

# The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania

INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY ON THE  
EUROPEAN PERIPHERY (15TH-18TH CENTURY)  
A STUDY OF PEACE TREATIES FOLLOWED BY  
ANNOTATED DOCUMENTS



BY

DARIUSZ KOŁODZIEJCZYK

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BRILL

## The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania

# The Ottoman Empire and its Heritage

Politics, Society and Economy

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VOLUME 47

# The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania

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*Cover illustration: Daniel Schultz, Portrait of Dedesh Agha, a Crimean envoy to Poland, along with his retinue. Oil on canvas. 1664 (inv. no. GE-8540). Reproduced by courtesy of The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia. Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Vladimir Terebenin, Leonard Kheifets, Yuri Molodkovets. The portrait is further discussed on p. 238 of the present book.*

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## INTRODUCTION

Merely a decade ago, my older son, then in elementary school, came to me with his homework and asked to check whether his answers were correct. One fill in the blank question asked for three neighboring states with whom Poland had led wars in the 17th century. His answer was Russia, Turkey, i.e., the Ottoman Empire, and the Tatars, i.e., the Crimean Khanate. It occurred to me that perhaps his textbook mentioned Sweden rather than the Crimean Khanate, and I proved right. Nevertheless, my son was not mistaken. In 1592, when Muscovian diplomats learned about a projected alliance between Stockholm and Baghchasaray, they tried to persuade the khan that the king of Sweden was “poor and hungry,” unworthy of the khan’s friendship.<sup>1</sup> The tsar had many reasons to fear the Tatars more than the Swedes as only a year earlier the Crimean formidable cavalry had pillaged the suburbs of Moscow. In the Muscovian diplomatic ceremonial of that time, the khan still ranked higher than the king of Sweden.

Certainly, the subsequent military triumphs of Gustavus Adolphus had changed the balance of power in Eastern Europe, so I assured myself that my son heard of Sweden as well. Yet, in his exercise book there were only three blanks to be filled. He asked whether he should erase the Tatars and enter Sweden instead but I resolved that it would be a lesson of conformism and pupils should be rather praised than punished for knowing more than is written in their textbooks. After all, his answer was correct.

On the following day, it turned out that it was *not*, at least for his history teacher, who did not acknowledge his third answer as correct. Until today, I bear the burden of losing my son’s confidence at an early stage and exposing him to a bitter lesson of life. Nevertheless, I hope that this book will contribute to a change of the still common stereotypical view of the Crimean Tatars as semi-illiterate predators, deprived of any real culture, not to mention a state, a sophisticated chancery, and diplomats skilled in international relations.

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<sup>1</sup> Leonid Juzefovič, *Put’ posla. Russkij posol’skij obyčaj. Obixod. Ètiket. Ceremonial: konec XV-pervaja polovina XVII v.* (St. Petersburg, 2007), p. 247.

To be sure, the Crimean Khanate was an annoying neighbor. A detailed study of the material and demographic losses suffered by Poland-Lithuania in result of the Tatar raids committed in the years 1605–1633, by far not the uniquely violent period in the relations between the two states, disclosed that out of the 29 years covered by the study only 12 passed without any raids.<sup>2</sup> A field research conducted in 1948 in a number of Polish villages near Rzeszów, a region once distant from the Commonwealth's southeastern border and admittedly not the one most exposed to Tatar raids, revealed a traumatic memory of the seventeenth-century Tatar raids that almost overshadowed more recent experiences of WW1 and WW2. Anybody familiar with the Roman Catholic Church's attitude towards the inviolability of marriage, expressed even today, will be persuaded how demographically serious were the Tatar raids on learning that in 1624 a Polish bishop of Przemyśl allowed those members of his flock, whose husbands or wives had been kidnapped by the Tatars and apparently still alive as slaves in the Crimea, to remarry. A calculation, once proposed by Halil Inalcık on the basis of Ottoman tax registers and confirmed by the present author on the evidence of Russian and Polish sources, suggests that the number of Slavic slaves transported across the Black Sea between 1500 and 1700 might have approached two million and surpassed the number of Black slaves transported in the same period across the Atlantic.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> According to the author, these were the years 1606, 1608–1611, 1614, 1619, 1625, 1627–1628, and 1630–1631; admittedly, a large portion of the raids committed in the above period were effected by the Nogay and Tatar inhabitants of Budjak who often disobeyed the khan's authority; see Maurycy Horn, *Skutki ekonomiczne najazdów tatarskich z lat 1605–1633 na Ruś Czerwoną* (Wrocław – Warsaw – Cracow, 1964), p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, "Slave hunting and slave redemption as a business enterprise: the northern Black Sea region in the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries," *Oriente Moderno* XXV n.s. (LXXXVI), 1 (2006) = *The Ottomans and Trade*. Edited by E. Boyar and K. Fleet (Rome, 2006): 149–159. The average number of Polish-Lithuanian and Muscovian subjects kidnapped each year by the Tatars might have approached 10,000. If the proposed average number seems inflated, one must keep in mind that in the years of full-scale military campaigns the actual numbers were much larger. A recent detailed study by Andrzej Gliwa shows that in 1648, solely in the region of Przemyśl (Pol. *ziemia przemyska*) the demographic losses exceeded 10,000. Out of 931 villages existing in that region, 426 were raided (of which 34 were entirely destroyed) by the Tatar-Cossack coalition; see *idem*, "Najazd tatarsko-kozacki na Ruś Czerwoną w 1648 r. Straty materialne i demograficzne na terenie ziemi przemyskiej," *Rocznik Przemyski* 45 (2009), no. 1, pp. 3–120, esp. pp. 52, 60, 120, and the appended map.

Michael Khodarkovsky refers to “the towns not built and fields not plowed” while asking to what extent the Tatar raids were responsible for Russia’s weak urbanization in comparison to Western Europe.<sup>4</sup> Prevented by the Crimean Tatar military strength from reaching the warmer Black Sea, Russia could still find compensation in less hospitable Siberia and one might argue that, if not for the Crimean Khanate, the Russian drive towards the Pacific Ocean would have occurred at a slower pace, if it had occurred at all. No similar compensation offered itself to Poland-Lithuania, and it is its southern provinces, inhabited mostly by Ruthenians (later called Ukrainians) and constituting the present-day Ukraine, which suffered the most from the Tatar raids.

No wonder that the Tatars were rarely liked by their northern neighbors. In 1618, a Polish publicist, Szymon Starowolski (himself of Ruthenian origin), compared the Tatars to locusts and lice and proposed their ejection from the Crimea.<sup>5</sup> More projects followed in the following decades and in the 1640s the governments in Warsaw and Moscow seriously contemplated a joint conquest of the Khanate’s lands. Nevertheless, it soon proved, like many times earlier and afterwards, that mutual controversies were stronger than the declared Christian solidarity and in 1654 the tsar turned against Poland-Lithuania, while the khan resolved to support the latter. The Crimean loyalty, demonstrated during the so-called “long alliance” (1654–1666), helped the Commonwealth to survive and earned the Tatars long-lasting gratitude among Polish historians,<sup>6</sup> even though the alliance was followed by a series of new hostilities, when the khans stood at the Porte’s side in the Polish-Ottoman wars of the late 17th century.

The Tatars did not fare well in the opinion of the European Enlightenment. Emeric de Vattel, the famous Swiss lawyer who had entered the service of Augustus III, the king of Poland and the elector of Saxony, published in 1758 in London his monumental *Law of Nations*, where he maintained that: “those peoples, such as [...] certain modern Tartars who, though dwelling in fertile countries, disdain the cultivation

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<sup>4</sup> Michael Khodarkovsky, *Russia’s Steppe Frontier. The Making of a Colonial Empire, 1500–1800* (Bloomington, 2002), pp. 223–224.

<sup>5</sup> Szymon Starowolski, “Pobudka abo rada na zniesienie Tatarów perekopskich,” in: *idem, Wybór z pism*. Edited by I. Lewandowski (Wrocław, 1991), p. 168.

<sup>6</sup> For the term “long alliance,” coined by Zbigniew Wójcik, see *idem*, “Some problems of Polish-Tatar relations in the seventeenth century. The financial aspects of the Polish-Tatar alliance in the years 1654–1666,” *Acta Poloniae Historica* 13 (1966): 87–102, esp. p. 89.

of the soil and prefer to live by plunder, fail in their duty to themselves, injure their neighbors, and deserve to be exterminated like wild beasts of prey (*méritent d'être exterminés, comme des bêtes féroces et nuisibles*).<sup>7</sup> When the Crimean Khanate was annexed by Russia in 1783, few Western intellectuals would disagree with Catherine II, who praised this move as the triumph of civilization.

Paradoxically, Poland-Lithuania did not live much longer and was dismembered between St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Vienna in the three successive partitions of 1772, 1793, and 1795. To much regret, historians rarely trace the careers of such brilliant Russian generals and diplomats as Aleksandr Suvorov and Osip Igelström in the context of their deeds in *both* war theatres: the Crimean-Ottoman and the Polish ones.

By the late 19th century, the cult of real politics, assisted by social Darwinism, helped to promote the image of the Crimean Khanate as well as the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as unruly states and anarchic societies, who in fact deserved their fate of being swallowed by more effective neighbors. Typical for that period is the classical monograph by Vasilij Smirnov entitled "The Crimean Khanate under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Porte."<sup>8</sup> By stressing the "Ottoman suzerainty," Smirnov advertently pointed to the fact that the Khanate had never been really independent and the Tatars, immature for a home rule, in fact benefited by escaping the despotic and corrupt yoke of the sultan and entering the benign and civilized rule of the tsar. Had Edward Said studied Russian history, he would have hardly found a better example of an orientalist scholar than Smirnov.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Emeric de Vattel, *Le droit des gens ou principes de la loi naturelle, appliqués à la conduite et aux affaires des nations et des souverains* (London, 1758), vol. I, p. 78 [reprinted along with the English translation by Charles Fenwick in the three-volume edition: *The Classics of International Law*. Edited by J. Brown Scott (Washington, 1916); for the English translation of this fragment, see vol. 3, p. 38]; the above passage, which further goes on justifying the extermination of the North American Indians (though not those from Peru and Mexico who cultivated the soil), is also quoted in: Anthony Pagden, *Lords of all the World. Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500–c. 1800* (New Haven and London, 1995), pp. 78–79.

<sup>8</sup> Vasilij Smirnov, *Krymskoe xanstvo pod verxovenstvom Otomanskoj porty do načala XVIII veka* (St. Petersburg, 1887); followed by the second part entitled *Krymskoe xanstvo pod verxovenstvom Otomanskoj porty v XVIII v. do prisoedinenija ego k Rossii*, in: *Zapiski Odesskago Obščestva istorii i drevnostej*, vol. 15 (Odessa, 1889): 152–403; both volumes were recently republished in 2005.

<sup>9</sup> For a proposal to look at the Russian imperial experience through Said's lenses, cf. Ewa Thompson, *Imperial knowledge: Russian literature and colonialism* (Westport, Connecticut, 2000).

The “colonial” perspective, typically promoted by victorious conquerors, also gained popularity among numerous members of “native” intelligentsias, such as the Crimean Tatar Ismail Bey Gaspiralı or his Polish contemporary Aleksander Świętochowski, who accepted the Spencerian motto of the “survival of the fittest.” Critical towards the past of their respective societies, they aimed to modernize them through education and were ready to adopt models from the West, and even—if necessary—from Russia.

WWI, culminating in a series of revolutions and state implosions, put in question the Enlightened European rationalism, so much praised by Max Weber shortly before the war’s outbreak. It also gave a chance to rebuild ancient states, seemingly condemned to oblivion. The territory of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had turned by then into a breeding ground of conflicting modern nationalisms, which could all claim their roots in medieval and early modern past. The foundation (or restoration) of the now separate (and mutually conflicted) republics of Poland and Lithuania in 1918 proved more durable, but short-lived independence was also declared by Belarusians and Ukrainians, the descendants of ancient Ruthenians, transformed by then into modern nations by their respective intelligentsias. Also the Crimean Tatars had their moment of spotlight and in 1917 summoned a local parliament under the traditional medieval name: *Kurultay*. The extension of suffrage to Crimean Tatar women was not only unprecedented in the Muslim world, but preceded by almost three years the Nineteenth Amendment to the US Constitution and by almost thirty years a similar reform in France.<sup>10</sup>

Although the Tatars failed to gain independence, historical studies on the Tatar past blossomed in the first decade of the Soviet Union. They were conducted in a relatively liberal atmosphere by Russian, Ukrainian, and Tatar scholars. Yet, few of these scholars were to survive the Stalinist hecatomb that followed. Let us invoke just a few academics, whose studies—often suddenly interrupted—are cited throughout the present volume: Mixail Xudjakov, a historian of the Kazan Khanate, arrested on 9 September 1936 and executed on 19 December of the same year as a “Trotskyist;”<sup>11</sup> Aleksandr Samojlovič, a prominent

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Brian Glyn Williams, *The Crimean Tatars: the diaspora experience and the forging of a nation* (Leiden, 2001), p. 340.

<sup>11</sup> See the biographic note by Mirkasym Usmanov in: Mixail Xudjakov, *Očerki po istorii Kazanskogo xanstva* (Moscow, 1991 [first published in 1923]), pp. 5–9.

turkologist and the director of the Oriental Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, arrested on 3 October 1937 and executed on 13 February 1938 as a “Japanese spy;”<sup>12</sup> Ahatanhel Kryms’kyj, a leading Ukrainian turkologist, arrested in July 1941, who perished in prison in Kazakhstan in January 1942. The last days of Vladimir Syroečkovskij, a brilliant Russian historian, whose insights into the structure of the Crimean society are still surprisingly fresh, are even less known. Fedir Petrun’, a Ukrainian scholar who painstakingly studied the historical geography of the Black Sea steppe, was luckier and survived the repressions, but discontinued his academic activity. His research remained almost completely forgotten until it was republished in 1993, in the Ukrainian journal *Sxidnyj svit* that was also restored to life after sixty years of silence.

Then followed WW2 with its demographic and material losses that particularly affected Eastern Europe. If it were not enough, in 1944 the whole Crimean Tatar nation was collectively accused of collaboration with the Nazis and deported to Central Asia by the Soviet authorities.

In the following fifty years, few publications appeared in the Soviet Union that would seriously treat the Crimean Khanate, and even those few ones were embellished with obligatory Marxist-Leninist jargon mixed with old imperial claims, adopted by then by the officially revived Russian nationalism. To give a few examples of small “tricks” detectable even in the most valuable monographs published in that period: when Boris Grekov and Aleksandr Jakubovskij published their monograph on the Golden Horde, they provided it with the title that unmistakably invokes the “orientalist” discourse: “The Golden Horde and its **Downfall**” (cf. the classical topos of *decline* or *fall* in the “orientalist” historiography of the Ottoman Empire).<sup>13</sup> In turn, the title of the painstaking study by Aleksej Novosel’skij reads: “The **Struggle** of the Muscovian state with the Tatars in the first half of the 17th century,” as if only focusing on the *struggle* excused the author’s interest

<sup>12</sup> On the arrest and execution of Samojlovič, see Fedor Ašnin, Vladimir Alpatov, Dmitrij Nasilov, *Repressirovannaja tjurkologija* (Moscow, 2002), pp. 7–20; the fates of numerous turkologists, executed in the 1930s, are also described in a recent book by Ahmet Buran, *Kurşunlanan türkoloji* (Ankara, 2010) [first published in 2007].

<sup>13</sup> Boris Grekov and Aleksandr Jakubovskij, *Zolotaja Orda i eë padenie* (Moscow – Leningrad, 1950) [a revised and enlarged version of the first edition that had appeared in 1937].

in the Muscovian-Crimean relations.<sup>14</sup> As late as in 1987, Gennadij Sanin flavored his monograph on the mid-seventeenth-century relations between Moscow and Baghchasaray with a mixture of biased judgments on the primitive and parasitic character of the Crimean economy, strengthened by a quotation from Friedrich Engels on Russia's "progressive" role in the Orient.<sup>15</sup> To be sure, all the above monographs are still useful today, although they must be read with a grain of salt. A much worse image was offered by Soviet encyclopedic and popular books, which refuted the Tatars' claims to legitimate statehood and "reduced the Crimean Khanate to a predatory nest acting under the wings of the Turkish emperor."<sup>16</sup>

Against the above background, it comes as a surprise that in the same period a leading Tatar scholar, Mirkasym Usmanov, managed to publish a monograph that not only met the highest scholarly standards but was entirely devoid of usual dismissing comments on the Tatar past. It certainly helped that Usmanov published his book in Kazan and focused on a relatively "safe" and less politicized topic, namely diplomatics and chancery. Besides, he consciously preferred the term *ulus Džuči* to the more widely known "Golden Horde," not only as more scholarly correct but also in the hope to avoid negative connotations that the term "Golden Horde" usually evoked among censors.<sup>17</sup>

After the fall of the Soviet Union, official barriers to study the Tatar and Turkic past largely disappeared and monographs treating its various aspects mushroomed in the recent two decades in the Russian Federation. Anna Xoroškevič and Aleksandr Vinogradov reminded that the Russian-Crimean relations had not always been hostile,<sup>18</sup> while Il'ja Zajcev and Vadim Trepavlov restored the memory of the Khanate of Astrakhan and the Nogay Horde.<sup>19</sup> While all the above studies were

<sup>14</sup> Aleksej Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba Moskovskogo gosudarstva s Tatarami v pervoj polovine XVII veka* (Moscow – Leningrad, 1948).

<sup>15</sup> Gennadij Sanin, *Otnošenija Rossii i Ukrainy s Krymskim xanstvom v seredine XVII veka* (Moscow, 1987), pp. 15–16 and 234–236.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Williams, *The Crimean Tatars*, p. 41.

<sup>17</sup> Oral communication to the author in Kazan in April 2008; Usmanov's monograph: *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.* (Kazan, 1979), will be repeatedly invoked in the present study.

<sup>18</sup> Anna Xoroškevič, *Rus'i Krym. Ot sojuza k protivostojaniju. Konec XV—načalo XVI vv.* (Moscow, 2001); Aleksandr Vinogradov, *Russko-krymskie otnošenija: 50-e—vtoraja polovina 70-x godov XVI veka* (Moscow, 2007), 2 vols.

<sup>19</sup> Il'ja Zajcev, *Astraxanskoe xanstvo* (Moscow, 2004); Vadim Trepavlov, *Istorija Nogajskoj Ordy* (Moscow, 2001).



written and published in Moscow, also Kazan reclaimed its position as a major international center of Tatar studies.<sup>20</sup>

Tatar studies also revived in the Ukraine, where many scholars became affected by the powerful individuality of Omeljan Pritsak, who had always appreciated the input of Turkic elements in the making of the Ukrainian culture. A very interesting book has been recently published (in Russian) in the Crimea: its Ukrainian author, Oleksa Hajvoronskyj, infatuated with the history of the Crimean Khanate, aims to make it a common heritage of the peninsula's contemporary inhabitants with no regard to their nationality: be they Russians, Ukrainians, or Tatars.<sup>21</sup> The latter, whose large part has returned to the Crimea despite official bans and economic strains, also vividly participate in discussing their homeland's past, although this activity has so far resulted in multiple historical websites rather than fully researched scholarly monographs. Before one makes any judgment, one must keep in mind that many members of the contemporary Crimean Tatar intelligentsia spent their youth in tents illegally erected by their parents on the confiscated grounds of their grandparents that no longer belonged to them, and at times these tents were set on fire by "unknown individuals." How many an Ivy League college student would have written a decent Ph.D. if he/she were to live in a tent on the Harvard Yard, temporarily raided by hooligans and secret police?

Outside the Soviet Union, Tatar studies were continued in Turkey, especially by historians of Tatar origin, to mention only Akdes Nimet Kurat, Halil Inalcık, and—from a younger generation—Hakan Kırımlı. Nevertheless, a suspicious attitude towards any pan-Turkic sympathies, demonstrated by the Turkish authorities especially after 1944, set visible limits to the development of this study area until the 1990s.

In Central-Eastern Europe, Turkic and Tatar studies traditionally flourished in Hungary and Poland, where ideological restraints were less visible than in other communist countries. The research by István Vásáry and Mária Ivanics seriously contributed to our knowledge of

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<sup>20</sup> Cf. an interesting volume published in result of the international conference held in Kazan: *Istočnikovedenie istorii Ulusa Džučü (Zolotoj Ordı). Ot Kalki do Astraxani 1223–1556*. Edited by M. Usmanov (Kazan, 2002).

<sup>21</sup> Oleksa Hajvoronskyj, *Poveliteli dvux materikov*, vol. 1: *Krymskie xany XV–XVI stoletij i bor'ba za nasledstvo Velikoj Ordı* (Kiev-Baghchasaray, 2007); vol. 2: *Krymskie xany pervoj poloviny XVII stoletija v bor'be za samostojatel'nost' i edinovlastie* (Kiev – Baghchasaray, 2009).

the Tatar, and especially Crimean Tatar chancery. The Polish input into the Crimean Tatar studies will be treated below. Here, it is worth mentioning that before WW2 an émigré Crimean Tatar historian, Abdullah Zihni Soysal, lived and worked in Warsaw.<sup>22</sup>

In the Western academia, studying the Tatar past was hardly a fashionable topic, but at least scholars were not constrained by ideological or administrative barriers. During the cold war, the fact that Tatar studies remained a taboo in the Soviet Union could even make their funding in the West more likely. For instance, when in 1978 Alan Fisher published a book that was to become for years the standard English language narrative of the Crimean Tatar past, it appeared in the Hoover Institution's series: *Studies of Nationalities in the USSR*.<sup>23</sup> Largely due to one individual, an emigrant from Russia Alexandre Bennigsen, also Paris became a leading center for studying Islamic peoples of the Soviet Union. Bennigsen gathered an excellent team of scholars able to study Ottoman, Crimean, as well as Russian sources and initiated the edition of documents from the Topkapı Palace Archives regarding the Crimean Khanate. He introduced it with a touching and perhaps still up-to-date statement: *Nul état n'a pas été autant décrié, honni et calomnié que le khanat tatar de Crimée, le dernier survivant du grand Empire mongol, le plus occidental des héritiers de la Horde d'Or*.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> See Abdullah Zihni Soysal, "Przyczynek do historii narodów Kaukazu, Nadczarnomorza, Krymu, Moskwy i Polski," *Wschód-Orient. Kwartalnik poświęcony sprawom wschodu* 5 (1934), no. 2–4, pp. 68–98; *idem*, *Z dziejów Krymu. Polityka-kultura-emigracja* (Warsaw, 1938); *idem*, *Jarłyki krymskie z czasów Jana Kazimierza* (Warsaw, 1939); the latter Polish language edition of the Crimean documents sent to Poland-Lithuania in the years 1648–1668 was nevertheless criticized for too many mistakes; see Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, "Dokumenty tatarskie i tureckie w zbiorach polskich," *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* (1954), no. 2 (10): 141–148, esp. p. 147; cf. also the critical review by Bohdan Baranowski in *Przegląd Historyczny* 37 (1948): 458–460.

<sup>23</sup> Alan Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* (Stanford, 1978).

<sup>24</sup> *Le Khanat de Crimée dans les Archives du Musée du Palais de Topkapı*, présenté par A. Bennigsen, P. N. Boratav, D. Desai et Ch. Lemerrier-Quelquejey (Paris-The Hague, 1978), p. 1. This valuable edition should be used along with two meticulous reviews by Victor Ostapchuk that enrich, comment, and sometimes correct its contents: see *idem*, "The Publication of Documents on the Crimean Khanate in the Topkapı Sarayı: New Sources for the History of the Black Sea Basin," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 6 (1982): 500–528, and *idem*, "The Publication of Documents on the Crimean Khanate in the Topkapı Sarayı: The Documentary Legacy of Crimean-Ottoman Relations," *Turcica. Revue d'études turques* 19 (1987): 247–276.

Yet another Eastern European refugee, Josef Matuz, who had migrated to Germany from Hungary, made a lasting contribution to the studying of the Crimean chancery. Still another, Omeljan Pritsak, had promoted a number of students in North America before he returned to his native Ukraine in the 1990s. It is also within the US academia where a pathbreaking article was published in 1967 by Edward Keenan, who not only rejected the commonly held Euro- and Slavocentric views, regarding Tatars and other Turkic nomads as “Asiatic barbarians,” but praised the pragmatism and tolerance, characteristic for the “steppe diplomacy.”<sup>25</sup>

In the Polish modern national historiography, developed in the 19th century, the Crimean Tatars certainly figured as former invaders, but also at times as allies against Russia. Having in mind the Russian domination of Poland for the whole of the 19th and most of the 20th century, no wonder that the Crimean Khanate was typically treated more favorably by Polish historians than by their Russian colleagues. In 1935, Ludwik Kolankowski concluded that the political benefits for Poland-Lithuania resulting from the alliance with the Khanate “had prevailed over the irritating aspects of everyday neighborhood.”<sup>26</sup> In 1959, Zbigniew Wójcik labeled the Crimean Khanate as “the trusted ally in the struggle against Muscovy”—a bold compliment indeed if we remember that his book was published in communist Poland.<sup>27</sup> Admittedly, such a pro-Tatar attitude can be justly criticized as equally biased as the anti-Tatar one, since the Tatars were praised not for their own virtues but merely as a useful instrument against Moscow.

