was supposed to in case of setting up a situation like that one¹³.

¹¹ *Turanly, Ferhad*. Development of the Ukrainian Cossacks and Activities of Dmytro Vyshnevetsky according to the Data from Turkish Written Sources and Historiography, *Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi (Journal of Academic Inquiries)*, Cilt / Volume: 12, Sayı / Issue: 1, Sakarya Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü / Türkiye, Yıl / Year: 2017, pp. 59–81.

¹² *Muzaffer Ürekli, a. g. e.*, s. 46; Туранли Ф. Турецькі рукописні документи як джерела інформації з історії України другої половини XVI ст. ВІСНИК Київського національного університету імені Тараса Шевченка. Історія. № 2 (133). К. : Видавничо-поліграфічний центр «Київський університет», 2017. С. 73–83 (*Turanly F. Turkish documental manuscripts as informational sources from the history of Ukraine related to the second half of the 16th C. BULLETIN of the National Taras Shevchenko of Kyiv. History. # 2 (133). Kyiv : Publishing & Poligraphical Centre "Kyiv University", 2017, pp. 73–83*).

¹³ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, MD, Nu : 3 (Hicrî : 966–968 / Milâdî : 1558–1560), T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, Yayın Nu : 12, Dîvân-ı Humâyûn Sicilleri Dizisi: I, Yayına hazırlayanlar: Nezihî Aykut, İdras Bostan, Murat Cebecioğlu, Feridun Emecen, Mücteba İlgürel, Mehmet vb, Ankara, 1993, s. 45–46; *Emine Erdoğan Üzünlü*, Mühimme Defterlerine Göre XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Osmanlı-Kırım Hanlığı İlişkileri, *Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 2010, s. 491–492; Туранли, Фергад. Назв. праця. С. 181–186.

Anyway, according to the information we have obtained from the Crimean-Tatar and Turkish historical manuscripts, the most benefited from that situation was for the Sublime Porte, which used the Crimean Khanate's army in its wars with Austria and Iran. The sources, we have studies, show, that during the governing of Sultan Ahmed I, the Crimean Army took an active part in the Sublime Porte's war against the above said countries. For the heroism manifested in that war Khan Gazi Giray II (ruling: 1596–1607, 2nd ruling) by the Turkish Sultan was given the title “The Master of Sword”¹⁴ while, respectively, his kindred were given certain privileges, for example – personal untouchability¹⁴. When the said Crimean khan died, representatives from his generation line (sherins, mansurs, siudjivits) announced his son Toktamysh Giray (ruling: 1607/1608–1609) Governor of the Crimean Yurt. But a different decision was made in the Sultan's palace: to appoint Gazi Giray's II brother – Selamet Giray I (ruling: 1608–1610), the Khan, while Khan Giray's II descendants – Mehmed Giray III and Shagin Giray – were given authorities of the Kalgai¹⁵ and Nuraddin¹⁶, respectively. That event подія became also an internal political factor – a compelling motif for activating of the process of forming a Ukrainian Cossack-Crimean Tatar Union¹⁷.

The history of the Black-Sea vector formation in the foreign policy of the Hetman Government originated yet during the formation of the Zaporizhia Sich, when, according to Yaroslav Dashkevych, that vector existed only as “... a new element of the military and political realities having set up on the steppe border between Europe and Asia in the middle of the 16th century. Such a situation seems to be quite understandable: geopolitically the Zaporizhia Sich was located between Lithuania (which at that time was already under the Polish domination) and the Crimean Khanate, which was an Istanbul's vassal of khanate. Therefore, the geopolitical factor required clarification of the nature of the relations between the Sich and Porte”¹⁸. In this

¹⁴ صاحب السيف (Sâhib-üs Seyf) – це особливий титул, який надавався за героїзм, проявлений у битвах.

¹⁵ Every Crimean khan appointed his kalgai, that is a deputy. In the Crimean-Tatar قالغاي (“*kalgai*” means “*to leave behind*”). Before a military campaign a khan left instead of himself a kalgai. According to the data available in Crimean historical sources the word “*kalgai*” appeared first during the governing of Khan Mengli Giray. The khan had to take part in the military campaign jointly with the Ottoman Army. His Bays (Commanders) addressed him with a question: “Who are you leaving then instead of yourself”. He answered in the Kypchak Turkish, or the Crimean-Tatar, language: (او غلوم محمد كيراي قالغاي) / “*Oğlum Mehmed Giray kalgay*” / “*Oğlum Mehmed Giray kalsun*”), which means “My son Mehmed is to be the Kalgai”. See: *Mehmet Zeki Pakalın*, Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü, Cilt II, İstanbul, Milli Eğitim Basım Evi, 1993, s. 150–151; Туранли, Фергад. Назв. праця. С. 217 (*Turanly, Ferhad. Ibidem, p. 217*).