Another flaw of the nineteenth-, and even twentieth-century Polish historiography was the treatment of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as merely a part of Poland and the resulting disregard of the former’s separate stateship tradition. For instance, in 1881 a prominent Polish historian Kazimierz Pułaski published a book entitled “the relations of Poland with the Tatars,” even though most documents used in his

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<sup>25</sup> Edward Keenan, “Muscovy and Kazan: Some Introductory Remarks on the Patterns of Steppe Diplomacy,” *Slavic Review. American Quarterly of Soviet and East European Studies* 26 (1967): 548–558.

<sup>26</sup> *Sprawa chanatu Girejów [...] miała w sobie tak ważkie i cenne dla Polski-Litwy momenty i walory, że górowały one nad drażniącym codziennym sąsiedzkim w tych stronach pożyciem*; see Ludwik Kolankowski, “Problem Krymu w dziejach jagiellońskich,” *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 49 (1935): 279–300, esp. p. 287.

<sup>27</sup> Zbigniew Wójcik, *Traktat andruszowski 1667 roku i jego geneza* (Warsaw, 1959), p. 63.

study originated from the Lithuanian chancery and were originally composed in Ruthenian in Cyrillic script.<sup>28</sup> Given the Polonization of Lithuanian elites by Pułaski's times, best illustrated by the fact that the Polish national epic *Pan Tadeusz*, published in 1834 by Adam Mickiewicz, opened with the author's invocation "O Lithuania, my fatherland," pronounced in Polish, this appropriation of the Lithuanian tradition into the Polish one was hardly surprising and not unique in the era of nationalisms. In due time, it was reciprocated by Lithuanian, Belarusian, and Ukrainian national historiographies who all claimed the heritage of the Grand Duchy and in turn tended to ignore the Polish influence on the decision making processes in Vilnius. For instance, even today, the uneasy relations between Jogaila (i.e., the Polish king Vladislaus Jagiełło) and his cousin, the Lithuanian grand duke Vytautas, are often viewed differently by Polish and Lithuanian historians. The former tend to stress Jogaila's more "mature" character and dismiss Vytautas' policy as "adventurous" and "separatist," while the latter are eager to disregard Jogaila's role as Vytautas' suzerain. As we will see, this historiographic conflict dates back to the 15th century and is fairly reflected in the correspondence that circulated in the triangle between Qırq Yer, Vilnius, and Cracow.

Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, Polish historians have rarely described the conflicts with the Tatars in the frames of the "civilizational struggle" between Christianity vs. Islam or Europe vs. Asia, instead stressing the pragmatic attitude of the two sides. The term *antemurale Christianitatis* ("bulwark of Christianity"), popular in the Polish domestic and external propaganda since the Middle Ages, was reserved rather for the relations with the Ottoman Empire. Only the Polish pre-Huntingtonian, Feliks Koneczny, chose to see an anti-Catholic axis between Istanbul, Qırq Yer, and Moscow already in the 15th century and regarded Mengli Giray's policy as subject to the designs of the "Ottoman caliphate" (*sic*).<sup>29</sup> Koneczny's historiosophical theory that focused on the clash of civilizations, though appreciated by Arnold Toynbee, had yet—and perhaps luckily—a weak impact on future generations of Polish historians.

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<sup>28</sup> Kazimierz Pułaski (ed.), *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną od połowy XV wieku*, vol. 1: *Stosunki z Mendli-Girejem, chanem Tatarów perekopskich (1469–1515)*. Akta i listy (Cracow – Warsaw, 1881).

<sup>29</sup> Feliks Koneczny, "Sprawy z Mengli-Girejem 1473–1504," *Ateneum Wileńskie* 4 (1927): 138–189 and 287–348.

Apart from the studies by Kazimierz Pułaski, Feliks Koneczny, and Ludwik Kolankowski, devoted to the Polish-Lithuanian, or rather Lithuanian-Polish, political relations with the Crimean Khanate in the 15th and 16th centuries, one must mention a number of recent publications by two Ukrainian scholars, Borys Čerkas and Feliks Šabul'do. All the above studies are primarily based on the Lithuanian Register books that remain by far the most rich mine of information regarding this subject.

For the 17th century, we have at our disposal three valuable studies by Bohdan Baranowski that roughly cover the years 1624–1660.<sup>30</sup> Recently, these studies have been supplemented by a detailed monograph by Dariusz Skorupa that covers the years 1595–1623.<sup>31</sup> For the later part of the century, one should mention a number of publications by Zbigniew Wójcik as well as other scholars, either focused on Warsaw's relations with Baghcharay or invoking them as the factor influencing Warsaw's relations with other capitals, most notably Moscow and Istanbul.

Perhaps the most neglected is the history of the relations between Warsaw and Baghcharay in the 18th century. Notwithstanding a few articles devoted to separate subjects, the reader must still rely on the outdated monograph of the Polish-Ottoman relations by Władysław Konopczyński, where Baghcharay plays but a marginal role.<sup>32</sup>

The only book that chronologically covers the entire history of the Polish-Crimean relations is the popular monograph by Leszek Podhorodecki, published in 1987. Although it mostly follows the extant literature and relies on Alan Fisher's monograph in the description of the Tatar state and society, it provides a useful narrative of the long-term neighborhood that lasted almost four centuries.<sup>33</sup>

Regrettably, with the sole exception of Baranowski, none of the Polish historians quoted above had a command of Oriental languages that

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<sup>30</sup> Bohdan Baranowski, *Polska a Tatarszczyzna w latach 1624–1629* (Łódź, 1948); *idem*, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie w latach 1632–1648* (Łódź, 1949); *idem*, "Tatarszczyzna wobec wojny polsko-szwedzkiej w latach 1655–1660," in: *Polska w okresie drugiej wojny północnej 1655–1660*, vol. 1: *Rozprawy* (Warsaw, 1957): 453–489.

<sup>31</sup> Dariusz Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie 1595–1623* (Warsaw, 2004); although very valuable, the monograph is based solely on the archival material available in Poland; moreover, the author does not make use of Oriental sources; cf. my review from this book in *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 112 (2005), no. 4, pp. 137–144.

<sup>32</sup> Władysław Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja 1683–1792* (Warsaw, 1936).

<sup>33</sup> Leszek Podhorodecki, *Chanat krymski i jego stosunki z Polską w XV–XVIII w.* (Warsaw, 1987).

would enable them the use of the Crimean and Ottoman chronicles as well as primary sources. On the other hand, Polish turcologists rarely endeavored into purely historical topics although they largely contributed towards studying the Khanate's past by editing heavily annotated source editions and studying the Crimean Tatar language and historical toponymy.<sup>34</sup> Even Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, whose impressive knowledge of the Crimean past transpires from his numerous dispersed publications, usually limited himself to sharing it merely in footnotes or, at best, in short articles.

The above historiographical sketch does not pretend to list all relevant authors or exhaust the whole literature on the history of the Crimean Khanate, and especially its relations with Lithuania and Poland. Its major aim is rather to point out that sometimes the present author had to enter in polemics with his predecessors who wrote a century ago, and at times he had to establish facts on the basis of primary sources, although initially he considered such task as lying beyond the scope of the present study.

*Part I* of the book aims to provide the reader with a basic chronology, more detailed in cases when diplomatic negotiations and embassies resulted in formal instruments of peace. A *longue durée* approach, adopted in the present study, enables one to see the continuity and changes more clearly. When studied carefully, the *yarlıqs* from ca. 1462, 1507, and 1560, at first sight almost identical in form and contents, disclose as many similarities as differences, reflecting the evolution of chancery forms and the changing political equilibrium between the two partners. It is hoped that more detailed narratives will follow, whose authors will focus on aspects only touched upon, or entirely left beyond the present study.

*Part II* traces the evolution of chancery forms, the typology, composition and contents of instruments of peace, and the procedure of peacemaking. As the Lithuanian and Polish chancery practices and diplomatic procedures are better known than the Crimean ones, the

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<sup>34</sup> Among the most valuable publications one should mention: Ananiasz Zajączkowski (ed.), *La chronique des Steppes Kiptchak Tevârih-i Dešt-i Qipçaq du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Ms. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, B. 289). *Édition critique avec la traduction française du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Ms. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Turcs, S. 874) (Warsaw, 1966); Hadży Mehmed Senai, *Historia chana Islam Gereja III*. Edited by Z. Abrahamowicz with historical commentaries by O. Górka and Z. Wójcik (Warsaw, 1971); Henryk Jankowski, *A Historical-Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Russian Habitation Names of the Crimea* (Leiden, 2006).

author focuses especially on the latter. In order to shed more light on the khan's chancery, Crimean documents sent to other capitals, especially to Moscow, are often invoked for comparative reasons, along with extremely rich reports of Russian envoys, who described the ceremonial at the khan's court.

The largest part of the present volume consists of the instruments of peace, published in original languages along with English translations (apart from the documents in Latin and Italian that are published only in the original). Out of the seventy-one instruments, selected for publication, forty-six were issued by the Crimean side: three of them can be classified as donation *yarlıqs*, nine as "donation *yarlıqs cum şartnames*," six as *şartnames*, nineteen as '*ahdnames*, three as oath-*yarlıqs*, and six as "others." Most of these documents were issued by the khans, but four were issued by the qalga (1527, 1637, 1640, and 1667, the latter issued collectively by the qalga and other Crimean notables), one by the nureddin (1640), one by the khan's son and heir apparent who yet was not a qalga (1517), and two by the Crimean envoys sent to Poland (1541 and 1599). Moreover, eight formulas of the oaths, taken by the khans, the Crimean envoys sent to Poland-Lithuania, or the Crimean plenipotentiaries appointed to negotiate the peace, which have been recorded and preserved, are published as well. The number of Polish-Lithuanian instruments, whose texts are preserved, is much smaller: these are eleven royal instruments of peace, one of them addressed only to the qalga (1637). In addition, three formulas of the oaths, taken by the king, the Senate members, and the commissioners appointed to negotiate the peace, have been recorded and preserved. The author also decided to publish three ready formulas of the khans' instruments, prepared by the royal chancery in 1535, 1619, and 1622, although these formulas could not be regarded as instruments of peace unless they were accepted by the other side, rewritten in the Crimean chancery and corroborated by the khan (on the typology of documents, see Part II; cf. also the list of *Instruments exchanged between the Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania*, appended on pp. 516–518).

Only fifteen instruments are preserved in the original, all issued by the Crimean side and today held in Warsaw. In addition, the texts of the oaths, taken in 1667 reciprocally by the Crimean and Polish commissioners, were written down and authenticated by Grand Hetman Jan Sobieski. Today they are also preserved in the Polish archives, bearing Sobieski's handwritten signature, so they can be considered as

“the originals,” too. The facsimiles of the above mentioned seventeen instruments are enclosed at the end of the present volume.

Of the seventy-one texts preserved today in the original, copies, or translations, only twelve are written in Turkish: one in Khwarezmian Turkic and the remaining eleven in a mixture of Crimean Tatar and Ottoman Turkish, with the rising impact of the latter. One Crimean instrument is composed in Italian (1514), although it also contains seals (*nişans*) engraved in Arabic script. Twenty-three texts are extant in Ruthenian, thirty-one in Polish (including two Crimean documents corroborated with seals engraved in Arabic script), and four in Latin. The *şartname* of 1520, luckily preserved in the Khwarezmian Turkic original, is published along with its contemporary Ruthenian translation; the comparison between the two language versions facilitates one to reconstruct the original terminology of other Crimean instruments that are today preserved only in Ruthenian translations.

The above statistics demonstrate that most of the published instruments are preserved merely in Ruthenian or Polish copies or translations. As such, they have not evoked so far much interest among scholars specializing in Oriental chanceries. On the other hand, historians who have studied these translations without referring to analogous documents preserved in the Turkish originals, often have been unable to determine their function and reconstruct their proper composition and terminology. Although most of the instruments, published in the present volume, have already been published before (references to previous editions are provided in the headings of respective documents), these editions are dispersed, typically devoid of annotations, and quite often contain faults. It is for the first time when they are published together in a volume devoted to the diplomatic relations between the Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania. It is hoped that by this means scholars specializing in diplomatic history, Islamic chanceries, or simply Eastern Europe, will receive rich material, reflecting the diplomatic relations between two (originally three) early modern states situated on the edge of the Western Latinity, Eastern Slavonic Orthodoxy, Islamic Middle East, and the steppe nomad world extending between the Black Sea and northern China.

The very term “European Periphery,” used in the title of the present volume, is somewhat provocative. At the outset, it is worth stressing that there is nothing inherently positive in the adjective “European” as contrasted with “non-European” or “Asian.” As to the noun “Periphery,” long time ago scholars like Immanuel Wallerstein, and before him



Marian Małowist, demonstrated that no “center” could survive without a “periphery” and the latter not only depended but also influenced the former.

To be sure, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, extending to the lands of modern Belarus, Ukraine, and even western Russia, can be described as Eastern rather than Central European, notwithstanding the amusing fact that today no nation and no government in Europe wants to be located in “Eastern Europe.” The Crimean Tatars and Nogays, relative newcomers from Central Asia attached to Islam, even though settled in the old nest of Greek civilization and mixed with its ancient inhabitants, were still more “Eastern European,” if they were—or wanted to be—European at all. A telling proof of the two states’ peripheral status in regard to Europe is provided by the fact that the Crimean Tatar documents were usually drawn on Italian paper while the Polish gifts to the khans consisted mostly of English cloth. Nevertheless, if early modern Europe is sometimes identified with the radiation of Italian renaissance, all three East European states, Poland-Lithuania, the Crimean Khanate, and Muscovy, should be defined as fully European. The Polish royal court was one of the leading centers of renaissance art to the north from the Alps. Acquainted with the Italian art at the court of his older brother in Buda, in 1502 Sigismund—still as a prince—committed an Italian master from Florence, Francesco, with a renaissance reconstruction of the Wawel Castle in Cracow. Three years earlier, another Italian master, Aloisio Lamberti da Montagnana, was hired by the envoys of Ivan III with the task of rebuilding the Moscow Kremlin. Yet, on his way from Italy to Moscow, Aloisio was detained in the Crimea, where Mengli Giray put him in charge of embellishing his new residence in Saladjıq near Qırq Yer. Only in 1504 he was allowed to proceed to Moscow to become famous as Aleviso Nuovo (Rus. *Aleviz Novyj*), the coauthor of the renaissance reconstruction of the Kremlin.<sup>35</sup>

The early modern “European Periphery,” depicted in the present study, was tremendously rich if measured by cultural traditions, reli-

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<sup>35</sup> *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij Moskovskago gosudarstva s Krymskoju i Nogajskoju ordami i s Turciej*, vol. 1: c 1474 po 1505 god. Edited by G. Karpov, in: *Sbornik Imperatorskago Russkago Istoričeskago Obščestva*, vol. 41 (St. Petersburg, 1884), pp. 551–552; a portal designed by Aleviso, preserved today in the Palace of Baghcharay, was originally made for the palace named Devlet-saray in nearby Saladjıq; cf. Hajvoronskyj, *Poveliteli dvux materikov*, vol. 1, pp. 83 and 113, notes 149–150.

gions, and languages. It is there where one could find multilingual neighborhoods, Roman Catholic chapels illuminated with Byzantine frescos, wooden mosques remindful of parochial churches, and renaissance synagogues designed by Italian architects, who were simultaneously commissioned to execute royal tombstones.

Much of this world perished during the last “modern” and “rational” century of nationalisms, to be recently reappreciated in the new mosaic known as the European Union.



## A NOTE ON PLACE-NAMES, PROPER NAMES, AND FOREIGN TERMS

Most of the localities referred to in the present study are situated within the present borders of Ukraine, Moldova, Romania, Poland, Lithuania, Belarus, and Russia. In the early modern times, the Crimean Khanate was inhabited by the Tatars, Nogays, Circassians, Turks, Armenians, Greeks, Jews, Karaites, Italians, and of course Ruthenians, mostly slaves but also free immigrants, not to mention other ethnic groups. In Poland-Lithuania, the Poles, Lithuanians and Ruthenians (ancestors of modern Ukrainians and Belarusians, but also of modern Russians in areas extending further to the east) shared the common space with Germans, Jews, Armenians, and many others, including Muslim Tatars. All these peoples had their own names for their habitats, in their proper languages. Moreover, many of them used a number of languages simultaneously, for instance Latin at school but Polish at home, Polish at the law court but Ruthenian at home, Armenian at church but Kipchak Turkic at home, or—like Nikolaus Copernicus—Latin in scholarly publications, but German in private correspondence. For instance, the city of *L'viv*, situated today in the Ukraine, was known as *Lwów* to its Polish inhabitants, *L'vov* and later *L'vüv* (but still not *L'viv*) to the Ruthenians, *Lemberg* to the Germans, while the Latin term *Leopolis* continued to be used in official documents. If we add the Armenians and Jews, who also had legitimate rights to refer by their proper terms to the town in which they had been born and lived, the confusion will be complete. The question now arises: which of the above languages and forms should be promoted and used in a book written today in English?<sup>1</sup>

In the few cases when a town or a river has a standard English equivalent, the author may feel relieved from making a choice, although the objectivity of “standardized forms in English” might be put in question. As these forms often origin from the 19th century, no

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<sup>1</sup> Many of the thoughts expressed in the present essay originated during my endless discussions with Victor Ostapchuk. I would like to thank Victor for them; even if we did not always agree, they stimulated me to clarify my arguments, and sometimes reconsider my points.

wonder that most of the terms regarding Eastern and Central-Eastern Europe tend to be either Russian or German, since the only states to be found in the area on nineteenth-century maps were Russia, Prussia, and Austro-Hungary. For this very reason, the editors of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute have recently endeavored to “Ukrainize” a number of standard English terms such as *Kiev*, *Odessa*, and *Dniester* and replace them with *Kyiv*, *Odesa*, and *Dnister*, although so far the effort has not been very successful. The Lithuanians have been more effective and the once common form *Vilna* has been already replaced by *Vilnius* in standard English dictionaries (needless to say, neither the former, nor the latter form, respectively Russian/Belarusian and Lithuanian, would satisfy former Polish or Jewish inhabitants of the town, who knew it as *Wilno* or *Vilne* respectively).

For the terms that have never had a standard English equivalent, a custom has prevailed for years in the American academia, according to which modern terms, reflecting the current borders and official dominating languages of contemporary nation states, should be preferred. At first sight the rule appears reasonable and protects a writer from accusations of political revisionism. Yet, should we really apply the modern Ukrainian term *Jevpatorija* for the early modern Crimean port that was known to its Tatar inhabitants as *Közlev*, or refer to *Königsberg*—the Prussian royal capital and the town of Immanuel Kant— as *Kaliningrad*? Even in less evident cases, when the name of a town has never been changed but only pronounced differently, a preference towards one and only one form might be unjustified. A Baltic port, known today as *Gdańsk*, was known under the same name to a seventeenth-century Polish noble, but its average German citizen then referred to it as *Danzig*, while in a neighboring Kashubian village it was probably known as *Gduńsk*. It also had as many as three alternative official Latin names: *Gedanium*, *Gedania*, and *Dantiscum*. Still more confusing is the case of a Tatar fort built on the Crimean isthmus, known as *Ferahkerman* to the Tatars, but as *Perekop* to their Slavic neighbors. The latter term was also used by the Tatars when they composed their correspondence in a Slavic language.

Having said all this, I nevertheless decided to honor modern terms as long as the ethnic composition of a given territory or town has not changed drastically since the period described. In some cases, it has brought awkward results: for instance, the names of Ruthenian localities, granted by Crimean khans to Lithuanian rulers, are rendered in

English translation in either Ukrainian, or Belarusian, or Russian form and orthography, depending on the current position of state borders, even though in the 16th century linguistic barriers between Ukrainian, Belarusian, and even Russian were less visible than today.

The one general exception from the above rule is the preservation of the integrity of historical terms, for instance in the names of treaties (hence the “Treaty of Karlowitz” and not the “Treaty of Sremski Karlovci,” and the “Treaty of Zborów” and not the “Treaty of Zboriv”). Also, whenever English equivalents existed, such as Cracow, Warsaw, Vilnius, Kiev, Dnieper, Dniester, Podolia, or Volhynia, they were used instead of contemporary place-names.

Personal names present a problem as well. For instance, in the instrument from 1513, issued by Sigismund I in Vilnius on behalf of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, we encounter the name of the Lithuanian chancellor, recorded in Cyrillic script in a standard Ruthenian form, along with the patronymic: *Mykolaj Mykolaevyč Radyvylovyča* (*Миколаи Миколаевич Радивиловича*). He was a Lithuanian Roman Catholic, who certainly spoke Ruthenian and Polish fluently; perhaps he also spoke Lithuanian, but this matter is disputable and cannot be proven due to the lack of written evidence. Today, the members of this aristocratic family are entirely Polonized and live in Poland under the family name *Radziwiłł*. In the Lithuanian historiography the family is known as *Radvila*. Which form should we use today in an English-language publication when referring to a member of this family who lived in the early 16th century: Ruthenian, Polish, or Lithuanian? Departing from the fact, that the protagonist was a Roman Catholic while in the given period the Ruthenian identity was strongly associated with the Greek confession, the present author excluded the Ruthenian option and chose from the remaining two the Polish one against the Lithuanian one, on the premise that the protagonist used the former rather than the latter form of his family name, at least in writing. Nevertheless, the choice remains disputable and it is always risky to attribute modern identities to early modern characters. In the same document from 1513, we find another Lithuanian dignitary recorded as *Kostentyn Ivanovyč Ostrozkyj* (*Костентин Ивановичь Устрозкий*). As he was an Orthodox and the family originated from ethnic Ruthenian lands of the Grand Duchy, it was resolved to record his name in the Ruthenian form. In consequence, in the English translation of this document, the name of *Mikołaj Mikołajewicz Radziwiłł*, recorded in the modern

Polish orthography, will be followed by the name of *Kostjantyn Ivanovyč Ostroz'kyj*, recorded in the modern Ukrainian orthography rendered in Latin transcription.

As it is impossible to satisfy all tastes, a reader upset with the forms chosen by the author should be assured that the choices do not reflect any revisionist schemes and do not intend to awake nationalistic demons or offend anybody's sensibility. Besides, in the era of post-modernism *any* form, even cherished by the tiniest minority, should be considered equally legitimate as the one preferred by a current or former majority.

Place-names and personal names written in languages using Latin script (e.g., Polish or Lithuanian) are rendered in their original orthography, while Cyrillic names (e.g., Ukrainian, Belarusian, or Russian) are transcribed according to the rules explained below (see *Principles of publication*). Recording Turkic personal names and place-names, especially encountered in the Crimea, causes a serious headache as these names have been recorded in various scripts (Arabic, Cyrillic, Latin) and pronounced differently in different times by different speakers. For instance, the Tatars from the southern Crimea inclined towards the Oghuz forms, while those from the north towards the Kipchak ones. In the present volume, a slight predilection has been given towards the former as such predilection was also detectable in the Crimean chancery, at least since the mid-17th century. Besides, some of the Oghuz forms have been already domesticated in English through the medium of Ottoman Turkish, like the dynasty name *Giray* (not *Gerey* or *Kerey*) or the historical name of the Tatar fort *Islamkerman* (not *Islamkermen*).

Modern Turkish names, e.g., the names of present-day Turkish authors, are rendered in the modern Turkish alphabet, which is based on the Latin one, but with some letters having different sound value (e.g., "c" for "dj") and some letters added. For the transcription of Tatar documents, recorded in Arabic script, and for rendering original Tatar terms (*italicized*) in the English text, a more "sophisticated" version was used, based on the modern Turkish alphabet but with a few additional letters for the sounds encountered in Tatar but lacking in standard modern Turkish (see *Principles of publication*). Finally, Tatar place-names and personal names appearing in the main text, footnotes, and English translations of the published documents are recorded in standard English letters with the addition of three signs: "ö," "ü," and unpalatalized "ı." I have chosen the latter option after

much hesitation, persuaded by the fact that: a) some names of prominent personages are already used in English so commonly that an alternative form might confuse the reader (e.g., *Tokhtamış* and not *Tohtamış* or *Toqtamış*); b) modern Turkish alphabet, being the most obvious alternative, lacks a few sounds encountered in Tatar (especially the velar “k” and “g”), while a fully scholarly transcription might be hardly digestible for the reader; on the other hand, by using the letter “q” and such standard English digraphs as “sh,” “ch,” “kh,” or “gh,” we can fairly render the pronunciation of Tatar names without the necessity of using diacritical marks.

Royal names are usually rendered in the English form, as has been customary so far. Hence, after their respective enthronements Jan Sobieski turns into John III, and Stanisław Poniatowski into Stanislaus Augustus. An exception has been made for the Muscovian rulers named Ivan, Vasilij, and Fedor, although perhaps it would be more justified to refer to them as John, Basil, and Theodor.

Finally, foreign terms are in general given in italics (e.g., *mirza* or *starosta*), with the exception of historical terms already adopted in English, such as hetman, hospodar, bey, agha, or khan. The present author decided that the titles of qalga and nureddin, appearing repeatedly in the text, also deserve to be adopted into standard English hence they are not italicized. It is hoped that his humble contribution to the language of Shakespeare and Joseph Conrad (*alias* Józef Korzeniowski) will survive the present publication.





PART ONE

A CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY



## CHAPTER ONE

### ON THE QUEST OF GENGHISID LEGACY: SHAPING EASTERN EUROPE (1240–1523)

#### *From Batu to Tokhtamish. The foundation and internal making of the Golden Horde*

In 1240, a large Mongol army led by Batu Khan captured Kiev, the political and spiritual capital of medieval Eastern Slavdom known as Ruthenia (Rus'). In the following year, Batu invaded Hungary, while the northern detachment of his army entered Poland. Henry the Pious, the duke of Silesia and Cracow who aspired to the Polish royal crown, tried to stop the invaders at the head of Polish and German knights, but perished in the battle of Legnica (Germ. Liegnitz).

The Mongol invasion of Hungary and Poland was ephemeral, but their presence further to the east proved more lasting. Historians will argue forever, whether by capturing Kiev the Mongols destroyed a flourishing economy and culture, thus affecting a further development of what is today Ukraine, or perhaps their conquest was facilitated by an internal crisis already affecting medieval Ruthenia on the eve of their appearance. Whatever our judgment might be, the Mongol conquest of Kiev facilitated the rise of another center of power in the north, namely Moscow. In 1308, a Muscovian duke succeeded by inviting the metropolitan (Orthodox archbishop) of Kiev to settle down in Moscow, thus turning the latter into a new spiritual center of Ruthenian lands.

Medieval chroniclers as well as nineteenth-century Russian historians often explained the rise of Muscovy by its uncompromising struggle against the "Mongol yoke." Yet, the reality was more complicated. Muscovian dukes (grand dukes since 1328) knew how to use the Mongol suzerainty, declaring loyalty to the khan and then invoking the latter's authority to subjugate neighboring principalities. The Mongols never perceived northern woodlands as an attractive area of direct expansion. These lands were unsuitable for grazing horses and—on the other hand—offered less booty than urbanized lands of China, Central Asia, Middle East, or even Hungary. Hence, the khans preferred to reappoint local rulers with formal diplomas (*yarliqs*), control

them through Mongol lieutenants (*daruḡas*), and order them to assist Mongol officials (*basqaqs*) in the collection of tribute.

The vast empire, created by Genghis Khan, preserved its unity for mere two generations. Further expansion of Genghis Khan's grandsons, Batu in Eastern Europe, Hulagu in the Middle East, and Kublai in China, rendered virtually impossible to control by one ruler the territory extending from Hungary to Vietnam. Imprecise rules of inheritance, allowing any Genghisid prince to claim supreme authority, made things still worse. In fact, already under Batu Khan (r. 1227–1255/56) the western part of the Mongol Empire, consisting of Eastern Europe, Western Siberia, and Northern Khwarezm, enjoyed full autonomy, and Batu's successors regarded themselves as sovereign rulers. Their state came to be known in historiography as the Golden Horde or the *ulus* ("people" or "patrimony") of Djochi,<sup>1</sup> while the contemporaries simply referred to it as the Great Horde (*ulu orda*).

In the 14th century, the court culture of the Golden Horde underwent gradual Islamization, accompanied by Turkization.<sup>2</sup> In the western provinces of the Genghisid empire, Mongols constituted a tiny minority while Turks, especially those speaking western, Kipchak dialects, prevailed both in the khan's army and among the conquered inhabitants of the Black Sea steppes. With time, Turkic and Turkified inhabitants of the Golden Horde came to be known as Tatars.

Following the death of Djanibek Khan in 1357, the Golden Horde entered a prolonged dynastic crisis. Numerous pretenders fought for the throne, bidding for internal and external support. Though the conviction that only a Genghisid prince could claim the khan's title held strongly deep into the early modern era, successful commanders, who adopted more modest titles of emirs, such as Mamay (d. 1382) or Edigü (d. 1419), were often more powerful than the khans. The

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<sup>1</sup> Djochi was Genghis Khan's oldest son; due to his premature death, his patrimony was directly inherited by his son, Batu.

<sup>2</sup> This opinion was contested by Arkadij Grigor'ev, who maintained that Mongol had been the official language of the Golden Horde at least until 1380 while Turkic had been used by the khan's chancery merely in communication with foreign courts; cf. *idem*, "Oficial'nyj jazyk Zolotoj Ordy XIII–XIV vv.," in: *Tjurkologičeskij sbornik* (1977) (Moscow, 1981): 81–89, esp. p. 89. Yet, in a more recent publication the same author admits that the shift from Mongol to Turkic had already occurred in 1350s, or even earlier in the chanceries of the Horde's dignitaries, who could not claim a Genghisid descent; cf. *idem*, *Sbornik xanskix jarlykov russkim mitropolitam. Istočnikovedčeskij analiz zolotoordynskix dokumentov* (St. Petersburg, 2004), pp. 209–210.

most successful among such non-Genghisid “imposters” was Timur, or Tamerlane (d. 1405). Apart from creating an empire of his own in the former Genghisid domains in Central Asia, he was to largely influence the events on the Volga. In ca. 1376, Timur helped a Genghisid refugee pretender, Tokhtamış, to ascend the throne of the Golden Horde.<sup>3</sup>

### *First Lithuanian encounters with Tatars*

It was precisely in the first years of the dynastic crisis in the Golden Horde, when the grand duke of Lithuania, Algirdas (r. 1345–1377), expanded his principality by annexing the southern Ruthenian lands of Podolia and Kiev. In 1362, he cemented his conquest by defeating local Tatar troops at the Synja voda (today Synjuxa), a left tributary of the Boh river. Yet, a Polish historian convincingly argued that Algirdas would not risk an open confrontation with the Golden Horde and his conquests might have been tacitly authorized by the Horde’s *de facto* ruler, Mamay, who regarded the Lithuanian neighbor as a useful ally against Muscovy as well as the emir’s domestic opponents. Indeed, having conquered Podolia, the Lithuanian rulers continued to send a tribute from this province to the khans until the 15th century.<sup>4</sup> According to a recent hypothesis, Algirdas might have even received a formal (now lost) *yarlıq* from Mamay, confirming his possession of the southern Ruthenian lands in return for the payment of the tribute.<sup>5</sup>

After the death of Algirdas, his son Jogaila (or Jagiełło) inherited the Lithuanian throne. His reign was initially frustrated by his uncle Kęstutis and then, after the latter’s imprisonment and murder (1382),

<sup>3</sup> Cf. a fitting commentary by Bertold Spuler: *die Chane, gut hundert Jahre lang die wirklichen Herren in Osteuropa, waren zu Schützlingen fremder Machthaber herabgesunken*, in *idem, Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Rußland 1223–1502* (Wiesbaden, 1965), pp. 121–122.

<sup>4</sup> Stefan Maria Kuczyński, *Sine Wody* (Warsaw, 1935), pp. 55–57. In 1401, the Dominican monks in Kamjanec’ [Kamieniec Podolski] were exempted from a number of taxes save the *tributum Thartharorum*, which they were still obliged to pay; if even the clergymen were not exempted, it implies that ordinary subjects paid this tax, too; cf. Adam Chmiel (ed.), *Zbiór dokumentów znajdujących się w Bibliotece hr. Przezdzieckich w Warszawie* (Cracow, 1890), p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Feliks Šabul’do, “Čy buv jarlyk Mamaja na ukrajins’ki zemli? (Do postanovky problemy),” *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva imeni Ševčenko*, vol. 243 (Lviv, 2002): 301–317.

by Kęstutis' son, Vytautas. In 1385, the position of Jogaila was substantially strengthened as he was invited to the Polish throne.<sup>6</sup> In 1386, Jogaila was baptized as the last pagan ruler in Europe, adopted the Christian name of Vladislaus and was crowned in Cracow. The following year witnessed the establishment of Latin Catholic hierarchy in Lithuania and introduction of Christianity to Lithuanian subjects (admittedly, most of these subjects were Orthodox Ruthenians who did not need to be introduced to Christianity). Jogaila's royal coronation did not discourage Vytautas from another rebellion in 1389. Finally, the two cousins reached reconciliation in 1392. While Vytautas acknowledged Jogaila (now Vladislaus) as his suzerain and the supreme ruler of both Poland and Lithuania, he was elevated to the post of grand duke and secured autonomous rule in Lithuania for life.

The following years brought a full-scale Lithuanian engagement in the southeast. The ambitious policy of Tokhtamış, who avenged Mamay's defeat at Kulikovo Pole (1380) by restoring Muscovian obedience to the Horde (1382) and then invaded Central Asia, was frustrated by his former patron. In 1391, Timur dethroned Tokhtamış, but the latter managed to regain his throne. In 1393, Tokhtamış sent his famous *yarlıq* to Jogaila, written on 20 May (8 Redjeb 795 A.H.) in a camp on the Don river.<sup>7</sup> Having announced his victory over internal enemies, the khan pronounced his wish to keep friendly relations with Jogaila and promote mutual trade. Yet, he also required the latter to "collect incomes from the lands [or peoples] that belong to us" (*bizge baqar ëllerning çıqışların çıkarub*) and send them to the Horde. The *yarlıq* refers to earlier correspondence between the two rulers, whose contents are unknown as it is not preserved. Therefore, it is impossible to resolve whether Tokhtamış's demand to send him tribute was a

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<sup>6</sup> Polish eastern expansion began in the 14th century. In the years 1340–1366, Poland annexed the Ruthenian principality of Halyč (Galicia) and in 1387 Moldavia became a Polish vassal. The Polish lords, who invited Jogaila to the throne hoped that this move would result not merely in a union, but incorporation of Lithuania to Poland. Before ascending the throne, Jogaila had to marry Jadwiga Anjou, a female descendent of the Polish royal Piast dynasty.

<sup>7</sup> The *yarlıq*, recorded in Uighur script and composed in Khwarezmian language containing various Kipchak Turkic elements, is preserved in Warsaw, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych [hereafter, AGAD], Dokumenty pergaminowe, no. 5612. It is published in facsimile along with an Arabic script transcription and Russian translation in *Jarlyk xana Zolotoj Ordy Toxtamyša k pol'skomu korolju Jagajlu 1392–1393 goda*. Edited by M. Obolen'skij (Kazan, 1850).

novelty or, quite possibly, reflected a former custom, perhaps dating from the times of Algirdas and Mamay.<sup>8</sup> What is clear is that the tribute was expected not from the whole of Lithuania (and certainly not from Poland), but from the lands that had previously belonged to the Golden Horde, namely the southern Ruthenian provinces conquered by Algirdas.

In 1395, Timur again invaded the Golden Horde, destroyed its capital of Saray on the Volga, and replaced Tokhtamish with another Genghisid prince, Timur Qutlug. The latter was supported by a powerful Nogay emir, Edigü. Defeated and humiliated, Tokhtamish took refuge in Lithuania along with his family and a number of followers. His sore condition, referred to by a telling phrase “when his horse was growing sweaty [beneath him]” (Ruth. *koly kon’ eho potnyj byl*), and the assistance extended to him by Vytautas were to form a historical basis of “eternal friendship,” invoked in the future correspondence between Vilnius and the Crimean khans, who regarded Tokhtamish as their legal ancestor.

In 1397, Tokhtamish concluded a treaty with Vytautas and probably issued a *yarlıq* that is not preserved, but whose contents were convincingly reconstructed by Antoni Prochaska. In return for military assistance, the exiled khan confirmed Vytautas in his holding of all southern Ruthenian lands that had once belonged to the Golden Horde. Prochaska’s assumption that Vytautas was required to pay tribute from these lands, is rather disputable.<sup>9</sup> Still, even assuming that the tribute issue was absent, one should ask what benefit could Vytautas draw from this treaty? In return for the grant of the lands that he already possessed, bestowed by a refugee pretender, he was expected to engage in a risky military adventure. A Ruthenian chronicler put into Vytautas’ lips a statement reflecting his calculations: “we will set out to

<sup>8</sup> Cf. n. 5 above.

<sup>9</sup> Prochaska strengthens his argument by the fact that in 1401 a tribute for the Tatars was collected in Podolia (cf. n. 4 above) and by invoking the *yarlıq* from 1507, in which Mengli Giray reportedly admonished Sigismund: “you should make no excuses and you should pay levies and tribute;” see Antoni Prochaska, “Z Witoldowych dziejów: I. Układ Witolda z Tochtamyszem 1397 r.,” *Przegląd Historyczny* 15 (1912): 259–264, esp. p. 263. The first argument invites consideration, although one can argue that in 1401, following the Lithuanian defeat of 1399, a tribute was paid not to Tokhtamish but to his victorious opponent. The second argument results from Prochaska’s misreading as the quoted order is addressed not to Sigismund but to the inhabitants of the lands granted with the *yarlıq*, whereas the khan orders them to obey the Lithuanian ruler and pay *him* [emphasis mine-DK] due taxes; cf. Document 8, n. 37.



subdue the Tatar land, defeat Khan Timur Qutlug, take his kingdom and divide his wealth and property, and we will put Khan Tokhtamış on his throne in the Horde, and in Caffa, in Azov, in the Crimea, in Astrakhan, in the Trans-Yaik Horde,<sup>10</sup> in the entire seashore, and in Kazan; and this all will be ours and the khan will be ours.”<sup>11</sup>

In 1397, Vytautas and Tokhtamış led a common expedition, reaching as far as the Don river. In 1398, the allies directed their campaign towards the Black Sea shore and even invaded the Crimea. Several castles, then founded by Vytautas between the lower Boh and the lower Dniester, were to serve as reminders of his grandiose plans for another century. All these plans were dashed in August 1399, when Lithuanian troops, supported by Tokhtamış’s Tatar followers and Polish volunteers led by the palatine of Cracow, Spytek from Melsztyn, were routed by Edigü and Timur Qutlug in the battle on the Vorskla river, a left tributary of the Dnieper. Spytek was killed, Tokhtamış found another refuge in Siberia, where he was reached by death in ca. 1406, and Vytautas was forced to renew his bonds of vassalage with Jogaila and Poland.<sup>12</sup>

Although his “great plan” collapsed, in the following years Vytautas expanded Lithuanian borders to the east, successfully competing with Moscow for the suzerainty over the Ruthenian lands. Neither did he resign from supporting the sons of Tokhtamış in their claims for the throne. One of them, Djalaeddin, participated in 1410 in the Polish-Lithuanian battle against the Teutonic Order at Grunwald,<sup>13</sup> and two

<sup>10</sup> Named after the river Yaik [today Žajyq in Kazakh or Ural in Russian].

<sup>11</sup> “Patriaršaja ili Nikonovskaja letopis’,” in: *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej*, vol. 11 (Moscow, 1965 = reprint of the 1897 edition), p. 172; also quoted in Boris Grekow and Aleksandr Jakubovskij, *Zolotaja Orda i eë padenie*, pp. 381–382.

<sup>12</sup> The question, to what extent was Vytautas independent from Jogaila in his eastern policy, has been heavily biased by nationalist historiographies. Many Lithuanian, but also Ukrainian (Hruševskij) historians extolled Vytautas for his striving to restore Lithuanian independence, sometimes regarding Jogaila as a mere traitor of the Lithuanian “national cause.” On the other hand, Polish historians (Prochaska, Kolankowski) often patronized Vytautas, regarding him as a “good warrior” but “weak politician,” able at most to realize the plans drawn by his more sophisticated cousin; for a more critical treatment of this issue, see Michał Żwan, “Stosunki litewsko-tatarskie za czasów Witolda, w. ks. Litwy,” *Ateneum Wileńskie* 7 (1930): 529–601, esp. pp. 530–533. In a recent study by Jan Tyszkiewicz, again Jogaila’s diplomatic skills (and Vytautas’ lack of them) are stressed, though the author admits that the matter is disputable; see *idem*, *Tatarzy na Litwie i w Polsce. Studia z dziejów XIII–XVIII w.* (Warsaw, 1989), p. 121.

<sup>13</sup> In the German historiography known as the battle of Tannenberg.

years later successfully ascended the throne of the Golden Horde. Yet, any plans to build a lasting Lithuanian influence on the Volga were frustrated by internal fighting within the Horde. Between 1412 and 1419, four sons of Tokhtamish competed for the throne, fighting each other. In 1418, even powerful Edigü was forced to look for refuge in the Crimea, and in 1419 two old enemies, Vytautas and Edigü, reached reconciliation.<sup>14</sup> In the meantime, thousands of disenchanting followers of Tokhtamish settled in Lithuania, forming the community of Lithuanian Tatars, whose descendants live today in Lithuania, Belarus, and Poland.<sup>15</sup>

The prestige of Vytautas among the Tatars is confirmed by the relation of Gilbert de Lannoy, an envoy of King Henry V of England, who traveled in 1421 to Constantinople through Poland, Lithuania, the Black Sea steppe and the Crimea.<sup>16</sup> Until his death in 1430, Vytautas continued to play his role of a “khan maker.” When the new khan of the Golden Horde, Ulug Muhammed, was ousted in 1424, Vytautas offered him refuge and helped to regain his throne three years later.

### *The disputed collapse of the Golden Horde*

Most textbooks teach us that in the early 15th century the Golden Horde entered a terminal crisis that led to its complete demise by 1502. On its ruins, new khanates arose, namely those of Kazan, Astrakhan, Sibir, and the Crimea. Yet, the issue is not so simple. Ulug Muhammed, who had claimed the throne of the Horde from 1419, was ousted several times by his rivals, and in 1445 arrived at Kazan. This date is often regarded as the beginning of the Khanate of Kazan. However, Ulug Muhammed never signed his resignation from the throne of the Golden Horde! He treated himself as the only legal khan, though he controlled merely a part of the Horde’s territory.

<sup>14</sup> For a somewhat confused chronology, cf. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, pp. 147–154; and Żwan, “Stosunki litewsko-tatarskie,” pp. 555–573.

<sup>15</sup> The term “Lipka Tatars” is derived from the ancient Kipchak Turkish term *Lipqa* (or *Libqa*), referring to Lithuania; cf. Document 20, *passim*; and Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, “Lipka,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition [hereafter, *EI*], vol. 5 (Leiden, 1986): 765–767.

<sup>16</sup> *Gilbert de Lannoy i jego podróże*. Edited by J. Lelewel (Brussels, 1843), pp. 64–83.

Ulug Muhammed's archrival, Küchük Muhammed (d. 1459), left two sons, Ahmed and Mahmud,<sup>17</sup> the latter one regarded as the founder of the Khanate of Astrakhan. In his recent study, Il'ja Zajcev challenges this view arguing that at least until 1502 the rulers of Astrakhan regarded themselves as the rulers of the Golden Horde, treating their seat on the lower Volga as the base for future [re]conquests. Therefore, according to Zajcev, we can speak of the Khanate of Astrakhan only after 1502.<sup>18</sup>

Similar arguments hold for the Crimean Khanate. Judging by military power, the Giray khans could not initially compete with stronger rivals, but they soon entered the game, eventually claiming hereditary rights not only to the Black Sea steppe, northern Caucasus, Kazan and Astrakhan, but even Siberia as late as 1654!<sup>19</sup> In 1991, Leslie Collins published a very important article that is still largely overlooked in historiography.<sup>20</sup> Discussing the events of 1502, when according to common wisdom the Great Horde (the term used for the later Golden Horde) was crushed by the Crimean Khanate, Collins argued that in fact the Horde was not destroyed but strengthened and augmented. Mengli Giray simply took over most of the subjects and territories from his distant Genghiside cousin, Sheikh Ahmed.<sup>21</sup> The Girays' conscious claim to the heritage of the Golden Horde is expressed in the oath of the Crimean envoy taken in Lithuania by the end of 1506, in which his lord is referred to as the ruler "of the two hordes: the Trans-Volgine [i.e., the Great Horde] and of Perekop [i.e., the Crimean Horde]."<sup>22</sup> The program of Mengli Giray was continued by his son, Mehmed Giray, who aimed to control the whole Volga basin. In the latter's official *intitulatio* the Crimea was not even mentioned as he

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<sup>17</sup> The descendants of Ahmed and Mahmud were archenemies of the Girays; see Document 10, n. 7.

<sup>18</sup> Il'ja Zajcev [Ilia Zaitsev], "The Khanate of Astrakhan," in: *The Turks*, vol. 2: *Middle Ages*. Edited by H. Güzel, C. Oğuz, and O. Karatay (Ankara, 2002), pp. 848–853. For a more detailed argumentation, see *idem*, *Astraxanskoe xanstvo*, pp. 30–62.

<sup>19</sup> See Document 64.

<sup>20</sup> Leslie Collins, "On the Alleged 'Destruction' of the Great Horde in 1502," in: *Manzikert to Lepanto. The Byzantine World and the Turks, 1071–1571*. Papers given at the Nineteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1985. Edited by A. Bryer and M. Ursinus (Amsterdam, 1991) = *Byzantinische Forschungen* 16 (1991): 361–399.

<sup>21</sup> On Sheikh Ahmed, the grandson of Küchük Muhammed, see Document 9, n. 27.

<sup>22</sup> See Document 7.

was declared the ruler of all the Mongols (*barça Moğul padişahı*),<sup>23</sup> whereas the documents of his 17th-century successors referred to the khans as the rulers “of the Great Horde, the great country and the Crimean throne” (*uluğ orda uluğ yurtını ve taht-i Qırımını*), clearly showing the ideological priorities, with the geographic reference to the Crimea preceded by more grandiose titles. With the Russian conquests of Kazan (1552), Astrakhan (1556), and Sibir (1582–1598), the khanate of the Crimean Girays remained the only Genghisid remnant of the Golden Horde. If we acknowledged the legal claims of the Girays, we would no longer discuss the collapse of the Golden Horde at the turn of the 15th century, but its impressive survival for another three centuries, although on a diminished territory.<sup>24</sup>

*The rise of the Giray khanate in the Crimea and the yarlıq  
of Hadji Giray for Lithuania*

Hadji Giray<sup>25</sup> traced his origin from Togha Timur, a younger brother of Batu. His father, Giyaseddin, supported Tokhtamış and probably perished in the battle of Vorskla. According to a tradition, recorded in the 16th century, the future Crimean khan was born as a refugee in Lithuania near the castle of Trakai and owed his throne to Vytautas.<sup>26</sup> Admittedly, his first effort to secure the Crimean throne occurred during Vytautas’ lifetime in 1428, but he had to wait another 13 years until securing his power in 1441.<sup>27</sup> By that time, he had repeatedly sought

<sup>23</sup> See Document 20.

<sup>24</sup> Uli Schamiloglu recently proposed to refer to the entire period of Genghisid rule in Western Eurasia, lasting from the 15th till the 18th century, as the “Later Golden Horde;” see *idem*, “The Golden Horde,” in: *The Turks*, vol. 2, pp. 819–834, esp. p. 833.

<sup>25</sup> The nickname Giray (alternatively pronounced in the Crimea as Kerey, Kirey, Gerey, or Girey) probably originates from the tribal affiliation of Hadji’s tutor (*atalıq*), who belonged to the Kerey tribe. The future khan adopted this name out of respect, and later on it was adopted by all dynasty members; cf. Halil Inalcık, “Girây,” *EF*, vol. 2 (Leiden, 1965): 1112–1114, esp. p. 1112.

<sup>26</sup> *Michalonis Lituani De moribus Tartarorum, Lituorum et Moschorum fragmina* X (Basle, 1615), p. 3 [reprinted in: Mykolas Lietuvis, *Apie totorių, lietuvių ir maskvėnų papročius dešimt įvairaus istorinio turinio turinio fragmentų* (Vilnius, 1966)].

<sup>27</sup> The last date was established by Oleksa Hajvoronskyj on the basis of Hadji Giray’s first minted coins and his name being mentioned by the Genovese authorities of Caffa; see *idem*, *Poveliteli dvux materikov*, vol. 1, p. 34, n. 32.

refuge in Lithuania, enjoying support of the grand dukes Sigismund<sup>28</sup> and Casimir,<sup>29</sup> and even held a post of the lieutenant of Lida.

In his recent book, Oleksa Hajvoronskyj praises Hadji Giray for satisfying himself with the Crimea and not entering a risky fight over the Volga steppe.<sup>30</sup> It does not mean that the first Giray ruler refrained from dynastic struggles at all. Between 1433 and 1454, the struggle for the heritage of the Golden Horde was often intertwined with the struggle for the Lithuanian throne. Three pretenders (not counting Hadji Giray) fought then for the throne of the Golden Horde:

- 1) Ulug Muhammed, the former ally of Vytautas, who finally settled in Kazan;
- 2) Seyyid Ahmed, the grandson of Tokhtamish;
- 3) Küchük Muhammed, the son of Timur Qutlug, who eventually prevailed and left to his sons the rule of the so-called Great Horde, with its capital in Saray on the Volga.

In 1433, Seyyid Ahmed claimed the throne of the Horde with the support of the Lithuanian malcontent, Švitrigaila, a younger brother of Jogaila, who shortly reigned Lithuania in the years 1430–1432, but was deposed in favor of Vytautas' younger brother, Sigismund. In the ensuing Lithuanian civil war (1432–1435), Švitrigaila was supported by the Teutonic Order and Seyyid Ahmed, while Sigismund by Poland and Hadji Giray. No wonder that in Vilnius and Cracow Seyyid Ahmed was regarded as a nuisance while Hadji Giray, the client of Sigismund, earned his opinion of a trustful ally. The devastating raids of Seyyid Ahmed into Lithuanian and Polish lands continued even after the final defeat of Švitrigaila. In 1442, Vladislaus III, the king of Poland, reached a “permanent peace” with Seyyid Ahmed, but it was paid for with the promise of an annual “gift” to be collected and sent from Podolia.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> A younger brother of Vytautas and the grand duke of Lithuania in the years 1432–1440.

<sup>29</sup> Jogaila's younger son, the grand duke of Lithuania in the years 1440–1492; also the king of Poland since 1447.

<sup>30</sup> Hajvoronskyj, *Poveliteli dvux materikov*, vol. 1, p. 24.

<sup>31</sup> As Vladislaus, Jogaila's older son, was also the king of Hungary (and died two years later in the battle of Varna), the peace was confirmed in Buda; see Ludwik Kolankowski, *Dzieje Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego za Jagiellonów*, vol. I: 1377–1499 (Warsaw, 1930), p. 259.