¹⁶ Nureddin – a blood inheritor, who is the Head in small local courts, and also is the Head during of military campaigns small military cores (See: *Yücel Öztürk*, аун есер, s. 368–369).

¹⁷ Туранли, Фергад. Назв. праця. С. 216–217 (*Turanly, Ferhad. Ibidem, pp. 216–217*).

¹⁸ *Дашкевич Ярослав*. Протурецька орієнтація XVI–XVIII ст. в Україні // Україна – Туреччина: минуле, сучасність та майбутнє : Зб. наук. праць. Київ : Денеб, 2004. С. 61; Туранли, Фергад. Назв. праця. С. 251–253. (Dashkevych Yaroslav. *Pro-Turkish Orientation during 16th–18th CC. in Ukraine // Ukraine – Turkish:*

context an important is a piece of news from the famous Crimean-Tatar historian and chronicle-writer of the 18th century Gadji Abdulgaffar ibn Gusein Kyrymi, who in his book “The Stronghold of History” stated, that in 1054 AH (10 March 1644 – 27 February 1645) the Khan of the Crimean Yurt Islam Giray III had a visitor – a Cossack-strongman by name Bohdan Khmelnytsky. The purpose of the visit was to ask the Khan for a help and defense for that Cossack and his men. The said governor replied Bohdan Khmenllytsky’s request in the affirmative, and gave him the title “Hetman” (خطمانلىق پايىنى). Besides, the khan appointed one of the leading Crimean-Tatar commanders, Argyn Tugay – the Bey of the fortress of Perekop – to implement the decision made by the Khan¹⁹. That event was described in the said chronicle in this way: “...in 1054 the Barabash Cossacks returned their backs to the Muscovites, and their Cossack-Strongman by name Khmelnytsky arrived to Khan Islam Giray and asked the Khan for a refuge. The Cossack was given the hetmanic authorities, and, in this connection, a brave and khan’s ũ favourite Military Crimean-Tatar Bey of the Fortress of Azov – Argyn Tugay, who jointly with that one in the summer and winter made military campaigns to the countries of kaffirs. A set of non-stop military campaigns during two years brought so much trophies, prisoners, animals and other riches, that the all population of that country became very rich, while Muscovy was ruined to the ground; Tugay’s heroism was told about by common people in narratives and an ode, and national songs –Tuerkues– were sung in different languages. So, Khan Islam Giray was recognised for his personal humanity and as the governor, who defends his preople and helps the ones, that need help... / ... 1054 senesinde Berabâş kazağı Moskovlu’dan yüz döndürüb Mineliske nâm bahadır kazar İslâm Giray Han’a gelüp iltica` itdi ve ana hatmanlık payesini virüp ol vakitde Or beğı olan guzat-ı Tatarın serfirazı olan bahadırın Kırım ümerâsının mümtazı olan Argın Tugay Beğ’e teslim idüp anın refakatiyle yaz ve kışda ârâm itmezsin diyar-ı küffarda akınlar etdiler. Birkaç sene münfekk olmazsın ol kadar ganâim ve esâri ve mevâşi sebî iğtinam itmişlerdi ki, ahali vilayet-ı ser-â-pâ ağınyadan oldular ve diyar-ı Moskov hemen harabe yüz tutdu. Tuğay Beğ’in gazevâtın hakkında menakıb ve destanlar ve her lisanda türküler söylenir oldu...”²⁰. Hence, the data we have obtained show, that the above said historical event resulted in the implementation within a few years of a set of victorious joint military campaigns against “the kaffirs countries” (ديار

the past, present and future: Collection of acad. works. Kyiv : Deneb, 2004. p. 61; Turanly Ferhad. Ibidem, pp. 251–253.)