In 1454, Seyyid Ahmed supported another Lithuanian malcontent, Semen Olelkovyč from the Lithuanian princely family, whose grandfather was Jogaila's older brother. Frustrated by the centralizing policy of Casimir (grand duke of Lithuania 1440–1492, also the king of Poland since 1447), a group of Lithuanian notables planned to put Semen on the Lithuanian throne with the support of Seyyid Ahmed. Yet, a prompt relief by Hadji Giray resulted in a rout of Seyyid Ahmed's troops. While Semen was pardoned by Casimir and bestowed the principality of Kiev as a life tenure, Seyyid Ahmed, who took refuge in Kiev, was imprisoned and spent the rest of his life in Lithuanian captivity.

It might appear as a paradox that having helped to eliminate Seyyid Ahmed, the grandson of Tokhtamish, the Girays would later consequently stress their former loyalty to Tokhtamish and thus claim their rights to his inheritance. Many years later, in 1480 Mengli Giray would also demand the return of Seyyid Ahmed's followers, allowed to settle down in Semen's lands after 1454, as the Girays regarded these people as their hereditary subjects.<sup>32</sup>

In 1465, Hadji Giray also crossed his sword with Mahmud, a son of Küchük Muhammed, defeating his troops on the Don river, abducting many of his subjects and settling them down in the Crimea.

Friendly relations between Casimir and Hadji Giray continued until the latter's death in 1466. A Polish chronicler, Jan Długosz, describes

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Document 6, n. 4. A "canonical" chain of succession, legitimizing the Girays' dynastic rights, is recorded in a Lithuanian report dated 1506. The Crimean envoys, invited to dine with the king, then recalled the ancient mutual friendship dating from the times of "Tokhtamish, Djalaleddin, Djabbarberdi, Köpek, Keremberdi, Kadirberdi, [Ulug] Muhammed, Seyyid Ahmed, Hadji Giray, and Nur Devlet" (*Taktamyš, Čzelehdyn, Perberdy, Kebek, Keremberdy, Kaderberdy, Mahmet, Sylexmat, Ažy Gyrej, Mordovlat*) until the reign of Mengli Giray; see *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 8 (1499–1514). Užrašymų knyga 8*. Edited by A. Baliulis, R. Firkovičius and D. Antanavičius (Vilnius, 1995), p. 53. All the aforelisted rulers descended from Genghis Khan's grandson, Togha Timur (Tuğay Timur), yet they belonged to three different branches: a) Tokhtamish, his five sons and his grandson, Seyyid Ahmed; b) Ulug Muhammad, who had a common great great grandfather with Tokhtamish; c) the Girays, more closely related to Ulug Muhammad than to Tokhtamish; on the confused Genghisid genealogy, cf. Abul'-Gazi, *Rodoslovnnoe drevo tjurkov*. Edited by G. Sablukov (Kazan, 1906), pp. 156–157; and a genealogical tree in Magamet Safargaliev, *Raspad Zolotoj ordy* (Saransk, 1960). The Lithuanian report from 1506 is quoted in Zajcev, "Zapisi genealogij i pravljenij krymskix xanov i krymskie srednevekove istoričeskie xroniki," *Vostok. Afro-aziatskie obščestva: istorija i sovremennost'* (2008), no. 4, pp. 28–36, esp. p. 28. Yet, using a corrupt version from *Sbornik knjazja Obolenskago*, Zajcev omitted Seyyid Ahmed, whose presence on the list explains the claim by Mengli Giray to rule over his former subjects.

a solemn Crimean embassy that was received in Nowy Korczyn in December 1461. The envoys carried precious gifts, including a camel covered with costly textiles, and assured the king of the khan's wish to keep friendship and face common enemies.<sup>33</sup> Perhaps the aforementioned embassy brought the solemn *yarlıq* that is preserved today in a Polish translation.<sup>34</sup> Yet, the document is confusingly dated 22 September 1461 AD, and simultaneously in the Muslim year 867 A.H. While the Christian date fits perfectly with the arrival of the khan's embassy to Poland in the late fall of 1461, the Muslim date does not fit at all as it refers to the period between September 1462 and September 1463!<sup>35</sup> We either have to assume that the Crimean chancery was unfamiliar with the Muslim calendar [*sic*], or that the Christian date is erroneous and the *yarlıq* was brought by another embassy not recorded by Długosz, probably to Lithuania and not to Poland. The latter hypothesis is confirmed by the document's contents. It is addressed to Casimir as the grand duke of Lithuania, and to his Lithuanian and Ruthenian councilors and subjects, whereas Poland is not even mentioned. Moreover, it lists Podolia along with its major castle of Kamjanec' among the lands granted by the khan to Lithuania.

<sup>33</sup> *Ubi* [in Nowy Korczyn-DK] *multifarias legaciones nonnullorum principum, primum autem legati Eczigeri, imperatoris Tartarorum, qui dudum advenerant et apud Radom continebantur, auditi sunt. Qui camelo uno punico panno vestito, item aliquot insignibus purpuris regi presentatis, offerebant cesarem ad omnes expeditiones et bella cum quibuscunque hostibus gerenda solacia regi laturum cum regeque et omnibus terris dominiorum suorum sinceram pacem servaturum...*; see Joannis Długossi *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae. Liber duodecimus: 1445–1461* (Cracow, 2003), p. 372.

<sup>34</sup> See Document 1. Already Pułaski concluded that the *yarlıq* of Hadji Giray had been probably (Pol. *zapewne*) delivered by the embassy described by Długosz; see *idem*, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, p. 3. The *yarlıq* is preserved in two copies, one in a 16th-century manuscript, another in the so-called Naruszewicz Folders (*Teki Naruszewicza*) from the 18th century, without any reference to the original or earlier copies. A Polish bishop and historian, Stanisław Sierstrzeńcewicz Bohusz, maintained that he had seen "this diploma," apparently referring to the original, in 1772 in the Załuski Library in Warsaw (*sej diplom ja videl v Varšave v 1772, v Biblioteke Załuskago*); see Stanislav Sestrencević Boguš, *Istorija Carstva Xersonesa Tavrijskago* (St. Petersburg, 1806), vol. 2, p. 247, n. 1 [this remark is entered only in the Russian version of his book and missing in the French one; cf. Stanislav Sierstrzenecwicz de Bohusz, *Histoire du Royaume de la Chersonese Taurique* (St. Petersburg, 1824), p. 352, n. (h)]. However, a century later, when the Załuski Library was held in St. Petersburg, Vasilij Smirnov was already unable to find the said diploma; see *idem*, *Krymskoe xanstvo*, pp. 240–241. Shortly before WW2, the Załuski Library was restored to Poland and perished in 1944.

<sup>35</sup> The Muslim year 867 A.H. lasted from 26 September 1462 till 14 September 1463. It is worth noting that 22 September could not fall in the year 867 A.H. at all, as it began after that date and ended before it.

In the period concerned, a heated conflict over Podolia reemerged between the Lithuanian and Polish lords, and Casimir strove hard to appease it.<sup>36</sup> An arrival of such document to Poland would certainly increase the tension and would not serve well the Crimean-Polish relations. Neither would it explain the high opinion that Hadji Giray enjoyed in the eyes of Długosz—an ardent representative of the Polish clergy, full of mistrust towards the Lithuanians. Lacking further evidence, we must conclude that the khan's *yarlıq* was either issued on 22 September 1461 and brought to Poland, or rather it was drawn at least one year later and brought to Lithuania.

Hadji Giray's *yarlıq* invokes the Lithuanian hospitality once experienced by Tokhtamish, referred to as "our elder brother." The document is apparently based on two earlier *yarlıqs*, whose texts are today lost: the one granted by Tokhtamish to Vytautas probably in 1397<sup>37</sup> and another, granted by Hadji Giray to Sigismund somewhere between 1432 and 1440.<sup>38</sup> In return for the Lithuanian assistance, Tokhtamish had once granted a number of lands to Vytautas, his grant was then confirmed by Hadji Giray in the latter's *yarlıq* addressed to Sigismund, and finally reconfirmed in the *yarlıq* sent to Casimir. The document contains a list of towns, provinces and estates, making up the whole southern and eastern territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, namely: Volhynia (Luc'k), Podolia (Kamjanec', Braclav), the Black Sea steppe between the lower Dniester and the lower Boh (Karaul, Jabu, Balykly, Dašov), the Dnieper Ukraine (Kiev, the lands along the Dnieper down to its mouth), the estates on the rivers Vorskla (Losyčy, Xotmyśl', Nycjany), Sula (Sneporod, Hlyns'k, Synec), Sejms (Putyvl', Żolvaż, Byryn, Ryl'sk, Kursk), and Desna (Černihiv, Novhorod-Sivers'kyj, Starodub, Brjansk), the lands extending between the upper Sejms and the upper Donec (the *tümen* of Jagoldaj<sup>39</sup> along with Mužeč and Oskol), the province of Smolensk, the lands on the upper Oka (Mcensk, Ljubutsk, Kozel'sk, Volkonsk, Spažsk), and finally the lands of the Duchy of Rjazan' (Tula, Berestej, Retan', Pronsk) that acknowledged Lithuanian suzerainty only in the years 1428–1434. Moreover, in return for Casimir's friendly acts, Hadji Giray granted him the

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Kolankowski, *Dzieje Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, pp. 292–294.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Prochaska, "Z Witoldowych dziejów," p. 260.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Document 1, n. 26.

<sup>39</sup> On this estate and its holder, see Document 8, n. 18.



republics of Pskov and Velikij Novgorod that had long constituted the bone of contention between Vilnius and Moscow.

In fact, Hadji Giray had no control over these lands, perhaps with the exemption of the Black Sea steppe. Most of them had long belonged to Lithuania while others remained independent, but were contested by both Lithuania and Muscovy (the Duchy of Rjazan', Pskov, and Velikij Novgorod). Yet, by granting them the khan acted as a suzerain, even if he did not demand any tribute from Casimir. This act fairly reflected the old balance of power between the Golden Horde and Lithuania, but certainly not the actual state of affairs. Therefore, it is striking that Lithuanian rulers, being simultaneously the kings of Poland, did not resent this custom. Moreover, they willingly accepted similar "grants" from Hadji's successors for another century! The most likely explanation would be that they treated such acts as a security against Tatar raids and, moreover, a legitimization of their territorial claims against Muscovy.

When Hadji Giray died in 1466, the Polish chronicler dedicated him a eulogy, praising him as the ruler, who *sub omni tempore sui imperii pacem optimam cum Regno Polonie [...] custodivit et tenuit; humanus civilisque et bene agendi cupidus*, friendly towards Christians, and even ready to assist King Casimir against his Muslim coreligionists.<sup>40</sup>

### *Internal and external factors in the making of the Crimean Khanate*

The lack of established rules regarding the inheritance of the throne among the Genghisid family members, which so often frustrated the internal stability of the Golden Horde, was to constantly influence the Crimean politics as well. At the moment of his death, Hadji Giray left seven living sons, of whom the oldest, Nur Devlet, ascended the throne.<sup>41</sup>

In the Crimean hierarchy, next to the Giray family members stood the clan leaders called *qaraçıs* or *qaraçı* beys.<sup>42</sup> Usually this title

<sup>40</sup> *Joannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae. Liber duodecimus: 1462–1480* (Cracow, 2005), p. 174.

<sup>41</sup> Hajvoronskyj, *Poveliteli dvux materikov*, vol. 1, p. 103, n. 1.

<sup>42</sup> The institution of four *qaraçıs* (also referred to as "*ulus emirs*" in al-Umari's description of the Golden Horde) can be traced to the early Genghisid state and was present in other Genghisid successor states as well; see Uli Schamiloglu, "The *qaraçı* beys of the Later Golden Horde: Notes of the organization of the Mongol world

applied to the leaders of four major clans, though the composition of the “privileged” clans changed with time. Until the early 16th century, these were the Shirins, Barins, Arghins, and Qıpchaqs, of whom the Shirins were by far the most influential.<sup>43</sup> The Shirin clan leaders, Mamaq and then his brother Eminek, were to play a major role in the crucial decade between 1468 and 1478.<sup>44</sup>

Another factor that influenced political life of the early Crimean Khanate was the Genovese colony of Caffa. Its economic prosperity and very survival depended on the cooperation with hinterland rulers, first the khans of the Golden Horde and later the khans of the Crimea. The Italians formally acknowledged the khan’s suzerainty by sending him annual gifts and the khan’s representative (*tudun*) resided in Caffa, collecting taxes from its Tatar inhabitants and a share of its port’s customs incomes.<sup>45</sup> Although in theory subject to the khans, the rich and walled city could itself influence the Crimean policy, especially during a dynastic crisis. In response to the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople (1453) and the subsequent conquests of the Black Sea ports of Amasra, Sinop, and Trebizond (1459–1461), in 1462 Caffa acknowledged the suzerainty of King Casimir of Poland, though this suzerainty would remain purely nominal.<sup>46</sup>

Among other external actors who were to affect the political life of the Khanate, one should mention the descendants of Küchük Muhammed, ruling the Great Horde on the Volga, King Casimir of Poland and Lithuania (r. 1440/47–1492), Ivan III of Muscovy (r. 1462–1505), and especially the Ottoman sultan, Mehmed II (r. 1451–1481).

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empire,” *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, vol. 4 (Wiesbaden, 1984): 283–297; and Beatrice Forbes Manz, “The clans of the Crimean Khanate, 1466–1532,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 2 (1978): 282–309.

<sup>43</sup> Halil Inalcık, “The khan and the tribal aristocracy: The Crimean Khanate under Sahib Giray I,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3–4 (1979–1980) = *Eucharisterion: Essays presented to Omeljan Pritsak on his Sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students*, pt. 1: 445–466, esp. pp. 447–448, n. 6. This order, established by Inalcık on the base of the 18th-century Crimean-Ottoman chronicle by Seyyid Muhammed Riza [cf. *idem*, *Es-seb’u’ s-seyyar fi ahbari muluki Tatar*. Edited by I. Kazembek (Kazan, 1832), p. 93] and the 16th-century report by the Habsburg envoy, Sigismund von Herberstein [cf. Sigismund Gerberštejn, *Zapiski o Moskovii* (Moscow, 1988), p. 184], is further confirmed by two lists of the Crimean *qaraçıs*, who swore an oath to keep peace, respectively with Lithuania in 1507 and Muscovy in 1508; see Document 9, n. 40.

<sup>44</sup> See Eminek’s short biography in Document 5, n. 9.

<sup>45</sup> See Oleksandr Halenko, “Tudun,” *Sxidnyj Svit* (1998), nos. 1–2: 183–204.

<sup>46</sup> Marian Małowist, *Kaffa, kolonia genuńska na Krymie i problem wschodni w latach 1453–1475* (Warsaw, 1947), pp. 171–178.

Soon after his accession, Nur Devlet aimed to secure his reign by sending embassies to neighboring rulers. In the spring of 1467, a Tatar envoy named Qoshar arrived in Poland with the official announcement of Hadji Giray's death and the new khan's desire to maintain the peace.<sup>47</sup> On his way back to the Crimea, Qoshar was accompanied by a royal envoy, Albert (i.e., Wojciech) Borowski, who delivered Casimir's condolences and declaration to keep peace. Later in the same year, Borowski returned to Poland with a treaty document issued by Nur Devlet on 17 September 1467, in his residence in Qırq Yer.<sup>48</sup> The form of this document, written in quite sophisticated Latin, is unusual for the Crimean chancery and does not bear any similarity to the *yarlıqs* and *şartnames* issued by Hadji Giray and Mengli Giray. It is possible that the clerk charged with its preparation was an Italian from Caffa, fluent in Latin and Western chancery forms. From a later correspondence we learn that Nur Devlet also issued a *yarlıq* concerning the Lithuanian lands, collected by the Lithuanian embassy of Jan Kučukovyč.<sup>49</sup>

Nur Devlet did not remain in power for long. His younger ambitious brother, Mengli Giray, who tried to reach for the throne already in 1467, secured the support of the Genovese and the Shirins and defeated Nur Devlet in a civil war that lasted from June 1468 till January 1469.<sup>50</sup> The new khan notified his accession to King Casimir and later in the same year promptly warned him of a pending invasion by the Tatars of the Great Horde. The king reciprocated by sending Albert Borowski again to the Crimea.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> *Joannis Długossii Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae. Liber duodecimus: 1462–1480*, p. 183. The arrival of the Crimean embassy is not dated, but it is recorded by Długosz among the events that occurred between April and May 1467. The editors of Długosz's chronicle confuse the arrival of this embassy with the return of the subsequent embassy of Borowski which should be dated not earlier than November 1467; cf. *ibidem*, p. 505, n. 37.

<sup>48</sup> See Document 2. Its dating according to the Christian calendar is confirmed by the dating according to the Muslim era: the month of Safer of the year 872 A.H. lasted from 1 till 29 September 1467.

<sup>49</sup> The *yarlıq*, which was probably based on the *yarlıq* of Hadji Giray, is not extant, but it is mentioned in a letter by Mengli Giray sent in 1506 to the Lithuanian Lords Councilors; see Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, p. 292.

<sup>50</sup> Małowist, *Kaffa*, pp. 279–280.

<sup>51</sup> *Joannis Długossii Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae. Liber duodecimus: 1462–1480*, pp. 229–230, 243–244, and 248 (all three missions recorded under the year 1469).

Early in the year 1472, Casimir sent to Mengli Giray another envoy, Jan Kierdej.<sup>52</sup> On his way back, Kierdej was accompanied by a Tatar envoy named Zafer (or perhaps Sefer or Djafer), who carried Mengli's letter, announcing his will to maintain peace.<sup>53</sup> Finally, a formal royal instrument of peace was issued in Cracow on 27 July 1472.<sup>54</sup> Having invoked the formal oath, sworn by the khan and his retinue in the presence of Kierdej, and the peaceful contents of Zafer's embassy, the king engaged on his behalf and on behalf of his subjects to firmly observe the peace and mutual friendship. The document, drawn by the Polish chancellor, was corroborated by the archbishop of Gniezno, two bishops, and other notables, of whom eleven were mentioned by names.

Although Casimir was simultaneously the ruler of Poland and Lithuania, it seems that in that period the Crimean-Polish negotiations were conducted separately from the Crimean-Lithuanian ones. While Latin was used in the Crimean-Polish relations, the correspondence between Qırq Yer and Vilnius was conducted in Ruthenian. Shortly after the Polish embassy of Kierdej, a Lithuanian envoy, Bohdan Sakovyč, accompanied by a scribe Ivas'ko, was sent to the Crimea and returned with a new *yarlıq* issued by Mengli Giray.<sup>55</sup> While in the royal instrument from 1472 Casimir figures merely as the king of Poland, in the khan's *yarlıq* he is referred to exclusively as the grand duke of Lithuania, and Poland is not even mentioned.

Like the earlier *yarlıq* of Hadji Giray, the *yarlıq* of Mengli Giray is preserved only in Polish translation. Its dating is again confusing, as it is dated in 1472 AD, and simultaneously in the Muslim year 878 A.H. that lasted from 29 May 1473 to 17 May 1474. The contents of both *yarlıqs* are almost identical. Although a few localities have been

<sup>52</sup> On the envoy's identification, see Document 3, n. 3.

<sup>53</sup> The first royal letter from the beginning of 1472, whose approximate date can be established on the basis of the ensuing correspondence, is not extant. The khan's response (*cum sigillo meo litera*) was dated in the year 876 A.H. (the ending *LXVI* is an obvious mistake, it should read *LXXVI*) and accompanied by a separate letter to Casimir's son, Vladislaus, congratulating the latter on his accession to the throne of Bohemia. Both Mengli's letters are preserved in Latin copies and published in Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, p. 199. The Muslim year 876 lasted from 20 June 1471 till 7 June 1472, but the khan's letters can be tentatively dated more precisely in the spring of 1472.

<sup>54</sup> See Document 3.

<sup>55</sup> See Document 4, along with biographic details on the envoys in notes 31–32.

added<sup>56</sup> and a few others are missing,<sup>57</sup> these changes do not seem to reflect any conscious political decision. The omissions are probably due to scribal neglect, while the addition of new localities, perhaps on the insistence of Lithuanian envoys or in result of a double check with an original list that is now lost, does not really change the geographical shape of the territory “granted” to Lithuania. Again, the khan “granted” to Casimir the lands of the Duchy of Rjazan’<sup>58</sup> and the Republic of Velikij Novgorod, contested by Muscovy. The issue was timely since Novgorod had accepted Lithuanian patronage in 1470, but then its troops had suffered a crushing defeat in a confrontation with Muscovy in 1471. In the given context, the omission of Pskov in the *yarliq* seems incidental as Novgorod was more politically important and more distant from Vilnius.

The Lithuanian-Muscovian conflict over Novgorod contributed to a reversal of alliances that was soon to spoil the relations between Casimir and Mengli Giray. Looking for an effective diversion against Muscovy, in 1471 the Lithuanian diplomacy encouraged Ahmed, the son of Küchük Muhammed and the khan of the Great Horde, to attack Ivan III. For Mengli Giray, any rapprochement between Vilnius and the descendants of Timur Qutlug was equal to treason. Thus, he resolved to enter an alliance with Moscow. Ivan III, endangered from the west and south by the alliance between Vilnius and Saray, welcomed this opportunity. Early in the year 1474, a Crimean envoy named Hadji Baba (*Azbaba*) arrived at Moscow and swore an oath (Rus. *pravdu dal*) on behalf of Mengli Giray. His mission was followed by a solemn Crimean embassy, headed by a member of the Shirin clan, Devletek (Eminek’s son), who brought a formal treaty instrument issued by the khan (Rus. *jarlyk šertnoj*) and witnessed the oath sworn by Ivan III in March 1475.<sup>59</sup> The new alliance, openly directed against Khan Ahmed and King Casimir, materialized already in the summer of 1474, when

<sup>56</sup> Volodymyr in Volhynia, Sokolec’ in Podolia, Majak on the lower Dniester, Kačybej on the Black Sea shore, Čerkasy on the Dnieper.

<sup>57</sup> Synec on the Sula river, Putyvl’ and Žolvaž on the Sejms river.

<sup>58</sup> For this time even its capital of Perejaslavl’ is singled out.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Kolankowski, *Dzieje Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, pp. 324–328; Anna Xoroškevič, *Rus’ i Krym*, pp. 114–115, 123, 143, and 206. The early Crimean-Muscovian contacts of the years 1474–1475 are documented in *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 1, pp. 1–12.

Crimean troops commanded by Haydar, Mengli Giray's brother, and Eminek, raided southern provinces of Poland and Lithuania.<sup>60</sup>

After Mamaq's death in 1473, Eminek became the *qaraçı* of the Shirins and obtained the lucrative post of *tudun* in Caffa. Yet, early in the year 1475 he was deprived of his functions and forced to seek refuge in the Caucasus. In revenge, he stirred a civil war and invited the Ottomans to intervene. Mehmed II long awaited an opportunity to lay his hand on the riches of Caffa. On 6 June 1475, the Genovese colony surrendered before the Ottoman commander, Gedik Ahmed Pasha. Caffa became the center of a new Ottoman province which encompassed the southern coast of the Crimea (it consisted of the former Genovese lands and the Gotho-Byzantine principality of Theodoro-Mangup, conquered in the same year). Mengli Giray was arrested and taken to Constantinople, and Nur Devlet, who had been interned by the Genovese in the years 1469–1475, was restored to the Crimean throne.

It soon turned out that Nur Devlet, being in conflict with his brother Haydar, was unable to stabilize his rule. To make things worse, the troops of the Great Horde invaded the Crimea in 1476, and the peninsula was ruled for sometime by Khan Ahmed's representative, Djanibek. Eminek again called for an Ottoman intervention, asking Mehmed II to send back Mengli Giray and promising that for this time the khan would not encounter any opposition.<sup>61</sup> The sultan agreed and Mengli Giray regained his throne to rule for another 37 years.

*Between Istanbul, Moscow, and Vilnius: the long reign  
of Mengli Giray (1478–1515)*

Although the existence of a formal treaty, reportedly concluded in 1478 and establishing the bonds of vassalage between the Ottomans

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<sup>60</sup> Kolankowski, *Dzieje Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, pp. 321–322. Feliks Koneczny believed that this raid had occurred without Mengli's knowledge, invoking a phrase from the Długosz chronicle: *iniussu sui cesaris* and stressing that both Eminek and Haydar had been the khan's enemies; see *idem*, "Sprawy z Mengli-Girejem 1473–1504," p. 147. Yet, an open conflict between Eminek and Mengli Giray began only in the fall of 1474. Besides, the arguments that the khan had been unaware of a given raid were used all too often by the Crimean diplomacy and should be taken with a grain of salt.

<sup>61</sup> See Eminek's letter to Mehmed II from October 1478, published in *Le khanat de Crimée*, pp. 70–75.

and the Girays, has been convincingly rejected in historiography,<sup>62</sup> it goes without saying that after 1475 no Crimean khan could ignore the Ottoman presence, not just across the sea, but in neighboring Caffa as well.

Mengli Giray's relations with Moscow were influenced by common interest mixed with political blackmail. Certainly, Muscovy was a valuable ally against the Great Horde and an attractive trade partner. Yet, Ivan III also had another argument. After Mengli regained the Crimean throne, his brothers Nur Devlet and Haydar initially took refuge in Kiev, but in the fall of 1479, unrestrained by Lithuanian authorities, left for Muscovy. In April 1480, in a fine piece of diplomatic hypocrisy, Ivan instructed his envoy to the Crimea to assure Mengli Giray that he had invited his brothers only for the khan's own sake, so that they do not plan anything wrong against him.<sup>63</sup> In 1486, Nur Devlet was put on the throne of the Khanate of Qasım (centered in Gorodec Meščerskiĭ, renamed as Kasimov, on the Oka river), a puppet state controlled by Muscovian rulers, which served as a safe haven for dissatisfied Genghisid pretenders and simultaneously as a buffer against Tatar raids from the southeast (i.e., the Great Horde). After Nur Devlet's death in ca. 1491, the Khanate of Qasım remained in the hands of his sons until ca. 1512, when it was granted to a prince from another branch of the Genghisid dynasty.<sup>64</sup>

The Crimean-Muscovian alliance was directed against both the Great Horde and Poland-Lithuania, but the two partners perceived its priorities differently. For Ivan III, it was an equally useful tool against Khan Ahmed, who still demanded a tribute from Moscow and treated its ruler as his vassal, and against Casimir, whose Ruthenian territories were regarded by the Muscovian ruler as his rightful heritage, to be sooner or later "reunited." For Mengli Giray, the struggle with the Great Horde seemed to be much more important. Therefore, it is not all that surprising that in 1480 he made an effort to reconcile with Vilnius, apparently hoping for an isolation of the Great Horde. In the spring of 1480 Hadji Baba (*Azbaba*), the same Crimean envoy who

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<sup>62</sup> See Halil İnalcık, "Yeni vesikalara göre Kırım hanlığının Osmanlı tâbiliğine girmesi ve ahidname meselesi," *Belleten* 8 (1944): 185–229; cf. Alan Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars*, pp. 11–12.

<sup>63</sup> *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 1, pp. 17–18.

<sup>64</sup> Vladimir Vel'jaminov-Zernov, *Izsledovanie o kasimovskix carjax i carevičax*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1863), pp. 126–148; see also Zajcev [Zaitsev], "The Khanate of Kasim," in: *The Turks*, vol. 2, pp. 854–857.

had sworn the treaty with Muscovy in 1474, arrived at Vilnius and swore an oath to keep peace in the presence of Casimir.<sup>65</sup> The oath was pronounced on behalf of the khan, his qalga and younger brother Yaghmurcha,<sup>66</sup> his other relatives, and the Crimean nobles. The envoy also promised that if the king sent his envoy to the Crimea, the peace would be personally confirmed by Mengli Giray, Eminek, and other notables.<sup>67</sup>

After a few months' delay, in September 1480 Casimir sent to the Crimea his envoy, Prince Ivan Hlyns'kyj (Pol. Gliński), a noble descendant of Tatar settlers in Lithuania. Almost simultaneously, Crimean troops raided Lithuania. Nevertheless, in mid-October Mengli Giray took a solemn oath in Hlyns'kyj's presence, promising to keep friendship and prevent his subjects from raiding Casimir's "people, lands, or waters." The text of the oath was recorded in the khan's instrument of peace, referred to as "oath-letter" (Ruth. *prysjažnyj lyst*) and sent to Vilnius.<sup>68</sup> To Casimir's confusion, Mengli's instrument also required the king to send him back the Tatar subjects allegedly donated by Hadji Giray to Prince Semen Olekvyč.<sup>69</sup> On his way back, Hlyns'kyj was accompanied by two Tatar envoys, Bayrash (*Bajraš*) and Seyyid Ahmed (*Sedyxmat*), who were provided with several letters.<sup>70</sup> In a letter given to Bayrash, the khan apologized for the recent raid, blaming his "ill advisers" (*ljudy lyxy*), but also the royal side for having detained Hadji Baba for so long and temporized in sending Hlyns'kyj's embassy.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>65</sup> On a more precise dating of Hadji Baba's embassy, see Document 5, n. 10.

<sup>66</sup> On Yaghmurcha (Yağmurça), who remained loyal to Mengli Giray for his whole life, see Document 5, n. 8.

<sup>67</sup> The text of the oath has been recorded and is preserved; see Document 5.

<sup>68</sup> See Document 6.

<sup>69</sup> The issue, referring to the events of the year 1454 (see above), remained unsolved for another 20 years; cf. Document 6, n. 4.

<sup>70</sup> Although both Tatar envoys are mentioned together in Mengli Giray's letter from October 1480, the first one arrived earlier, along with Hlyns'kyj, and the second one in January 1481. Perhaps Bayrash was merely a courier, and Seyyid Ahmed an envoy proper? For a corrected chronology of the Crimean-Lithuanian correspondence from the years 1480–1486, recorded in a Lithuanian chancery book in distorted order, see Egidijus Banionis [Banėnis], "K voprosu o genezise posol'skix knig (1480–1486)," in: *Issledovaniya po istorii Litovskoj metriki*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1989): 64–84, esp. pp. 80–81.

<sup>71</sup> *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 4 (1479–1491). Užrašymų knyga 4*. Edited by L. Anužytė (Vilnius, 2004), p. 92; the letter was earlier published in *Russkaja Istoričeskaja Biblioteka izdavaemaja Imperatorskoju Arxeografičeskoju Kommissieju*, vol. 27: *Litovskaja*



Historians still disagree on Mengli's real intentions in 1480. Was his desire to keep peace with Casimir genuine, frustrated only by the king's indecisiveness? Or was the khan just buying time, trying to soften the Lithuanian stand during the decisive confrontation between Muscovy and the Great Horde?

When Hlyns'kyj was on his way back from the Crimea, Khan Ahmed had already been waiting three months for Lithuanian reinforcements, in order to begin a planned joint invasion of Muscovy. The reinforcements never arrived and the khan, having encountered a strong Muscovian army across the Ugra river, returned home without an actual fighting. The "Ugra standoff" of 1480 was to arise in the Russian national mythology to the symbolic end of the "Tatar yoke," especially as Ahmed perished soon afterwards in an engagement with dissatisfied Nogays.<sup>72</sup> Whatever the actual importance of these events was, Mengli Giray's luring Casimir into peace negotiations, interrupted by the Crimean raid in September, certainly did not help the king to organize assistance for his distant ally.

Following Ahmed's death in January 1481, Temir, a powerful Nogay leader, whose role in the Great Horde was similar to that of Eminek's in the Crimea, asked Mengli Giray for protection over the late khan's sons. The protection was surprisingly granted, but soon after the relations between the two hordes deteriorated anew and later in the same year a large raid of the Great Horde devastated the Crimea. Having suffered humiliation and defeat, Mengli Giray could no longer ignore monits from Moscow, reminding him of his treaty obligations against Vilnius, and besides he apparently wanted to make up for the losses suffered by the Crimean economy.

In September 1482, a large Crimean army conquered, burned and looted Kiev, taking numerous captives, including the palatine Ivan Xodkevyč (Pol. Chodkiewicz) along with his family. Although no invasion of comparable size occurred after that date, the Lithuanian-Crimean relations became openly hostile and embassies were rare. In the following decade, Mengli Giray was again busy combating the khans of the Great Horde: Murtaza, Seyyid Ahmed (not to be confused

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*Metrika. Otdel pervyj. Čast' pervaja: Knigi zapisej. Tom pervyj.* Edited by I. Lappo (St. Petersburg, 1910), cols. 333–334; and (in Latin script) by Pułaski.

<sup>72</sup> For a recent reevaluation of these events, see Khodarkovsky, *Russia's Steppe Frontier*, pp. 77–82.

with Tokhtamish's grandson, long dead by that time), and Sheikh Ahmed, commonly referred to in his correspondence as "the children of Ahmed" (*axmatovy dety*). Also Ivan III temporarily turned his attention to the north and east, capturing Tver (1485) and making first efforts to subjugate Kazan. Casimir faced an imminent danger from the south, when in 1484 the Ottoman sultan Bayezid II invaded Moldavia, which was a Polish tributary, and annexed two Black Sea ports, Kilia and Moncastro (known to the Slavs as Bil'horod/Białogród and to the Turks as Akkerman). All this contributed towards less intensive diplomatic and military contacts between Vilnius and Qırq Yer. Somewhat surprisingly, in the years 1487–1491 Lithuania faced three raids of the Great Horde, its supposed-to-be ally, apparently undertaken for economic reasons.

In 1491, the nomads of the Great Horde, who in the preceding years had grazed their herds on the lower Dnieper, retreated to the Volga, relieving their pressure from both the Lithuanian and Crimean borderlands. In the spring of 1492, Mengli Giray notified Ivan III of his construction of a new fort on the lower Dnieper, on the "royal land" below the river crossing named Tavan' (*na korolevoj zemli niže Tavani*), declaring his readiness to march against Kiev by harvest time, providing that he received Muscovian reinforcements. The khan expressed his hope that, God permitting, the two allies would soon take Vilnius and Cracow.<sup>73</sup>

Writing his letter, Mengli Giray was unaware of Casimir's death on 7 June 1492 that was to trigger a full-scale Muscovian invasion of Lithuania. The Lithuanian-Muscovian war of 1492–1494 resulted in the Muscovian annexation of the lands on the upper Oka (apart from Mcensk and Ljubutsk), once "granted" to Lithuania in Mengli's *yarliq*.<sup>74</sup>

The death of Casimir also terminated the Polish-Lithuanian union as the thrones of Poland and Lithuania were divided among his sons,

<sup>73</sup> *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 1, pp. 148–153. For a convincing localization of the new fort at the mouth of the Tjahynka, a right tributary of the Dnieper, see Vladimir Syročekovskij, "Puti i uslovija snošenij Moskvy s Krymom na rubeže XVI veka," *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR*, VII serija: *Otdelenie obščestvennyx nauk* 3 (1932): 193–237, esp. pp. 218–221.

<sup>74</sup> On these lands and the shifting loyalties of their autonomous princes, see Mixail Krom, *Mež Rus'ju i Litvoj: Zapadnorusskie zemli v sisteme russko-litovskix otnošenij konca XV—pervoj treći XVI v.* (Moscow, 1995).

respectively John Albert and Alexander.<sup>75</sup> Admittedly, the two brothers cooperated in their foreign policy and mutually consulted important decisions.<sup>76</sup> Curiously enough, Mengli Giray, still unaware of Casimir's death, notified the Lithuanian court of his construction plans on the lower Dnieper, not disclosing his designs of a large scale Crimean-Muscovian invasion. His letter was answered on 27 June 1492 already by Grand Duke Alexander, who notified the khan of his father's death and expressed his amazement that Mengli wished to violate his own *yarliq*, in which he had granted the disputed lands to Lithuania. Referring to the new Tatar fort on the Dnieper as Tjahyn, Alexander stressed that if Mengli Giray behaved in a peaceful manner, he could receive it as a fief.<sup>77</sup>

In 1493 Lithuanian troops, commanded by two Tatar "renegades:" Prince Bohdan Hlyns'kyj and Özdemir, Mengli's youngest brother remaining in Lithuanian service, destroyed Tjahyn. The infuriated khan sent his troops to raid the Lithuanian Ukraine.<sup>78</sup> In 1494, the Crimeans reached Volhynia and defeated the Lithuanian-Polish troops at Vyšnivec', while Mengli Giray began the construction of a new Dnieper fort that later became known as Djankerman or Djankermen (lit. "New Town") to the Tatars and as Očakov to the Slavs (today Ukr. Očakiv).<sup>79</sup> A peace between Vilnius and Moscow, concluded in 1494 and cemented by Alexander's marriage with Ivan's daughter, did not

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<sup>75</sup> The union was reestablished in 1501 when Alexander was elected the king of Poland after John Albert's death. For the first time such a break of the Polish-Lithuanian union occurred in 1440, when the Lithuanian lords put Casimir on the throne of the Grand Duchy without consulting his older brother, Vladislaus III, who had been the king of Poland since the death of Vladislaus II (Jogaila) in 1434. The death of Vladislaus III (also the king of Hungary) in the battle of Varna (1444) enabled the election of Casimir to the Polish throne and the reestablishment of the union in 1447.

<sup>76</sup> In the same period Casimir's oldest son, Vladislaus, was the king of Bohemia (1471–1516) and Hungary (1490–1516). Yet, notwithstanding a lip service paid by the three brothers to the idea of an anti-Ottoman crusade, the Jagiellonian foreign policy never attained the level of homogeneity that was later attributed to the House of Habsburg.

<sup>77</sup> *Lietuvos Metrika (1427–1506). Knyga Nr. 5. Užrašymų knyga 5*. Edited by E. Banionis (Vilnius, 1993), pp. 55–56; the letter was earlier published by Pułaski.

<sup>78</sup> The modern term Ukraine, referring to a European state, originally referred to the borderlands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, especially its southern borderland inhabited by a mixed Ruthenian-Tatar population.

<sup>79</sup> The new fort was situated in the Dnieper and Boh estuary, in a better defensible site; see Vladimir Syročekovskij, "Puti i uslovija snošenij Moskvys s Krymom na rubeže XVI veka," pp. 220–221.

prevent Tatars from further raids of Lithuania, although in 1496 both sides returned to negotiations and Alexander urged Mengli Giray to send him an oath letter (*lyst prysjażnyj*).<sup>80</sup>

In 1497, in a much delayed reaction to the Ottoman conquest of Kilia and Akkerman, King John Albert led the Polish troops to Moldavia. The official aim of his expedition was an anti-Ottoman crusade that was to result in the reconquest of the Black Sea ports. Less openly, the Jagiellonians also planned to remove Stephan the Great, whose policy was too independent for their taste, from the Moldavian throne and replace him with their younger brother, Sigismund (the future king of Poland). Sensing the danger, Stephan sided with the Ottomans and the Polish king suffered a humiliating defeat from his former vassal.

Though Lithuania did not participate in the Polish-Ottoman war, Alexander gathered his troops in southern provinces. A planned Lithuanian attack against Mengli Giray, coordinated with a Polish advance in Moldavia and an invasion of the Great Horde from the east, did not materialize, but a Lithuanian commander, Kostjantyn Ostroz'kyj (Pol. Konstanty Ostrogski), defeated Crimean troops in a battle near Braclav, where Mengli's son and the future khan, Mehmed Giray, was wounded and temporarily captured.<sup>81</sup>

A formidable Ottoman-Crimean revenge occurred in 1498, when the Muslim troops reached as far as Sanok in present-day Poland. A Turkish undated map, preserved in the Topkapı Palace and depicting a planned attack of Ottoman galleys against Kiev, origins probably from that period.<sup>82</sup> In 1499 Polish-Ottoman negotiations began, resulting in a truce that was converted into a lasting peace by 1503.<sup>83</sup> Simultaneously, a peace was proposed by Mengli Giray to Alexander on the condition that the latter would pay him a tribute.<sup>84</sup> The offer would almost certainly have been rejected, if Muscovy had not resumed its

<sup>80</sup> *Lietuvos Metrika (1427–1506)*. Knyga Nr. 5, p. 111; the letter was earlier published by Pułaski.

<sup>81</sup> For the chronology of military engagements in the years 1493–1497, see Kolankowski, *Dzieje Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, pp. 417–422 and 429–436.

<sup>82</sup> Abrahamowicz, “Stara turecka mapa Ukrainy z planem wysadzenia dniesprzańskich porohów i ataku floty tureckiej na Kijów,” *Studia Historyczne* 44 (2001): 3–23, esp. p. 20.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th–18th Century)*. An Annotated Edition of ‘Ahdnames and Other Documents (Leiden, 2000), pp. 111–113.

<sup>84</sup> Kolankowski, *Dzieje Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, p. 441.

attack on Lithuania in 1500. In dire circumstances, Alexander empowered his envoy Dmytryj Putjatyč, the palatine of Kiev, to secretly offer Mengli Giray a tribute from the provinces of Kiev, Volhynia, and Podolia, calculating three *grossi* (Ruth. *den'hy*) yearly per a subject's head, and in addition a tribute from the recently lost province of Putyvl', if the khan assisted Alexander to reconquer it from the Muscovites.<sup>85</sup> However, on the eve of Putjatyč's departure, his mission was cancelled and an offensive alliance was concluded instead with Sheikh Ahmed, the khan of the Great Horde.<sup>86</sup>

In 1501, Sheikh Ahmed along with his troops and people entered eastern Lithuanian provinces, pushing out the Muscovian troops from their recent conquests: the regions of Ryl'sk, Novhorod-Sivers'kyj, and Starodub.<sup>87</sup> The khan urged Alexander to join the offensive, but the latter was busy securing the Polish throne after the death of his brother, John Albert. Sheikh Ahmed's initial success turned into a disaster due to both natural and human reasons: the extremely harsh winter of 1501/1502 and Mengli Giray's order to burn the steppe.<sup>88</sup> Facing starvation, most of Ahmed's subjects, including his own wife, defected to the Crimea and submitted to Mengli. In June 1502, Mengli defeated the remnants of the Great Horde on the Sula river, forcing Ahmed to take refuge on the Volga.<sup>89</sup> In the following winter also Tevkel, the son of Temir, the powerful Nogay leader and a leading figure in the Great Horde, entered Mengli's service. Tevkel's descendants would later form a powerful Crimean clan of the Manghits (also referred to as Mansurs). Late in the year 1503, Sheikh Ahmed returned to the Black Sea steppe in vain hope of regaining the loyalty of his people, but he was chased out by the Crimean troops. Having arrived at Kiev, he

<sup>85</sup> See the instruction dated 27 November 1500, in *Lietuvos Metrika (1427–1506)*. *Knyga Nr. 5*, pp. 154–156; it was earlier published by Pułaski.

<sup>86</sup> See Egidijus Banionis, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės pasiuntinybių tarnyba XV–XVI amžiais* (Vilnius, 1998), p. 100.

<sup>87</sup> See the letter of Sheikh Ahmed to Alexander, in *Lietuvos Metrika (1427–1506)*. *Knyga Nr. 5*, p. 170; it was earlier published by Pułaski.

<sup>88</sup> See Mengli's letter to Ivan III, reporting his order to set fire in the steppe in order to prohibit wintering to Ahmed's people (*i jaz velel požary puskati, čtoby im negde zimovati*), in *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 1, pp. 377.

<sup>89</sup> Leslie Collins convincingly demonstrated that the historical tales of Mengli's capture of the Horde's capital of Saray on the Volga resulted from a misunderstanding. Mengli would not have time in 1502 to lead an expedition to the Volga and the whole drama was resolved solely on the Dnieper and Sula rivers. When relating "the capture of the Horde" by Mengli Giray, Russian chroniclers referred to Sheikh Ahmed's mobile military camp (*ordu*) and not his town on the Volga (cf. n. 90 below).

would then spend over two decades in Lithuanian custody, regarded as the warranty of good behavior from the side of the Crimean khans.<sup>90</sup>

The catastrophe of Sheikh Ahmed certainly did not help Lithuania in its war against Muscovy. In 1503, a truce was concluded between Alexander and Ivan III, sanctioning the Muscovian annexation of the last Lithuanian strongholds on the Oka (Mcensk and Ljubutsk) and vast tracts on the Sejim and Desna rivers, with such important centers as Putyvl', Ryl'sk, Kursk, Černihiv, Novhorod-Sivers'kyj, Starodub, and Brjansk, all of them once listed in the *yarliqs* of Hadji Giray and Mengli Giray.

Mengli Giray proved Ivan's valuable ally by both destroying (or rather absorbing) the Great Horde and weakening Lithuania through constant raids. Yet, not unexpectedly, their common success bore seeds of a future conflict. Both Ivan III and Mengli Giray had political plans regarding Kazan. Through a political marriage with Nur Sultan, the widow of the Kazan khan, Ibrahim (d. 1479), Mengli had become the stepfather of two competitors for the Kazan throne: Muhammed Emin and Abdullatif. As long as Sheikh Ahmed was dangerous, Mengli coordinated his policy with Ivan III and had to swallow the latter's interventions in Kazan's internal affairs, such as the one in 1502, resulting in the removal and arrest of Abdullatif and his replacing with Muhammed Emin.<sup>91</sup> Yet, having chased out Sheikh Ahmed and secured loyalty of many of his subjects, Mengli gained strength and prestige that validated his aspirations to the heritage of the Golden Horde. The change of his *Weltanschauung* was best demonstrated by his repeated demands of a tribute from Moscow, rising in frequency since the beginning of the 16th century. The reorientation of Mengli's foreign policy was influenced by a fresh newcomer, Tevkel, once the advisor of Sheikh Ahmed and also Nur Sultan's brother, who remembered well his lost pasturelands on the Volga.<sup>92</sup>

Apart from the Volga, Ivan III and Mengli Giray soon found another area of contest in result of the Muscovian expansion towards the Dnieper. The Crimeans did not resign from raiding the former

<sup>90</sup> For a reconstruction of events, see Collins, "On the Alleged 'Destruction' of the Great Horde in 1502," pp. 369, 381–382, and 388–397. On the imprisonment of Sheikh Ahmed in Lithuania, see also Document 9, notes 27 and 30.

<sup>91</sup> Xudjakov, *Očerki po istorii Kazanskogo xanstva*, pp. 58–59; on Nur Sultan, see also Mixail Berežkov, "Nur-sultan, carica Krymskaja," in: *Izvestija Tavričeskoj učenoj arxivnoj kommissii*, vol. 27 (Simferopol, 1897): 1–19.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Xoroškevič, *Rus' i Krym*, pp. 163–164.

Lithuanian territories after they had been annexed to Muscovy, causing understandable protests of their ally. Along with the straining of Crimean-Muscovian relations, yet another factor contributed to Mengli's rapprochement with Vilnius: although Sheikh Ahmed had been defeated, he was still dangerous as long as he was alive and kept in Lithuanian custody.

The years 1503–1506 were characterized by continuous Tatar raids against Lithuania, but also intensification of diplomatic contacts. In 1505 a Lithuanian envoy, Jakub Ivašencovyč,<sup>93</sup> was sent to the Crimea with a proposal to renew the peace. In reply, Mengli sent a courier named Batush, notifying Alexander that he had already sworn to keep friendship in the presence of Ivašencovyč. An oath had also been taken by Mengli's brother Yaghmurcha, the khan's second son Ahmed, the Shirin *qaraçı* Devletek,<sup>94</sup> the Barın *qaraçı* Devlet Bakhtı, and other beys. In return for his declaration, the khan, who was surprisingly well informed of Sheikh Ahmed's whereabouts, required that his old enemy be arrested in the presence of Batush and imprisoned in Kaunas. While Ivašencovyč was detained in the Crimea until the return of Batush, the khan asked Alexander to prepare a new great embassy, to be headed by the palatine of Trakai "as was the ancient custom," or another person of high rank, so that the great envoy should arrive at the khan's court and swear an oath in the king's name.<sup>95</sup> Alexander accepted the proposal, let Batush witness the imprisonment of Sheikh Ahmed, and sent him back along with a royal courier, Petr Fursovyč.

Even the raid of Mengli's two younger sons, Feth Giray and Burnash Giray, who were defeated by Myxajlo Hlyn's'kyj at Kleck (in Belarus) on 5 August 1506, did not frustrate the negotiations.<sup>96</sup> Sending his new embassy, Mengli assured the king that the raid had been unauthorized

<sup>93</sup> On his career, see Document 8, n. 39.

<sup>94</sup> The former envoy to Moscow, see above.

<sup>95</sup> *Lietuvos Metrika (1427–1506). Knyga Nr. 5*, pp. 231–232; the letter was earlier published by Pułaski (where the name of Devlet Bakhtı is omitted). Referring to the palatine of Trakai, Mengli Giray had in mind Bohdan Sakovyč, who had collected Mengli's first *yarlıq* (see Document 4, n. 31) and whom the khan mentioned by name and function in another letter from 1506; see *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 8*, p. 59. In fact, Sakovyč was nominated the palatine of Trakai ten years after he had completed his mission.

<sup>96</sup> On the campaign of 1506, see Stanisław Herbst, "Kleck 1506," in: *idem, Potrzeba historii czyli o polskim stylu życia. Wybór pism* (Warsaw, 1978), vol. 2: 214–230 [the article was first published in 1934].

and its rout well deserved. Judging by the fact that the khan already knew the result of the raid, but did not know about Alexander's death on 19 August, we may assume that his embassy left the Crimea in late August 1506. It was headed by Mengli's trusted courtier, Tevkel (*Tjuvikel*) Ulan (not to be confused with the Manghit leader), composed of numerous envoys sent by the Giray family members and clan leaders, and joined by Jakub Ivašencovyč, finally allowed to return home. In his letter to the king, Mengli expressed his gratitude for the imprisonment of Sheikh Ahmed and reiterated his peaceful intentions, which were to be confirmed with solemn oaths, sworn by the Crimean envoys in front of the king and his councilors. The khan again asked the king to send a great embassy, which would complete the whole somewhat prolonged procedure. The royal envoys would swear an oath by the king's soul in front of Mengli Giray and witness an oath taken by the khan and his retinue. In conclusion, Mengli criticized Muscovian duplicity and proposed to form a triple alliance between Alexander, Mengli Giray, and Muhammed Emin, the khan of Kazan, who had recently waged war against his former protectors and successfully withheld a siege by the Muscovian troops. Muhammed Emin's envoy also participated in the Crimean embassy, carrying his lord's letter invoking the past friendship between Vytautas and Ulug Muhammed.<sup>97</sup>

Initially sent to Alexander but learning of his death, the Crimean embassy did not return; instead it was received by his brother and successor, Sigismund. By the end of the year 1506, Tevkel Ulan swore a solemn oath in the presence of Sigismund and his councilors, assembled in Mielnik. The oath was pronounced on behalf of Mengli Giray, referred to as the khan of the two hordes, the Trans-Volgine (*Zavolskoe*, i.e., the Great Horde) and of Perekop (*Perekopskoe*, i.e., the Crimean Horde). It stipulated that neither the khan nor his subjects should commit any harm to Sigismund's domains, either the Polish Crown or the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and promised Mengli's assistance against Sigismund's enemies, particularly the Muscovian ruler.