¹⁹عُمدت التواريخ، مؤلفی، قریمی الحاج عبد الغفار، نجیب عصم بک طرفندن برمدخل و علاوه لرله نشر اولونمشدر، (تورک تاریخ انجمنی مجموعسی) نکه علاوه سی، استانبول مطبعه عامره، ۱۳۴۴، ص. ۱۲۴-۱۲۵، ۲۰۷.

²⁰ Derya Derin, Abdülğaffar Kırımî’nin Umdet’ül-Ahbar’ına (Umdet’üt-Tevarih) Göre Kırım Tarihi, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara Üniversitesi, 2003, s. 372, 547 s.

(كفاره), that is against Muscovy and the Polish and Lithuanian Commonwealth²¹. The fact we have found proves, that between Bohdan Khmelnytsky and Islam Giray III in the said period there were political contacts, which accounted for the arise in the 1648 of a military and political union between the Cossack-Hetmanic Ukraine and the Crimean Khanate.

Yuriy Kochubey, a Ukrainian orientalist, supposes, that there are quite a lot of stereotypes in the Ukrainian literature in regard of the relations between the Cossack-Hetmanic Ukraine, the Crimean Yurt and the Sublime Porte. This scholar focuses his attention on the point, that it is manuscripts (hand-written documents), particularly chronicles, that are objective sources of authentic information about historical events. In this context it is important to use a corresponding methodology for studying the respective written sources, while observing the following criteria of the scientific approach: adequate perception and understanding of the key notions, we have provided after studying our sources of the Crimean-Tatar and Turkish-Ottoman literary texts, relating our academic problem having been formulated above, particularly in respect of the history of Ukraine in terms of its Cossack period; proper saving of the wholeness and correctness of transferring the contents of original texts of respective hand-written documents, avoidance of the mistakes having been made beforehand. It should be noted, that the method of studying such literary texts has its own specifics: besides attributing such manuscripts, there must be provided their lexical, grammatical and historical interpretation²².

We consider, that it is important for making Turkic studies the principle, formulated by the above said scholar, that the Ukrainian Historiography "... should be faced to the Orient, get down to the sources available [in the Turkish-Ottoman] archives, so as to provide reflecting of the objective and authentic images of the respective historical process to have had place in the Ukrainian lands, as well as in the Crimean-Tatar Ulus"²³.

²¹ *Derya Derin*, аум eser, s. 55–57; *Стороженко І. С.* Тугай-бей – побратим Богдана. Додаток. О. Акчокраклі. Татарська поема Джан-Мухамеда // Козацтво. № 1. Дніпропетровськ : Дніпропетровський державний університет, 1993. С. 3–18 (*Storozhenko I. S. Tugay-Bey – Bohdan's sworn brother. Supplement. O. Akchokrakli. The Tatar poem by Djan-Nuhamed // Cossackdom. # 1. Dnipropetrovsk : Dnipropetrovsk State University. 1993, pp. 3–18*).

²² Туранли, Фергад. Назв. праця. С. 30–49. – (*Turanly, Ferhad. Ibidem, pp. 30–49*).

²³ BOA, Kırım Hanlarına Nâme-i Hümayûn, 2 Nuamaralı Name Defteri, (Hicrî : 1143–1190 / Milâdî : 1730–1777), T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, Yayın Nu : 123, Yayına hazırlayanlar: Dr. Murat Cebecioğlu, Sinan Satar, Dursun Küçükbaltaçioğlu, Vahdetin Atik, Seher Dilber, Numan Yekeler, Resul Köse, Kemal Kurulkan, Dr. Raşit Gündoğdu, İstanbul, 2013, 288 s.

Conclusion

One of the most significant written sources for studying the history of the Crimean Khanate is “The Yarlyks and Hattas (identified texts and official documents) relating to the Crimean Yurt and the Other Party” by Gusein Feinzhanoglu. It should be noted, rising of the Crimean Khanate as an independent state was a very long-lasting process. To study more deeply and more objectively the problems associated with the History of the Crimean Yurt and its relations with the Cossack-Hetmanic Ukraine, there must be taken in consideration all the data, available in Turkish-Ottoman and Crimean-Tatar written documents and in Historiography, which contain quite a lot of very interesting data, that is significant for the objective highlighting of the historical events having taken place in Eastern Europe during the respective time period. There is also of importance the information and actual facts of the existence of political contacts between Bohdan Khmelnytsky and Islam Giray III in 1054 AH. A necessary precondition for attaining the said aim is application of a proper methodology for studying respective informing written sources.

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