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<sup>97</sup> For the letters of Mengli Giray and Muhammed Emin, see *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 8*, pp. 50–51 and 56–57; these letters were published earlier (in Latin script) by Pułaski. On Tevkel Ulan's biography, see Document 7, n. 2. On the war between Muscovy and Kazan in the years 1505–1506, see Xudjakov, *Očerki po istorii Kazanskogo xanstva*, pp. 60–67.



Tevkel also engaged that the oath would be confirmed by the khan personally in the presence of royal envoys, who were to be dispatched to the Crimea.<sup>98</sup>

Having witnessed the Crimean oath, Sigismund reciprocally swore his own oath along with his Polish and Lithuanian councilors, and immediately dispatched a courier named Soroka, who was further to proceed to Kazan. The promised great Lithuanian embassy left shortly afterwards, headed by Jurij Zenovevyč, the future governor of Smolensk, and—again—Jakub Ivašencovyč.<sup>99</sup> The envoys returned in the late summer of 1507, accompanied by a Crimean embassy, headed by Mamish Ulan, who carried two important documents issued by Mengli Giray. The first one, drawn on 2 July 1507, was a typical *yarlıq*, similar in form and contents to the former *yarlıqs* of Hadji Giray and Mengli Giray.<sup>100</sup> Invoking the old friendship between Hadji Giray and Vytautas, the khan “granted” anew to Lithuania numerous lands along with their inhabitants, grouped into units referred to by the Mongolian-Turkish term *tümen*. The *yarlıq* enumerates all the lands that were listed in the former documents, with a single, apparently accidental omission of Novhorod-Sivers’kyj.<sup>101</sup> Moreover, it lists a few additional settlements.<sup>102</sup> Following the arguments of Myxajlo Hruševs’kyj, Fedir Petrun’ rightly concluded that the contents of this *yarlıq* reflected geographical realities from the last years of Vytautas’ life (1428–1430).<sup>103</sup> Yet, given the political context in 1507, the anachronism was at least partly deliberate. Arguably, Mengli Giray had no intention of stirring

<sup>98</sup> The text of the oath has been recorded and is preserved; see Document 7. On the reception of the Crimean embassy in Mielnik, see “Litovskija upominki tatarskim ordam. Skarbovaja kniga Metriki Litovskoj 1502–1509 gg.” Edited by M. Dovnar-Zapol’skij, in: *Izvestija Tavričeskoj učenoj arxivnoj kommissii*, vol. 28 (Simferopol, 1898): 1–81, esp. pp. 52–53.

<sup>99</sup> Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, pp. 109–111, 296–300; *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 8*, pp. 54–56 and 58–59. Pułaski refers to Zenovevyč as the “palatine” of Smolensk; yet, he became the governor (*namestnik*) of Smolensk only in 1507, apparently in reward for his embassy; see Document 8, n. 38.

<sup>100</sup> See Document 8.

<sup>101</sup> Also an unidentified locality named Čynamir was omitted; yet, perhaps it was identical with the estate of Donec that was first listed in 1507.

<sup>102</sup> Čornyj Horod on the lower Dniester, Zvynyhorod to the southwest of Čerkasy, Xoten’ to the southeast of Putyvl’, Myl’oljub in the *tümen* of Jagoldaj, Donec on the Donec river.

<sup>103</sup> Fedir Petrun’, “Xans’ki jarlyky na ukrajins’ki zemli (do pytannja pro tatars’ku Ukrajinu),” *Sxidnyj Svit* (1993), no. 2: 133–143 [first published in 1928], esp. pp. 134–135.

a Polish-Lithuanian conflict by “granting” western Podolia along with the castle of Kamjanec’ (incorporated to the Polish Crown in 1430) to Lithuania. But by “granting” of eastern territories that had either been lost to Ivan III in the years 1494 and 1503, or had never belonged to Lithuania, like Pskov, Velikij Novograd, and Perejaslavl’ Rjazan’skij, the khan cemented and encouraged the military cooperation with Sigismund in the approaching war against Muscovy.

The second document by Mengli Giray, referred to as “oath-letter” (Ruth. *prysjažnyj lyst*), was dated 14 July 1507. It was issued on behalf of the khan, but also on behalf of his younger brother Yaghmurcha, his five sons: Mehmed, Ahmed, Mahmud, Feth, and Burnash, his nephew Yapancha, and a number of Crimean notables: Muslim clergymen, service beys,<sup>104</sup> the leaders of the four aristocratic clans of the Manghits, Sedjevüts, Shirins, and Barins, other commanders, courtiers and the khan’s servants, both mentioned and not mentioned by name, who had all confirmed its contents by their oaths. The ceremony of oath taking, referred to in the document, was central in the peacemaking procedure and reflected the hierarchical order of both societies concerned. While the Lithuanian envoys took their oath on behalf of King Sigismund and the Lithuanian lords, beginning with the bishop of Vilnius, the khan and all those present reciprocated by swearing to keep the peace on their part.

The document reconfirmed the *yarlıqs* of Tokhtamış and Hadji Giray that had granted Ruthenian lands to Lithuania, without specifying the lands concerned (that was already done in the *yarlıq*). The khan also promised to send a Tatar army commanded by his brother or son with the task of assisting Sigismund to fight his enemies. In return, Mengli Giray expected Lithuanian assistance in his own campaigns. In a separate clause, the khan demanded that the king execute Halek Sultan, the nephew of Sheikh Ahmed, and the latter’s other prominent retinue members, who had found refuge in Lithuania. Less

<sup>104</sup> The term “service begs” (i.e., beys), coined by Syroečkovskij (in Russian: *služilye* or *služebnye knjaz’ja*), was adopted into English by Manz. It refers to the courtiers of either noble or humble origin, who owed their status to their service and devotion to the khan and not to their place in the clan hierarchy. Unlike the members of the aristocratic clans, namely the Shirins and Manghits, the service beys did not intermarry with the Giray dynasty; cf. Syroečkovskij, “Muxammed-Geraj i ego vassaly,” *Učenyje zapiski Moskovskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta im. M. V. Lomonosova*, vyp. 61 (1940): *Istorija* (vol. 2): 3–71, esp. p. 35; and Manz, “The clans of the Crimean Khanate,” pp. 291–293.

important followers of Sheikh Ahmed were to be enslaved and settled in Lithuanian domains, far away from the Crimean border. While Mengli openly required the execution of Sheikh Ahmed's closest supporters, he was more circumspect in regard to the person of the former khan. The document only quotes the vaguely worded promise by Lithuanian envoys reportedly given to Mengli Giray: "and in regard to your enemy Sheikh Ahmed, as you said, so we will do." Yet, in a separate letter sent to Sigismund, Mengli openly demanded the execution of Sheikh Ahmed in the presence of the Crimean envoys.<sup>105</sup> Not by accident Mengli's embassy was headed by Mamish Ulan, one of the khan's most loyal and experienced service beys, who was entrusted to look to the fulfillment of his lord's wish.<sup>106</sup>

The document also provided that, following the promise of the Lithuanian envoys, the Lithuanian treasury was to reimburse Mengli's expenditures on the construction and maintenance of the fort of Islamkerman, recently built on the left shore of the Dnieper near the Tavan' crossing, with the annual quota of 4,500 florins. Though this provision could be regarded as a form of tribute, an apparent rationale of the Lithuanian policy makers was that the new castle prevented Tatar raids unauthorized by the khan and provided greater security for merchants and envoys.

Referring to a future campaign against Muscovy, the treaty provided that if the Tatars conquered territories that had formerly belonged to Lithuania, they should restore them to Sigismund, but in return a special tax was to be collected annually from their inhabitants and sent to the Crimea.

The khan also promised to punish any of his subjects—regardless of their rank—, who would violate the peace by raiding the royal lands. If the culprits managed to escape, the khan would order to arrest their wives and children and deliver them to royal agents in the aforementioned border castle of Islamkerman.

The Lithuanian Register book, where the above document has been copied, contains an additional list of the Crimean dignitaries who had

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<sup>105</sup> On this issue and the fate of Sheikh Ahmed, see Document 9, notes 27, 30, and 33.

<sup>106</sup> On Mamish Ulan, the experienced diplomat and the lieutenant of Qırq Yer, see Document 9, n. 12. Apart from his diplomatic function, he is also listed in the very document that he brought among the dignitaries who had sworn to keep its provisions, with his name being preceded only by the Giray family members and Muslim clergymen.

confirmed its contents with their oaths. The list was apparently dictated by the khan and recorded by Ibir Hodja, a scribe of the Crimean chancery.<sup>107</sup> Only six persons are listed by names, namely Mehmed Giray, Mengli's oldest son, Mamış Ulan, referred to by the khan as "the next in prominence after me" (*po mne pervyj čolovek*),<sup>108</sup> and four clan leaders: Agış of the Shirins, Devlet Bakhtı of the Barıns, Merdan of the Arghins, and Mahmud of the Qıpchaqs. A comparison of this list with the document itself is confusing, because they record differently the composition of the four major clans. The clan leaders listed by names in the document are Tevkel of the Manghits, Mamış of the Sedjevüts, Agış of the Shirins, and Devlet Bakhtı of the Barıns. Only the last two names appear in both lists, though it is striking that in the document the leader of the once powerful Shirins is listed only in the third place. Priority is given there to Tevkel, a newcomer from the Great Horde and former adviser of Sheikh Ahmed, and to Mamış the Sedjevüt, Mengli's brother-in-law (not to be confused with Mamış Ulan). The rise in prominence of the Manghits (Mansurs) and, to a lesser degree, the Sedjevüts in the 16th century is well known in historiography.<sup>109</sup> Yet, so far it has not been precisely described how this process affected the Crimean hierarchy structure. If the number of *qaraçı* beys was fixed at four,<sup>110</sup> what happened to the beys of the Arghins and Qıpchaqs, supposedly deprived of the *qaraçı* status, and how strongly did they resent their downfall? How were they referred to afterwards? The document of 1507 demonstrates that the change was in process earlier than it is often assumed, but again it does not provide an answer. Although neither of the two lists refers to the clan

<sup>107</sup> See Document 9, appendix.

<sup>108</sup> On Mamış Ulan, see also n. 106 above.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Manz, "The clans of the Crimean Khanate," p. 284; Inalcık, "The khan and the tribal aristocracy," pp. 447–448.

<sup>110</sup> The number of four *qaračıs*, traced back to the old Mongol tradition and confirmed by comparisons with other Genghisid successor states, is reasserted in the study of Schamiloglu (cf. n. 42 above). Yet, in 1552 Devlet Giray wrote to Sigismund Augustus: "in the times of my grandfather, Mengli Giray Khan, and my uncle, Mehmed Giray Khan, gifts used to be sent from you, our brothers, to six *qaraçı* beys, our elder councilors" (*za deda moeho Men' Kireja cara, za djady moeho Mahmet Kireja cara, šest'ma knjazem karečeem, Rade našoj staršoj, upomynki ot vas brat'y našoe prysylany byvaly*), naming the Shirins, Manghits, Barıns, Arghins, Sedjevüts, and Qıpchaqs; see *Kniga posol'skaja Metriki Velikago Knjažestva Litovskago, soderžaščaja v sebe diplomatičeskija snošenija Litvy v gosudarstvovanie korolja Sigizmunda-Avgusta s 1545 po 1572 god*. Edited by M. Obolen'skij and I. Danilovič (Moscow, 1843), p. 61; cf. Syročekovskij, "Muxammed-Geraj i ego vassaly," p. 60.

leaders as *qaraçıs*, we may safely assume that at least two of them, Ağış and Devlet Bakhtı, were *qaraçıs*, but who were the remaining two? Did the Crimean chancery (and society) of the time stick to tradition, still referring to the Arghins and Qıpchaqs as *qaraçıs*, while denying this title to the Manghits and Sedjevüts, in fact more powerful? Or had the change already occurred? How long did the khans keep two alternative lists of the four clan leaders, out of which only one was genuine?<sup>111</sup>

The Tatar military assistance, expected by Vilnius during the Lithuanian-Muscovian war of 1507–1508, proved disappointing. Kazan reached peace with Muscovy already in 1507 while Mengli Giray, disillusioned by the reluctance, and then open refusal of Sigismund to execute Sheikh Ahmed, did not conduct a single raid against Muscovy and concluded a new treaty with Vasilij III in 1508.<sup>112</sup> In reality, small Tatar detachments raided alternatively both Lithuanian and Muscovian borderlands. To make things worse, Myxajlo Hlyn's'kyj, the once victorious Lithuanian commander at Kleck, rebelled and defected to Vasilij's side due to a conflict with King Sigismund. The Lithuanian-Muscovian war was terminated by an "eternal peace" with no territorial gains for Vilnius apart from the castle of Ljubeč.

Although the treaty of 1506–1507 between Sigismund and Mengli Giray was never officially renounced, both sides began to regard it as nonexistent. Negotiations of a new agreement were initiated already by Jacek Ratomski, Sigismund's courtier sent to the Crimea in 1508, as soon as he learned there about the reconciliation between Mengli and Vasilij III. Ratomski spent almost two years in the Crimea maintaining correspondence with the royal court. In 1509, Mengli Giray sent an embassy to Vilnius asking Sigismund to hand him over Sheikh Ahmed and send him annually 10,000 florins in addition to the already prom-

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<sup>111</sup> One does not gain much help from a preserved list of dignitaries, who swore the peace with Muscovy in 1508, where we find the leaders of all the six disputed clans, listed in the following order: Tevkel, Mamış, Ağış, Devlet Bakhtı, Merdan, Mahmud, yet with no hint, who was a *qaraçı*, and who was not. The number of *qaraçıs* was apparently limited to four, and not six (cf. the discussion in n. 110 above), since a member of Mengli's retinue, the mullah Baba Sheikh, recalled in his letter to Vasilij III that the oath was sworn by the four *qaraçıs* (*četyre karači šert' dali*); see *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij Moskovskago gosudarstva s Krymskoju i Nogajskojju ordami i s Turciej*, vol. 2: 1508–1521 gg. Edited by G. Karpov and G. Štendman, in: *Sbornik Imperatorskago Russkago Istoričeskago Obščestva*, vol. 95 (St. Petersburg, 1895), pp. 20 and 39.

<sup>112</sup> See *ibidem*, pp. 19–21.

ised 4,500 florins for the pay (Ruth. *alafa* < Tur. *ulufe*) of the garrison of Islamkerman.<sup>113</sup> In response, Sigismund entrusted Ratomski with proposing the khan a yearly payment of five to six thousand florins in return for a stable treaty.<sup>114</sup> An important role in the negotiations was played by Augustino de Garibaldis, a Genovese from Caffa who had entered the khan's service. In 1506, provided with Mengli's credentials, he traveled through Poland to Spain for the reason of family matters (he had two brothers there). Perhaps on his way back from Spain to the Crimea in 1510, he took Sigismund's letters addressed to the khan and his retinue members. Shortly afterwards, he returned along with another Italian, Giovanni Baptista de San Nicolo, carrying a bunch of letters from the khan, his family, and Crimean notables.<sup>115</sup>

Disappointed with the short duration of the previous treaty, Sigismund also chose a new intermediary in his negotiations with Qırq Yer. Personally religious and aware of the great influence of clergy in Poland-Lithuania, the king assumed that a Muslim religious authority might ensure that the khan would keep his oath for a longer time. Therefore he wrote to Hadji Baba Sheikh, the mullah at Mengli's court, whom he later referred to as *archiepiscopus imperatoris*, asking him for mediation in trust that "the khan and the princes [*sultans*] would not lie to him."<sup>116</sup> The mullah, who had earlier confirmed with his oath the treaty of 1507 and whose name also figured prominently in the Crimean diplomatic correspondence with Moscow, complied and reported to Sigismund his conversation with Mengli. The khan reportedly reasserted his good intentions and maintained that for the sake of the peace he had emptied his treasury by building two castles that cut passages of Tatar raiders into Lithuania: the one on the Dnieper

<sup>113</sup> Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, pp. 359–362. The letter was dated 20 Muharrem 915 A.H., i.e., 10 May 1509. Since Sigismund remained in Poland due to a conflict with Moldavia, Crimean envoys were long detained in Lithuania and the letter was recorded in the Lithuanian Register in 1510, along with the correspondence brought by a following Crimean embassy.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 137, 140, 349.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 145–146, 356, 363–369; on the two Italian envoys, cf. Document 16, notes 11 and 18.

<sup>116</sup> "I have heard of you as a spiritual person at [the court of] the great khan, Mengli Giray, so that the khan and the princes [*sultans*] could not lie to you" (*słyśał esmy u velykoho carja Mendligireja tebe duxovnykom, yž car y soltany tobe ne mohut sol-haty*), see *ibidem*, p. 363 (on Hadji Baba Sheikh, cf. Document 9, n. 11). Probably the same rationale lay behind Sigismund's later insistence that the khan should issue his treaty instrument written "in the Muslim words" (*musulmanskymy slovy*); cf. *ibidem*, p. 446.

(i.e., Islamkerman) and another in the Crimean isthmus (Perekop, i.e., Ferahkerman), providing them with soldiers (Tur. *azaps*) and securing their pay. Mengli added that the remainder of his funds had been distributed among his family members and notables so that they restrain from raiding the royal domains. By pointing to the large size of his family (“as I have nine sons, Mehmed Giray has nine sons, Yaghmur-cha Sultan has two sons, Ahmed Sultan has one son, and Mahmud Sultan has two sons”), the khan complained that he had been ruined by providing for his family and therefore asked the king to send him annually 15,000 florins. Although his request could be seen as a plain extortion, it also reflected the importance of slave raids not just for common Tatars, who needed to provide for their families, but also for the Giray princes and young members of Tatar aristocracy, who treated such raids as means of gaining status, enabling them to maintain numerous followers, encouraging patronage and luxurious consumption. As an additional condition of peace, Baba Sheikh invoked the requirement that Sheikh Ahmed should be firmly kept in Lithuanian custody. Apparently Mengli Giray already lost his hope that Sigismund would execute his enemy. In return, the khan would send to Lithuania two Giray princes as hostages to guarantee the peace, namely his second son, Ahmed, and his grandson from among the sons of Mehmed Giray, Mengli’s oldest son and heir apparent. The 15,000 florins destined for the khan were to be amassed in Kiev and released upon the hostages’ arrival.<sup>117</sup>

The above conditions of peace, negotiated through the mediation of Baba Sheikh and proposed in the correspondence from the Crimea brought by the two Italians, were reported by Sigismund in a letter to his councilors, sent on 16 September 1510.<sup>118</sup> In his response to the khan, dated in Cracow on 13 November 1510, the king notified Mengli that he accepted his conditions in spite of a recent raid of his younger sons, Mahmud and Burnash. Sigismund proposed that the exchange of the promised 15,000 florins and the Crimean hostages would take place in Kiev on Pentecost (i.e., the spring of 1511), while in the following years the royal gifts would be divided into two halves, delivered

<sup>117</sup> For the letter of Baba Sheikh (referred to as *Babašyk*) to Sigismund, see *ibidem*, pp. 363–364. These conditions were apparently repeated in the khan’s letter to the king, sent with the same embassy, which is not preserved but is mentioned in Sigismund’s reply; see n. 119 below.

<sup>118</sup> *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 1 (Poznań, 1852), p. 109.

on Pentecost and on St. Martin's Day (i.e., 11 November). From the royal letter, which refers to Mengli's writing that is not preserved, we also learn that Mengli's grandson, not mentioned by name in Baba Sheikh's letter, was to be chosen from among the two oldest sons of Mehmed Giray, Bahadır and Alp Girays, and that the khan and his retinue members had already taken an oath to keep peace, confirmed by Baba Sheikh's religious authority.<sup>119</sup> Before the royal envoy managed to depart from Cracow, Mengli sent prompt apologies for the recent raid of his "devilish children" (*tyi djavoly dety moi*), i.e., Mahmud and Burnash.<sup>120</sup>

In May 1511, both sides declared their readiness for the exchange. In the meantime, it was agreed that besides Ahmed Giray, the second Tatar hostage would be not Bahadır or Alp, but Kemelesh, a younger son of Mehmed Giray. Yet, due to mutual mistrust, the exchange was repeatedly postponed and finally not effected at all.<sup>121</sup> In the following spring, a large Tatar raid occurred again, but the invaders were defeated by the Polish-Lithuanian troops in the battle of Lopuszne (in Volhynia) on 28 April 1512.<sup>122</sup> Paradoxically, at the same time a Crimean hostage finally reached Lithuania. This was yet another son of Mehmed Giray, Djalaleddin, whose arrival had been notified with the khan's letter addressed to Jurij (Jerzy) Radziwiłł, the palatine of Kiev, dated 14 March.<sup>123</sup> Mengli's decision to finally send his grandson was apparently related to the outbreak of Crimean-Muscovian hostilities, initiated by large Tatar raids of Muscovian lands in the spring of the same year.

The young prince announced his arrival with a letter sent to Sigismund from Kiev on 6 April 1512. He was conducted to Kiev by his father, Mehmed Giray, and accompanied during his stay in Lithuania by three prominent Crimean envoys: Devlet Bakhtı, the *qaraçı* of the Barın clan, and two Italians in the khan's service: Vincenzo de Guidulphis and Giovanni Baptista de San Nicolo. While the Tatar hostage

<sup>119</sup> *Pyšeš k nam štož z ruk Babašykovyx [...] nam prysjahu este na vyšneho Boha včynyly*; for the whole royal letter, see Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, pp. 369–372.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 372–374.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 166–168, 380–381.

<sup>122</sup> On the campaign of 1512, see Herbst, "Najazd tatarski 1512," in: *idem*, *Potrzeba historii*, vol. 2: 260–272 [the article was first published in 1948].

<sup>123</sup> The original Mengli's letter from 14 March (no year is given), composed in Ruthenian and sealed with the khan's *nišan*, is preserved in Cracow, Biblioteka Czar-toryskich [hereafter, Bibl. Czart.], ms. 2893, pp. 147–148.



was waiting in Kiev, a heated discussion arose at Sigismund's court concerning the payment of the promised 15,000 florins. Some Polish councilors suggested that if Poland was going to share the burden, Djalaleddin should be kept in Poland, or at least spend alternatively one year in Poland and one in Lithuania, especially since one Tatar prince (Sheikh Ahmed) was already kept in Lithuania. A more prosaic reason of delay was the lack of money. The matter was finally resolved at the Diet at Piotrków and on 14 December 1512 two envoys, Jacek Ratomski and Stanisław Skinder, were sent along with the money to meet Djalaleddin in Kiev and further proceed to the Crimea. According to their instruction, the royal envoys were to promise that future payments would be sent each year by St. Martin's Day (11 November), provided that the khan and his subjects do not violate the peace. The envoys were also to refuse once again Mengli's request to execute or hand him over Sheikh Ahmed, while reassuring the khan that his enemy would remain in custody. Moreover, the envoys were to demand that all Tatar forts on the right shore of the Dnieper, including Očakiv, be restored to Lithuania, and that Mengli should fulfill his earlier promise reportedly given to Alexander, according to which the royal subjects would be allowed to extract salt from the salines in the neighborhood of Kačybej (a Tatar settlement, also known as Hadjibey, situated on the Black Sea shore in the place of present-day Odessa). Like in 1507, the major cause of the rapprochement between Mengli and Sigismund was their anticipated alliance against Muscovy.<sup>124</sup>

Early in the year 1513, Djalaleddin and his retinue left Kiev and arrived at Vilnius. Since Sigismund was still in Poland, he welcomed them with his letters sent from Poznań on 9 February, announcing his upcoming arrival.<sup>125</sup> Yet, before the king arrived at Vilnius, Djalaleddin died for unknown reasons in the summer of 1513.<sup>126</sup> Sigismund could not risk a new eruption of hostilities with the Crimea, especially since a series of border skirmishes with Muscovy, which had begun

<sup>124</sup> Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, pp. 178–183, 396–399, 406–410. A new Lithuanian-Muscovian war began in 1512 and was to last until 1522.

<sup>125</sup> Three letters in Latin, addressed separately to Djalaleddin, Devlet Bakhti, and the two Italians, are published in *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 1, pp. 159–160.

<sup>126</sup> His death must have occurred in July or August; on 8 July, while on his way to Vilnius and sending a letter to the khan from Mielnik, Sigismund still did not know of Djalaleddin's death. He forwarded his condolences to Mengli only in September, when he sent Hryhoryj Hromyka along with new treaty documents; see Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, pp. 184–185, 410–411, 413–415.

already in the preceding year, evolved into a full-scale war and the Muscovian troops besieged Smolensk. In September 1513, Sigismund issued two instruments of peace, one in Ruthenian on behalf of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and another in Latin on behalf of the Polish Crown, and sent them to the Crimea through his scribe and envoy, Hryhoryj Hromyka. The envoy was instructed to ask for an urgent help against Muscovy, hand over the first rate of the annual “gift,” i.e., 7,500 florins, and promise that the second rate would be sent by St. Martin’s Day. The embassy was joined by the retinue members of the deceased Crimean prince, who carried along his remains.<sup>127</sup>

The Lithuanian instrument of peace, issued in Ruthenian, was dated 5 September 1513. Invoking the ancient friendship between Sigismund’s and Mengli’s predecessors, the document recalled Tokhtamish, Hadji Giray, Vladislaus Jagiełło (Jogaila), Vytautas, Sigismund,<sup>128</sup> and Casimir. It is worth noting that Jogaila, although he had corresponded with Tokhtamish and authorized Vytautas’ Crimean policy as his suzerain, was never mentioned before in the Crimean instruments that only referred to Vytautas. The “invention of tradition” occurred only in 1513 on the initiative of his grandson and, possibly, the latter’s Polish advisers. The document referred to the embassy of Devlet Bakhti, Vincenzo de Guidulphis, and Giovanni Baptista de San Nicolo (although no mention was made of the unfortunate Giray prince, whom they had accompanied), and invoked Mengli’s request that both sides should exchange letters of agreement (Ruth. *dokončalnyi lysty*) and confirm their contents with oaths. Having pronounced the customary formula that each partner should be a friend of the other’s friends and an enemy of the other’s enemies, the instrument stipulated that Mengli

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<sup>127</sup> Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, pp. 413–415. Mengli Giray insisted that his family members who had died in exile be buried in the Crimea. In 1504, he persuaded Ivan III to send him the remains of his older brother, Nur Devlet, who had died in Kasimov; *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 1, pp. 544 and 553. In fact, long-distance transport of remains was against the Muslim law, especially its Hanafi school that was observed by the Ottoman Turks and Tatars. The Ottomans at times departed from the Hanafi law and applied the Shafi’i prescripts that were more flexible in this aspect, for instance in 1566, when they transported to Istanbul the remains of Suleyman the Magnificent, who had died on campaign in Hungary; cf. Nicolas Vatin and Gilles Veinstein, “Les obsèques des sultans ottomans de Mehmed II à Ahmed I<sup>er</sup> (1481–1616),” in: Gilles Veinstein (ed.), *Les Ottomans et la mort. Permanences et mutations* (Leiden, 1996): 207–243, esp. p. 225.

<sup>128</sup> The younger brother of Vytautas and grand duke of Lithuania in the years 1432–1440, not to be confused with King Sigismund.

Giray should recapture the lands that the Muscovites had conquered from Alexander, and restore them to Lithuania. Moreover, it provided that the khan should assist Sigismund in restoring all the lands that had once been granted to Vilnius with the *yarliqs* of Hadji and Mengli Girays. On his part, Sigismund confirmed his promise to keep Sheikh Ahmed in custody and engaged to face jointly with Mengli the descendants of Küchük Muhammed, referred to as “the children of Ahmed and Mahmud.”<sup>129</sup> The king also resigned from any claims regarding the past Tatar raids of Lithuania, as well as Poland, committed during the reigns of John Albert,<sup>130</sup> Alexander, and his own. Furthermore, a favorable treatment was promised to all Giray family members who would come to Lithuania either as allies or refugees. Crimean merchants, who would come to the royal domains, were to enjoy security and freedom on the provision that they paid the customary tolls. Finally, the touchy matter of gifts was settled in the following manner: the annual quota of 15,000 florins was to be equally shared between the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and paid, one half in cash and one half in goods, in two installments: the first one by the Saturday before Pentecost, and the second one by St. Martin’s Day. The document stressed again that these gifts should be reciprocated by Mengli’s military assistance against royal enemies. The instrument was corroborated with the great majestic seal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the individual seals of twelve members of the Lithuanian Council, mentioned by names and functions.<sup>131</sup>

The document in Latin, issued on behalf of the Polish Crown, contained the same conditions and was sealed with the seal of the Polish Crown and the seals of three Polish councilors. Their small number, if compared with the number of Lithuanian lords, who corroborated

<sup>129</sup> On “the children of Ahmed and Mahmud,” see Document 10, n. 7. Apart from Sheikh Ahmed, a son of Ahmed and grandson of Küchük Muhammed, whose appeal in the steppe, especially among the Nogays, was still deemed dangerous by Mengli Giray after a decade of his enemy’s detainment, also the sons of Mahmud: Abdelkarim (r. ca. 1508–1514) and Djanibek (r. 1514–1521), who ruled in Astrakhan, were regarded by the Girays as their hereditary enemies.

<sup>130</sup> It is worth stressing that the document, formally labeled as “Lithuanian” in contrast to the “Polish” one issued in Latin, referred to John Albert, who had never ruled Lithuania as he had only been the king of Poland (r. 1492–1501). This might be regarded as proof of ongoing integration of the two states ruled by the Jagiellonian dynasty.

<sup>131</sup> See Document 10. As the document is preserved only in copy, the seals are not preserved. They must have been appended to the original sent to the Crimea.

the Lithuanian instrument, was due to the fact that few Polish lords accompanied Sigismund during his stay in Lithuania.<sup>132</sup>

While the first installment of the gifts, due for the year 1513, was sent in September through Hromyka, the second one, due by St. Martin's Day, was sent on 30 November 1513 along with an apology for the delay. Sigismund simultaneously asked Mengli Giray to send him back his envoys, Jacek Ratomski and Stanisław Skinder, dispatched to the Crimea in December 1512 along with the gifts due for the preceding year.<sup>133</sup>

A new Crimean embassy headed by two envoys: a Tatar noble named Keldish and Augustino de Garibaldis, arrived at Vilnius on 3 February 1514. They brought a new *yarlıq* of Mengli Giray, undated but apparently issued in December 1513. Invoking the ancient friendship and his own two earlier *yarlıqs* sent to Casimir and Sigismund, the khan again "granted" to Lithuania virtually all the localities that had been listed in his *yarlıq* from 1507, including Pskov, Velikij Novgorod, Perejaslav' Rjazan'skij, and Tula.<sup>134</sup> The document's apparent anachronism in fact well served its purpose of cementing the anti-Muscovian alliance. Current events in the Lithuanian-Muscovian war theatre explained the addition of three towns that had never before figured in the *yarlıqs*, but were situated within the disputed area: Radogošč' to the southeast of Brjansk, on the territory lost by Lithuania in 1503, as well as Polack and Vicebsk, far to the north, belonging to Lithuania, but claimed by Vasilij III.

Unlike the earlier *yarlıqs* that merely listed the "granted" lands, Mengli's instrument from December 1513 also contained political clauses. The khan, along with his sons, grandsons, and subjects, engaged to maintain peace with Sigismund and assist him to reconquer the lands lost to Muscovy. A separate clause provided that Mehmed Giray, the khan's oldest son, was to set out with a great Tatar army, assist the

<sup>132</sup> See Document 11. The seals of the Polish lords are not mentioned in the text, but they are referred to in Mengli's later document (cf. Document 15): *kotoryj po fražskyj pysan lyst', tot pod ljad'skoju velykoju pečat'ju, y pod' ljad'skix panov trox pečatju*.

<sup>133</sup> Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyną*, pp. 418–420.

<sup>134</sup> The omission of Čerkasy, Nycjany, Jabu, Kačybej, Majak, and Ryl'sk was apparently accidental and perhaps should be attributed to the negligence of the scribe who executed the extant late sixteenth-century Ruthenian copy; this assumption seems to be confirmed by the fact that the three latter localities along with Novhorod-Sivers'kyj, which was omitted in 1507 but entered in earlier *yarlıqs*, are listed in the 16th-century Polish translation of this document; cf. Document 12, n. 1.

royal forces against Muscovy, and restore to Sigismund his lost territories. Moreover, both sides were to resign from any claims regarding past wrongdoings. To replace the late prince Djalaeddin, Mengli promised to send as a hostage another grandson from among the sons of Mehmed Giray and the latter's wife Nurum. The khan also granted freedom and security to royal subjects, who would come to extract salt and trade, by referring to them somewhat curiously as "your merchants [coming] from Poland, Lithuania, Germany, and any of your lands."<sup>135</sup> The document stressed that the last privilege was bestowed in return for the royal gifts sent to the khan. In order to strengthen his promises, Mengli Giray referred to the oath that he, along with his sons and retinue members, had sworn in the presence of the royal envoys: Stanisław Skinder, Hryhoryj Hromyka, Jacek Ratomski, and Myxajlo Svyjnuska.<sup>136</sup> Ratomski and Svyjnuska, who arrived at Vilnius along with the Crimean embassy of Keldish and de Garibaldis, were to bear testimony to the khan's oath. The formula of the oath was recorded separately and sent to Vilnius as well.<sup>137</sup>

In the spring of 1514, a new Muscovian offensive developed against Lithuania and Smolensk was again besieged. In May, Sigismund sent Keldish and de Garibaldis back to the Crimea, along with the first installment of the annual gifts. The king urged Mengli Giray and his son, Mehmed, to launch a common military action in the approaching summer.<sup>138</sup> Instead, on 28 July a new Crimean embassy arrived at Vilnius, headed by Abdullah Ulan and Abdıq Bey, and joined by the returning royal envoys, Skinder and Hromyka. The khan explained that

<sup>135</sup> ... yz ljadskoe zemly, y lytovskoe, y z nemeckoe, y so vsyx vašyx zeml'; referring to Germany, the Crimean chancery might have had in mind Royal Prussia, whose inhabitants, especially in the large cities of Danzig (Gdańsk), Elbing (Elbląg), and Thorn (Toruń), were predominantly German; on this issue, see also Chapter 6 in Part II.

<sup>136</sup> See Document 12. Skinder and Ratomski were sent to the khan in December 1512, the scribe Myxajlo Svyjnuska was sent with a royal letter in July 1513, and Hromyka was sent in September 1513. In December 1513, all the four envoys were in the Crimea (cf. Document 12, notes 29–32). The list of the royal envoys who witnessed the khan's oath was apparently arranged according to their rank, with Skinder as the lieutenant of Oster at its head.

<sup>137</sup> See Document 13. In a letter dated 25 February 1514, Sigismund referred to the recorded formulas of the khan's oaths sent through Mengli's subsequent embassies headed by Osman (?), Devlet Bakhtı (1512) and Keldish (1514); see Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, p. 424. It is not certain whether the text recorded in 1514 was identical to the earlier formulas.

<sup>138</sup> Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, pp. 426–428.

for the time being he could not send troops against Muscovy, because the Nogay horde, perhaps on Moscow's instigation, approached the Crimea. Assuring Sigismund of his loyalty, Mengli provided Hromyka with yet another instrument of peace.<sup>139</sup> The document, drawn probably in June, was very similar to the previous *yarliq* issued in December. The list of lands "granted" to Lithuania did not really change but for minor variations due apparently to copyists' negligence, with the notable exception of Kamjanec' that was probably removed from the list deliberately.<sup>140</sup> Unlike the earlier *yarliq*, the instrument brought by Hromyka did not list Mengli's sons by names, although the khan made his engagements on their behalf, too. Neither did the instrument specify that the Giray prince to be sent as hostage to Lithuania should be a son of Mehmed Giray. More interesting variations occurred in the clause referring to trade. While the previous document merely provided that the royal merchants could come to extract salt, the document brought by Hromyka specified the area, namely the salines near Kačybej. Moreover, it allowed the royal merchants not only to trade in the khan's domains, but also to travel to the Ottoman port of Caffa. At least some of the above changes must have been entered on the insistence of Hromyka in accordance with his instructions and the royal instrument of peace. Unlike in the earlier version, two clauses of the khan's instrument, brought by Hromyka, closely reminded in wording the analogous clauses of the royal document from 1513.<sup>141</sup>

On 30 July 1514, Smolensk fell to Muscovian troops. Even the impressive victory, attained shortly afterwards by the Lithuanian-Polish army at Orša (8 September), did not compensate for the loss of the major fortress. Sigismund notified Mengli of his victory, again asking for Crimean reinforcements. The king also asked the khan through

<sup>139</sup> See Document 14 and the khan's letters published in Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, pp. 434–436. On Abdullah Ulan and Abdıq Bey, cf. Document 15, n. 16.

<sup>140</sup> In comparison with the previous *yarliq*, Volodymyr, Kamjanec', and Černihiv are absent while Nycjany, Kačybej, and Majak reappear (admittedly, Kačybej and Majak also figure in the 16th-century Polish translation that is probably based on the instrument from December 1513; cf. n. 134 above and Document 12, n. 1). For a possible reason of the removal of Kamjanec' from the list, see below.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. Documents 10 and 14, especially the clauses beginning with the words: *a kotoryi horody y volosty, zemly y vody, moskovskij [...] zabral y posel...*, and: *a kotorye lyxyi dela byly staly sja...*

his envoy Myxajlo Svyunjuska<sup>142</sup> for an instrument of peace issued separately for the Polish Crown.

The last issue reflects the rising role of Poland in the Jagiellonian eastern policy. In the 15th century, a tacit “division of competencies” seemed to have regulated the foreign policy of the Jagiellonian double monarchy. While the relations with Western courts, Bohemia, Hungary, and the Ottoman Porte were mostly dealt with by the royal chancery in Cracow, the Muscovian and Crimean affairs usually remained the domain of Vilnius.<sup>143</sup> The division was also reflected by chancery languages used for international correspondence: respectively Latin for Poland and Ruthenian for Lithuania. Yet, the Polish financial share in the “gifts” (or tribute) sent yearly to the Crimea and the rising involvement of Polish troops in defending Lithuanian lands from either Tatar raids<sup>144</sup> or Muscovian invasions resulted in the rise of political claims regarding decision making and representation. The proposal to keep the Crimean hostage in Poland instead of Lithuania, voiced in 1512, and the references to the kings of Poland, Vladislaus Jagiełło and John Albert, introduced in the “Lithuanian” instrument sent to the Crimea in 1513, were already mentioned. The major role of Polish military contingents in the Muscovian campaign of 1514 strengthened arguments that Cracow should have a say in the relations with both Moscow and Qırq Yer. Sigismund, who had spent his youth in Hungary and Silesia and then, as king, resided more often in Cracow than in Vilnius, was more inclined than his predecessors to solve such

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<sup>142</sup> Pułaski assumed that Myxajlo had been sent immediately after the victory at Orša, i.e., in September 1514, along with an interpreter named Kuzilman; yet, the royal letter quoted by Pułaski names only Kuzilman as the envoy; cf. *idem, Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, pp. 191 and 437. Myxajlo was probably sent earlier, along with the Crimean envoys, Keldish and de Garibaldis, returning to the Crimea along with the royal gifts, especially as they are all mentioned together in Mengli’s document from 29 October referring to this issue (see below).

<sup>143</sup> As late as in the 16th century, Polish statesmen admitted their limited expertise in the Crimean affairs. In 1522 Piotr Tomicki, the Crown vice-chancellor, wrote to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, the Crown chancellor, that the Lithuanian councilors were more familiar with the Tatar ways (*domini Lithuani, qui artes Tartarorum melius calant*); see *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 6 (Poznań, 1857), p. 120. In 1541, when a Crimean envoy negotiated in Cracow with the Polish lords councilors in the absence of the king, who was then in Vilnius, the instrument resulting from these negotiations was composed in Ruthenian and entered into the Lithuanian Register, and not the Crown Register; see Document 29.

<sup>144</sup> Besides, during some Tatar raids, like in 1512, the lands of the Polish Crown suffered more than the lands of the Grand Duchy.

disputes in favor of Poland. His Polish councilors were certainly infuriated when in December 1513 Mengli Giray again “granted” Kamjanec’ to Lithuania, although the fortress had belonged to the Polish Crown since 1430. Probably for that reason Kamjanec’ was not entered in the second version of the *yarliq*, brought by Hromyka in July 1514, and was never listed again in the subsequent *yarliqs* that “donated” lands to Lithuania. Still, the reference to Vladislaus Jagiełło, entered in both the Ruthenian and Latin versions of the royal instrument sent to the khan in 1513, went apparently unnoticed in the Crimean chancery, as Mengli’s both *yarliqs* from 1513–1514 again referred solely to Vytautas as the initiator of the ancient friendship. To summarize, while Poland was mentioned twice in the khan’s document from December 1513, Lithuania was mentioned eight times!

The wish of Sigismund and his Polish advisers was fulfilled on 29 October 1514, when the Crimean chancery prepared an instrument of peace specifically referring to Poland. It invoked the ancient friendship initiated by the Tatar khans with “the great king of Poland, Jagiełło, and thereafter [...] the grand duke of Lithuania, Vytautas,” and continued with usual clauses referring to the detention of Sheikh Ahmed, the payment of annual gifts, and the security of trade. The reason of issuing this document was explained in a separate paragraph:

And you, the great king Sigismund [...] sent us two letters of agreement [...], one in Frankish<sup>145</sup> and another in Ruthenian. The letter [...] in Frankish you sent us under the great Polish seal [...], and the letter [...] in Ruthenian, under the great Lithuanian seal. [...] And you [...] requested [...] that we issue a letter of agreement for the Polish Crown and the Lithuanian Duchy; we sent one through our envoy, but we did not send any regarding the Polish Crown. So you sent [again] our envoys Keldish and Augustin, and your envoy [...] Myxajlo [...], requesting that we issue a letter of agreement regarding the Polish Crown. And we [...] have written and sent this letter of agreement. As the Polish Crown and the Lithuanian Duchy is like one [body] to us, whoever is an enemy to the Polish Crown, will also be an enemy to us. As regards the towns that belong to the Polish Crown, beginning with L’viv [Pol. Lwów], whoever is an enemy to any of your people, castles, towns, and villages that are recorded here, will be also an enemy to us.<sup>146</sup>

<sup>145</sup> The Ruthenian term *frjažskyj* applied to Latin or any Romance language, in the given case to Latin.

<sup>146</sup> See Document 15.



The above document is today preserved in Ruthenian copy. Its lost original was probably in Ruthenian as well, since this language is known to have been used by the Crimean chancery.<sup>147</sup> Yet, from another piece of correspondence we learn that the king also asked for a document “written in Muslim words,” drawn on the basis of Latin draft provided by the royal side.<sup>148</sup> The expression “Muslim words” apparently referred to the Arabic script Turkic language then used in the Crimean chancery (i.e., Khwarezmian Turkic), but we do not know whether the khan complied with the request. Nevertheless, his chancery prepared yet another version of the instrument regarding Poland, for that time in Italian. The document was issued on 29 November and stamped with two different *nişans* engraved in Arabic. The Italian text was composed by Augustino de Garibaldis, who also wrote the bottom three lines with his own hand. The document, preserved today in the original, contains the same political clauses as the document in Ruthenian issued on 29 October. Yet, minor variations occur in both form and contents. For instance, when referring to the annual gifts due to the khan, the author specified that the one-half delivered in kind should consist mainly of cloth (*prencpalmente in panni*). The explanation of the causes that had driven the khan to issue a separate instrument for Poland, entered in the Ruthenian version, was missing in the Italian one, but in return it provided that the Tatars were not to raid *li dominii del Regno de Polonia, et prencpalmente le terre de Rossia et de Podolia, come sonno li castelli czoe Camyenyecz, et gli altri castelli in quelli lochi situati, et qual se vogliano altri castelli appartenenti al decto Regno de Polonia*. This territorial definition, which distinguished the Polish Crown from Lithuania and specifically listed the former’s two southeastern provinces (Ruthenia and Podolia) that were most exposed to Tatar raids, was more precise than the one contained in the Ruthenian version. Interestingly, while in the Ruthenian version Lwów (Ukr. L’viv) was singled out as the major center, in the Italian version it was Kamieniec Podolski (Ukr. Kam’janec’).<sup>149</sup>

<sup>147</sup> For an original document of Mengli Giray preserved in Ruthenian, cf. n. 123 above.

<sup>148</sup> *Esmo [...] k tobe [...] spysok [...] po frjažsky poslaly, žadajučy ažby ty, brat naš, do pan’stva našoho, Koruny Polskoe, lyst svoj [...] v toe slovo pysany musulmansky my slovy pryslal*; see Sigismund’s letter to Mengli from 23 December 1514, referring to his former request, published in Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, p. 446.

<sup>149</sup> See Document 16.

Both documents regarding Poland, the Ruthenian one from 29 October and the Italian one from 29 November, were delivered to Sigismund early in the year 1515, probably by his returning envoy, Myxajlo Svynjuska. Almost simultaneously, Jacek Ratomski was sent to the Crimea along with the delayed second installment of annual gifts due for the year 1514.<sup>150</sup> Soon afterwards, Mengli Giray died in April 1515.

*Rebuilding the Golden Horde. The rise and fall of Mehmed Giray  
(1515–1523)*

A long awaited Tatar raid against Muscovy was finally effected by the new khan, Mehmed Giray, who had played a major political role already in the last years of his father's reign. In 1515 Tatar troops, assisted by a Lithuanian contingent led by Andrej Nemyrovyč, the palatine of Kiev, invaded the Muscovian lands of Černihiv, Novhorod-Sivers'kyj, and Starodub. While the Lithuanians, equipped with artillery, insisted on besieging the towns that had belonged to Lithuania before 1503, the Tatars were more interested in captives and spoils.<sup>151</sup> Admittedly, the Tatar cavalry was better suited for raids and field battles than reducing fortified strongholds.

In his letter sent to Vasilij III in July 1515, Mehmed Giray explained the raid by the Muscovian conquest of Smolensk against the will of his father, who had granted Smolensk to Lithuania. As a "punishment" and condition of reconciliation, the khan demanded that Vasilij should return not only Smolensk, but also eight towns that had previously been "granted" by Mengli to Ivan III, but were to be restored to Lithuania according to Mehmed's wish, namely Brjansk, Starodub, Počep, Novhorod-Sivers'kyj, Ryl'sk, Putyvl', Karačev, and Radogošč'.<sup>152</sup> Acting as if he were indeed a distributor of the lands in question,

<sup>150</sup> From Sigismund's letter to Mengli Giray that was to be taken by Jacek Ratomski, dated 23 December 1514, we learn that the king was still waiting for the documents though the khan had notified him that they would be taken by Myxajlo upon his return; see Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, p. 446.

<sup>151</sup> Kazimierz Pułaski, "Machmet-Girej, chan Tatarów perekopskich i stosunki jego z Polską (1515–1523)," in: *idem, Szkice i poszukiwania historyczne. Serya druga* (St. Petersburg, 1898): 281–350, esp. p. 286.

<sup>152</sup> *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 2, pp. 152–153.

Mehmed consciously performed the role of the ancient khans of the Golden Horde, granting at will vast territories to chosen favorites.

Having ascended the throne, Mehmed Giray also sent a solemn embassy to Sigismund, consisting of Bashibek, a member of the Shirin clan, Augustino de Garibaldis, and a Tatar noble (*mirza*) named Yabuk (or Chabuk). The envoys were received in Cracow on 25 August 1515. Bashibek probably delivered a now lost *yarlıq* of Mehmed Giray, based on the *yarlıq* of his father.<sup>153</sup> The Crimean envoys accompanied Sigismund on his way from Cracow to Vilnius and were sent back in March 1516 in company of the royal envoy, Stanisław Skinder. Again, Sigismund provided his envoy with “two letters on parchment, with our great hanging majestic seals, one of the Polish Crown, and another of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.”<sup>154</sup>

Only the Ruthenian document, issued on behalf of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, is preserved today. It is dated 14 March 1516 and almost identical with Sigismund’s document from 1513. The name of Mengli Giray was duly replaced by the name of Mehmed Giray, and the name of the former qalga, who had become the khan, by the names of Bahadır and Alp Girays, Mehmed’s two oldest sons.<sup>155</sup> Lithuanian recent territorial losses in its war against Muscovy led to an actualizing provision stipulating that the khan should assist Sigismund in recapturing not only the lands lost by the latter’s predecessors, but also those lost during his own reign (an obvious reference to Smolensk).

<sup>153</sup> On this embassy, see Pułaski, “Machmet-Girej,” p. 288, and recently Feliks Šabul’do, “Jarlyki (dokončaniya) krymskogo xana Magmet Gireja na zemli južnoj Rusi,” in: *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštės istorijos šaltiniai. Faktas. Kontekstas. Interpretacija* (Vilnius, 2007): 247–284, esp. pp. 257 and 261–262. Šabul’do’s suggestion that Bashibek brought a presently lost instrument of peace, which also served as the basis for the document issued in 1517 by Bahadır Giray (cf. Document 18), is supported by the fact that in 1516 the khan referred to the former great embassy of Bashibek Mirza that had arrived “with an oath and [a letter of] agreement” (*z przysięgą i dokończeniem*); see Mehmed Giray’s letter to Sigismund, preserved in a Polish translation in Kórnik, Biblioteka PAN [hereafter, Bibl. Kórnik], ms. 222, pp. 114–118, and published in *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 4 (Poznań, 1855), p. 88. Šabul’do quotes a later copy of this letter preserved in Bibl. Czart., ms. 32 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 349–354.

<sup>154</sup> *dwa lyster nasze na pergamenach z naszymi wielkimi zawieszonymi maistatnymi pieczętami, odyn Korony Polskiej a drugi Wielkiego Książstwa Litowskiego*; see Sigismund’s letter to Mehmed Giray dated 24 March 1516, quoted after Šabul’do, “Jarlyki,” p. 259.

<sup>155</sup> It is interesting that already in 1516 Mehmed’s younger brother and qalga, Ahmed Giray, was not included in the negotiations. In 1519, Ahmed openly rebelled against Mehmed Giray and was replaced in the post of qalga by the khan’s oldest son, Bahadır.

The document was corroborated with the great majestic seal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and individual seals of ten members of the Lithuanian Council.<sup>156</sup>

Skinder's arrival to the Crimea coincided with the crisis of the anti-Muscovian alliance. In the summer of 1516 a large Tatar raid, headed by Alp Giray and other princes, reached "as far as the Tatra mountains"—as put by a Lithuanian chronicler.<sup>157</sup> Although the khan sent usual apologies for the "irresponsible youth," in fact the Crimean society was divided in its sympathies. Some favored an alliance with Vilnius, others with Moscow, and many waited for the highest bid, expressed in gifts. Ivan Mamonov, Vasilij's envoy to the Crimea, recorded his conversations with Tatar notables held in 1516. While Bahadır, Mehmed's favorite and oldest son, supported an attack against Muscovy, Ahmed Giray, the khan's brother and qalga, was inclined to reconcile with Vasilij and attack Lithuania, if only to frustrate Bahadır's position.<sup>158</sup>

In order to assure Sigismund of his sincerity, the khan offered to send one of his two younger sons, Ghazi Giray, as a hostage to guarantee the peace. As Stanisław Skinder died in the Crimea, a new envoy, Ivan Hornostaj, was dispatched in November 1516 to negotiate the details of the hostage's arrival. Having met Bahadır on the Dnieper, Hornostaj was reassured that Ghazi would arrive in the following year and returned to Vilnius. In April 1517, Hornostaj again left to the Crimea to see to the fulfillment of the promise, while Olbracht Gasztold, the palatine of Polack, set out to Čerkasy to welcome the hostage and convoy him to Vilnius. In return, he was to release the annual gifts for the khan, to be collected by Bahadır, who had earlier engaged to escort the young prince.<sup>159</sup> Yet, Bahadır arrived with empty hands because his mother, Nurum Sultan, refused to give her teenage son as a hostage. The family quarrel was later reported by Muscovian envoys in their letters sent to Moscow. According to one report, Nurum had initially consented to send her son, but then, persuaded by the pro-Muscovian faction and softened by the boy's tears, changed her mind and returned to Qırq Yer along with both younger sons. Infuriated

<sup>156</sup> See Document 17.

<sup>157</sup> Maciej Strykowski, *Kronika polska, litewska, żmudzka i wszyskiej Rusi*, vol. 2 (Warsaw, 1846), p. 388.

<sup>158</sup> *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 2, pp. 359–362.

<sup>159</sup> Pułaski, "Machmet-Girej," pp. 301–307.

Bahadır reproached to his father of his being a henpecked husband (*kakoj ty car', koli tebja žonka ne slušaet*; “what kind of a khan are you, if your wife does not obey you?”), but to no avail. In result, Gasztold refused to release the gifts, though he sweetened Bahadır’s disappointment with some small presents, and the exchange was postponed until the following year.<sup>160</sup> As the only durable effect of their meeting in Čerkasy, Bahadır made a solemn engagement to respect the conditions of his father’s *yarlıq*, granted to Sigismund in 1515. A copy of Mehmed Giray’s *yarlıq* along with the text of his son’s oath was given to Gasztold and is recorded in the Lithuanian Register.<sup>161</sup>

The document from 1517 closely resembles the *yarlıq* of Mengli Giray, issued in June 1514, both in form and contents.<sup>162</sup> The list of lands, “granted” to Lithuania, is almost identical.<sup>163</sup> Apparently, the document was based on the now lost *yarlıq* of Mehmed Giray from 1515,<sup>164</sup> which in its turn was based on Mengli’s *yarlıq* from 1514. In the heading, Bahadır is referred to in the first person as the *yarlıq*’s author, while Mehmed Giray is referred to in the third person as “my father.” But then the clerk charged with redrawing the original *yarlıq* of Mehmed Giray apparently gave up, and in the remaining part of the document the khan, and not his son, appears in the first person. Such traces of careless editing are visible again and again.<sup>165</sup> At the end of the *yarlıq*, an additional clause was added that invoked Bahadır’s oath, sworn in the presence of Gasztold on behalf (lit. “with the souls”) of Bahadır, his father, his brother Alp Giray, and his cousin Hemmet

<sup>160</sup> *Bagatyr' carevič' poexal po kaznu bez careviča [...] i Olbrext Bagatyrju kazny ne dal, tolko ego počtil pominkom ot sebja*; see *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 2, pp. 502–503 (the report of Vasilij Šadrin); see also pp. 472–473 (the report of Il'ja Čeliščev).

<sup>161</sup> See Document 18 and n. 1 referring to its dating. Among the Crimean dignitaries, who accompanied Bahadır in Čerkasy and swore the oath along with the Tatar prince, one should mention Aghış, the Shirin *qaraçı*, and Abdurrahman, the khan’s lieutenant of Islamkerman regarded as the head of a pro-Lithuanian party among the Crimean nobility; see Borys Čerkas, *Ukrajina v polityčnyx vidnosynax Velykoho knjazivstva Lytovs'koho z Kryms'kym xanatom (1515–1540)* (Kiev, 2006), p. 117; on Abdurrahman, see Syroečkovskij, “Muxammed-Geraj i ego vassaly,” p. 52.

<sup>162</sup> Like in the *yarlıq* from June 1514, the wording of some clauses can be traced back to the royal instrument from 1513; cf. n. 141 above.

<sup>163</sup> Only Karaul is missing.

<sup>164</sup> Cf. n. 154 above.

<sup>165</sup> Cf. Document 18, notes 7 and 26.

Giray,<sup>166</sup> and contained his promise that on the upcoming Easter his another brother, Maqsud Giray, would be sent as hostage to Kiev.

Later in the year 1517, Bahadır led a large raid against Muscovy and effectively opposed the efforts of Muscovian diplomats to convince his father towards a reconciliation. Yet, a year later these efforts succeeded. Mehmed Giray issued a solemn *şartname* (Rus. *šerťnaja gramota*) that was delivered to Moscow by his envoy, Apaġ,<sup>167</sup> and on 1 April 1519, Vasilij III swore to honor its conditions by kissing the cross in the presence of the Crimean envoy. Although the khan admitted in his document that he was bound by the treaty with Vilnius, he engaged to terminate his obligations and face jointly with Vasilij their common enemies: “the children of Ahmed and the children of King Casimir.” He also finally acknowledged the Muscovian acquisition of Lithuanian lands, effected by 1503, promising Vasilij not to raid the latter’s lands surrounding Starodub, Černihiv, Počep, and Homel’ in spite of the fact that he had earlier engaged to restore them to Sigismund.<sup>168</sup> A major reason lying behind this reconciliation was Mehmed’s hope that with Moscow’s help he would conquer Astrakhan. Bahadır stated it openly in his letter to Vasilij: “You have asked me: ‘ask your father [...] to make me his serf and brother.’ And [...] the khan, said: ‘if he only wants to be my brother, he should set out along with me against

<sup>166</sup> On Hemmet Giray, see Document 18, n. 32. Notwithstanding the tensions between his uncle, the khan, and his father, Qalga Ahmed Giray, Hemmet seemed to have been in good relations with his cousins. In 1518, he raided Lithuania along with Alp Giray. After Ahmed rebelled against the khan in 1519 and was killed by Alp Giray, Hemmet found refuge in the Ottoman lands.

<sup>167</sup> Apaġ (*Appak* in Russian sources) was the leader of the pro-Muscovian faction, who often corresponded with Vasilij III and held conversations with his envoys; yet, his loyalty was not unconditional as in 1521 he advised an attack against Moscow; see Syroečkovskij, “Muxammed-Geraj i ego vassaly,” pp. 51–53. In the following generations Apaġ’s clan, which came to be known as the Suleš-oghlu (*Suleševy* in the Russian sources) after his nephew Süleyman (*Suleš*), was perceived as traditionally pro-Muscovian and often asked to promote the tsar’s interests at the khan’s court; see Aleksandr Vinogradov, “Rod Suleša vo vnešnej politike Krymskogo xanstva vtoroj poloviny XVI v.,” in: *Tjurkologičeskij Sbornik* (2005) = *Tjurkskie narody Rossii i Velikoj stepi* (Moscow, 2006): 26–73.

<sup>168</sup> *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 2, pp. 658–660. The dating of the document “in December 925” is confusing, since the Muslim year 925 A.H. lasted between 3 January and 22 December 1519. Apparently it was issued in December 1518 or January 1519. On the negotiations of 1518–1519 and the treaty conditions, cf. Xoroševič, *Rus’ i Krym*, pp. 188–195.

Astrakhan.’”<sup>169</sup> The term “serf” (*xolop*), used in Bahadır’s letter, certainly did not flatter the addressee.

Quite expectedly, in the fall of 1518 the Tatars raided Volhynia, and in the summer of 1519 nobody else but Bahadır Giray headed a large raid into Poland-Lithuania.<sup>170</sup> Yet, the honeymoon between Moscow and Qırq Yer did not last long. Not only did not Vasilij III help Mehmed Giray to capture Astrakhan, but a new conflict arose over Kazan. In 1519, after the death of Muhammed Emin, the son of Nur Sultan and hence Mehmed Giray’s foster brother, a Muscovian client Shah Ali was introduced on the Kazan throne. Shah Ali, who had earlier been the khan of Kasimov (1516–1519), was the great grandson of Kūchūk Muhammed and thus an hereditary enemy of the Giray dynasty. Moreover, the new khan, perceived as a Muscovian puppet, encountered opposition among numerous Kazan inhabitants who asked the Crimean khan for intervention.

Realizing that a new confrontation with Muscovy required a reconciliation with Vilnius, in the fall of 1519 Mehmed Giray sent a courier to Sigismund, declining any responsibility for Bahadır’s summer raid. His diplomatic hypocrisy went so far that he claimed that Bahadır had tried to restrain the unruly Tatars but had failed to. Sigismund, who faced a pending war against the Teutonic Order, did not hold grudge for long and even offered a renewal of the annual gifts. Early in the year 1520, Augustino de Garibaldis again arrived in Poland, and in March 1520 a new royal envoy, Anikij Hornostaj, was dispatched to the Crimea.<sup>171</sup>

In October 1520, two instruments of peace were issued by Mehmed Giray. The first one, composed in Ruthenian, was a traditional *yarlıq*, “granting” numerous lands to Lithuania, but also containing political clauses like the *yarlıqs* from the years 1513–1517. In comparison with

<sup>169</sup> [...] *otcu svoemu volnomu človeku dones, čtoby menja xolopom i bratom sebe učinil, tak esi k nam [...] prikazyval. [...] i volnoj čelovek car’ molvil: tolko zaxočet so mnoju bratom byti, i on by šel so mnoju na Astarxan*; see *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 2, p. 609.

<sup>170</sup> On this campaign and an unsuccessful effort to attack the invaders on their way home, see Herbst, “Bitwa pod Sokalem 2 VIII 1519,” in: *idem, Potrzeba historii*, vol. 2: 296; Jan Tyszkiewicz, “Sojusze nieprzyjaciół i bitwa pod Sokalem 2 sierpnia 1519 r.,” in: *Afryka, Orient, Polska. Prace ofiarowane Profesorowi Andrzejowi Dziubińskiemu w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*. Edited by S. Kuczyński, A. Rachuba, and M. Tymowski (Warsaw, 2007): 145–153.

<sup>171</sup> Pułaski, “Machmet-Girej,” pp. 318–326; on Anikij Hornostaj, see Document 19, n. 4.

the *yarliq* from 1517, the list of the “granted” lands contains minor variations, due to careless copying rather than conscious decisions to add or remove a given locality.<sup>172</sup> Only the introduction of Trubčevsk, not mentioned in the earlier *yarliqs*, probably reflected the importance of the region on the Desna river in territorial disputes between Lithuania and Muscovy. As the anachronous language of the *yarliqs* was becoming unintelligible for the contemporaries, the scribe replaced the Mongol term *tümen* with the Ruthenian term *povet* (“district”).<sup>173</sup>

The political clauses of the *yarliq* were much more specific than those contained in the *yarliqs* from 1513–1517. The khan promised to assist Sigismund in recapturing the Lithuanian lands annexed by Muscovy, but he simultaneously recalled a Lithuanian offer, reportedly made in 1515, which proposed that future revenues from recaptured lands would be equally shared between the allies.<sup>174</sup> Moreover, the khan demanded that food expenses of Tatar reinforcements, sent to assist Lithuania against Muscovy, should be covered from the royal treasury. As Sheikh Ahmed was still considered dangerous for the Girays after almost two decades of imprisonment, one paragraph provided that he should remain in Lithuanian custody until his death. The royal gifts, previously divided into semiannual installments, were thereafter to be sent in just one installment by Pentecost. Referring to his son Djalaleddin, who had died as a hostage in Vilnius in 1513, Mehmed promised not to hold any grudge against Sigismund, but—unlike in the previous *yarliqs*—no mention was made of Djalaleddin’s replacement, thus silently providing that the practice of hostage giving would be discontinued. Moreover, the document stipulated that neither side should treat the other side’s envoys as hostages and detain them longer than two months. A paragraph referring to trade allowed the royal

<sup>172</sup> Luc’k, Sokolec’, Braclav, Kačybej, Majak, and Kursk, which are listed in 1517, are absent in 1520. In return, Volodymyr, Karaul, Černihiv, Novhorod-Sivers’kyj, and Ryl’sk reappear in 1520. The omission of Sokolec’, situated in the Polish Crown, as well as the province of Podolia that had been listed in earlier documents, might have reflected their conscious removal like in the earlier case of Kamjanec’ (see above); however, unlike Kamjanec’, both Sokolec’ and Podolia reappeared in the following *yarliqs*.

<sup>173</sup> For instance, the “*tümen* of Jagoldaj” became *Egoldaev’ povet*. On the problems with the old Ruthenian term *belcy*, encountered already in 1517, see Document 18, n. 5.

<sup>174</sup> A provision to pay the khan a special tax from the lands recaptured from Muscovy was already entered in the document from 1507, but it did not stipulate that this tax would amount to as much as one-half of their revenues.



subjects to extract and import salt on the condition that they paid taxes, and authorized the royal merchants “from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Polish Crown, and Germany”<sup>175</sup> to freely travel in the khan’s domains, granting them a reduction of tolls from seven to three percent *ad valorem*. In return, the khan asked the king to reduce by half the toll paid by the Crimean merchants in Poland-Lithuania.<sup>176</sup>

Like in the year 1514, a separate document, referred to as *şartname*, was issued for the Polish Crown. This time it was composed not in Italian, but in Khwarezmian Turkic, and provided with a Ruthenian translation.<sup>177</sup> Interestingly, it was addressed not only to King Sigismund, but to his Polish councilors, of whom eight were mentioned by names and/or functions,<sup>178</sup> notables, and common subjects as well. Invoking the initiators of the ancient friendship, the *şartname* referred to Jagiełło first and only then to Vytautas, in consistence with Mengli’s document for Poland from 1514, but unlike the *yarlıq* issued for Lithuania, which again referred only to Vytautas. The “Polish” document repeated the clauses already contained in the “Lithuanian” *yarlıq*, referring to the preservation of mutual friendship, the detainment of Sheikh Ahmed, the payment of the royal gift (referred to by the Turkish term *bölek*) in one annual installment by Pentecost, the prohibition to detain the envoys of the other side for more than two months, and the stipulation that Polish merchants should pay the toll (referred to as *tamğa*, i.e., the stamp fee) amounting to three percent of the value of their merchandise, and not more. Like in 1514, the khan explained that although he regarded Lithuania and Poland as one country, he issued a separate document regarding the Polish Crown on the request of the other side:

As you have sent asking us for a *şartname* for your country [*yurt*] of Poland, we have sent you our present *şartname* for your country of Poland [...]. For us, these two countries of Lithuania and Poland are [like] one. Whoever is an enemy to Lublin, L’viv, Kamjanec’ [of] Podolia,

<sup>175</sup> On the meaning of the term “Germany,” cf. n. 135 above.

<sup>176</sup> See Document 19.

<sup>177</sup> See Document 20 (along with Appendix for the Ruthenian translation). Henryk Jankowski describes the language of this document as Khwarezmian, i.e., pre-Chagatay, influenced by Crimean Tatar. I would like to warmly thank Prof. Jankowski for his comments regarding the linguistic aspects of the Crimean documents.

<sup>178</sup> Those mentioned by names—three clergymen and five laymen—were probably known in the Crimean chancery as signatories of a previous document sent to the khan, perhaps the now lost royal instrument from 1516 issued in Latin on behalf of the Polish Crown.

Medżybiż, Xmił'nyk, Letyčiv, Zin'kiv, Bučač, Belz, Sokal', Przemyśl, Chełm, Skala, and your other towns and villages of Poland, and all your numerous people and dominions, will be our enemy as well; [and] whoever contemplates enmity against these two countries, Poland and Lithuania, we will be his enemies.

The list of Polish towns, enclosed in the document, was probably furnished by the royal side and referred to the territories that were most exposed to Tatar raids. From among the listed towns, six were situated in the palatinate of Podolia (Kamjanec', Medżybiż, Xmił'nyk, Letyčiv, Zin'kiv, and Skala),<sup>179</sup> four in the palatinate of Ruthenia (L'viv, Bučač, Przemyśl, Chełm),<sup>180</sup> two in the palatinate of Bełz (Belz, Sokal'),<sup>181</sup> and only one further to the west, in the palatinate of Lublin (Lublin). Of the aforementioned towns, only three are situated in present-day Poland (Przemyśl, Chełm, and Lublin), while the remaining ten are today in the Ukraine.<sup>182</sup>

Both documents of Mehmed Giray introduced political changes unfavorable for the royal side: the stipulation that Tatar reinforcements should be financed from the royal treasury and that future revenues from the provinces recaptured from Muscovy should be shared between Vilnius and Qırq Yer, the abolition of the hostage institution that—at least in theory—secured Lithuania from Tatar raids, and the provision to send the gifts to the khan in one installment, due by Pentecoste and not St. Martin's Day, i.e., by the earlier deadline. Apart from the last provision, hardly realizable for the always cash-hungry royal treasury,<sup>183</sup> the new provisions admittedly reflected more

<sup>179</sup> In Polish Kamieniec Podolski, Międzybóż, Chmielnik, Latyczów, Zinków, and Skala.

<sup>180</sup> The two former (Lwów and Buczacz in Polish) belong today to the Ukraine and the two latter (Peremyśl' and Xolm in Ukrainian) to Poland; all these towns belonged to medieval Ruthenia and had mixed population composed of Catholic Poles and Germans, Orthodox Ruthenians and Greeks, Jews, Armenians, and others.

<sup>181</sup> In Polish Bełz and Sokal.

<sup>182</sup> This explains a mistaken assumption sometimes encountered in scholarly literature that the Tatar term *körel* (< Ruth. *korol'* < Pol. *król*) referred only to the present-day western Ukraine and not the entire Kingdom of Poland; see for instance Edmond Schütz, "Eine armenische Chronik von Kaffa aus der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* [hereafter, *AO ASH*] 29 (1975): 133–186, esp. pp. 164–165. Although the Tatars rarely reached further northwest than Lublin and their interest was focused on southeastern, predominantly Ruthenian provinces of the Polish Crown, the term referred to the whole Kingdom of Poland.

<sup>183</sup> For instance, in 1514 Sigismund had to rely on private moneylenders while gathering money to be sent to the khan; cf. Pułaski, "Machmet-Girej," p. 284.

pragmatism, as nobody could ever expect that the Tatars would assist the king to recapture his lost provinces for free. On the other hand, the favorable provisions regarding trade seemed to reflect Mehmed Giray's genuine interest to develop commercial relations. This interest was apparently motivated by fiscal reasons.

Both Crimean instruments were issued on 21 October 1520 in Ferahkerman (i.e., Perekop), in the name of the khan, his sons,<sup>184</sup> notables, and subjects. The documents referred to the collective oath taken by the khan and his retinue members in the presence of the royal envoy Anikij Hornostaj, the khan's Christian councilor Augustino de Garibaldis,<sup>185</sup> and two Crimean envoys, who were to deliver the documents to Sigismund: Evliya Mirza from the Shirin clan<sup>186</sup> and a certain Ibrahim Bey.

For unknown reasons, the embassy reached the Polish court only in April 1521, when Sigismund was in Toruń (Thorn), negotiating a peace with the Teutonic Order. Disregarding the stipulation that the envoys should not be detained longer than two months, the king decided to detain Evliya, assuming that the sole presence of a prominent member of the Shirin clan in Poland-Lithuania would be the best guaranty of peace.<sup>187</sup> Only in 1522, the envoy was sent back to the Crimea after he took a solemn oath during the Diet in Hrodna.<sup>188</sup>

In fact, the risk of a Tatar attack against Poland-Lithuania in 1521 was not unlikely, but Mehmed Giray had other concerns. Earlier that year, the young Ottoman sultan, Suleyman, invited the khan to support his planned invasion of Hungary by attacking Poland. Since the king of Hungary, Louis II, was Sigismund's nephew, the sultan feared a Polish assistance to Hungary and wanted to prevent it by using the Tatars. Mehmed Giray politely refused providing several reasons:

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<sup>184</sup> The only son mentioned by name was Bahadır Giray, who in 1519 replaced his uncle, Ahmed Giray, as the qalga after the latter had rebelled against Mehmed Giray and had been killed.

<sup>185</sup> Augustino de Garibaldis was apparently singled out from among those present in order to render the khan's engagements more trustworthy. Augustino was personally known to Sigismund, with whom he also shared common religion.

<sup>186</sup> For more biographical details on Evliya, the son of Devletek and grandson of Eminek, see Document 19, n. 9.

<sup>187</sup> See Sigismund's correspondence with Lithuanian councilors, quoted in Pułaski, "Machmet-Girej," pp. 335–336.

<sup>188</sup> The text of the oath has been recorded and is preserved; see Document 21. The Diet in Hrodna (Pol. Grodno) was held in February and March 1522.

- 1) the Polish king (*Lêh qıralı*) was already the khan's tributary and paid an annual poll tax required from the infidels by the Muslim law (*cizya*; in the same letter also referred to as *harac*), amounting to 15,000 florins;
- 2) a prominent member of the Shirin clan, Evliya Mirza, had been detained by the Poles as a hostage; if Poland was attacked, he would be executed and the khan would face a Shirin rebellion;
- 3) the old enemy of the khan, Sheikh Ahmed, was detained by the Polish king; if the khan attacked the king, Sheikh Ahmed would be set free and disturb the order in the khan's domains;
- 4) after the death of Muhammed Emin, the khan of Kazan, its inhabitants had asked Mehmed Giray to appoint a new khan; in accordance with their wish, he had sent his younger brother, Sahib Giray, but the Muscovian ruler had invaded Kazan, persecuting the Muslims, constructing churches, and promoting infidelity; therefore, the khan decided to send a rescue expedition; his warriors already left and it would be too late to return them and send against Poland;
- 5) if the khan set out against Poland, the Kazakh nomads, who had recently invaded the Nogay pasturelands on the Volga,<sup>189</sup> might unite with the khan of Astrakhan, who was the ancient enemy of the Girays, and invade the Crimea.

Of the five excuses provided by Mehmed Giray, all but one were pretended. Firstly, the payment of annual gifts, referred to as *bölek* in the khan's instrument sent to Sigismund, but conveniently dressed in a Muslim gown in the khan's letter to the sultan, had not protected Poland-Lithuania from Tatar raids in the previous years. Secondly, in the spring of 1521, when both the Kazan and the Hungarian campaigns were being decided, Mehmed Giray could not know that Evliya Mirza would be detained by Sigismund. Thirdly, the detainment of Sheikh Ahmed in Lithuania, though always considered as dangerous to the Crimea, had not prevented Mehmed Giray from his recent alliance with Muscovy in 1518. Finally, if a campaign against Poland-Lithuania exposed the unprotected Crimean peninsula to a nomad invasion, a

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<sup>189</sup> In 1519 the Kazakhs invaded the lands on the lower Volga, which had been earlier inhabited by the Nogays; see Trepavlov, *Istoriya Nogajskoj Ordy*, p. 158.

campaign against Muscovy posed a similar danger and yet, this argument did not discourage Mehmed Giray from his plans.<sup>190</sup>

Only one argument was true, namely the khan's plan to introduce his brother to the throne of Kazan. Having concluded the peace with the Polish king and turned down the invitation of the Ottoman sultan, who was too busy conquering Belgrade and Rhodes to promptly react, in the years 1521–1523 Mehmed Giray realized his great plan to rebuild the Genghisid empire in Eastern Europe. Not by accident, he was the only khan in the history of the Giray dynasty, who adopted the pompous title of “the padishah of the Kipchak Steppe and all the Mongols.”<sup>191</sup> In 1521, Sahib Giray ascended the throne of Kazan while a large Tatar army besieged Muscovy, whose inhabitants, deserted by their ruler, had to ransom their lives and freedom by promising obedience to the khan. In 1522, Mehmed Giray even contemplated a restoration of the independent Duchy of Rjazan' in order to weaken Muscovy.<sup>192</sup> His plan to restore the Golden Horde under the rule of the Girays was completed in 1523, when his troops conquered Astrakhan and his son, Bahadır Giray, was introduced to its throne.<sup>193</sup>

However, the success was transient. Already on the eve of the conquest of Astrakhan, a domestic conspiracy developed in the Crimea. It was headed by the Shirin clan leaders, but also joined by members of other clans, who feared of Mehmed's ambitions. Evliya Mirza, for whose life the khan ostensibly worried when he was detained by Sigismund, proved ungracious and joined the conspiracy after his return. The Shirins declared their obedience to Sa'adet Giray, the khan's younger brother kept as a hostage in Istanbul, and asked for an Ottoman intervention. In their letter to the Porte, they accused Mehmed Giray of pro-Shiite and pro-Persian sympathies—a very

<sup>190</sup> For Mehmed Giray's letter to Suleyman, declining the latter's invitation to attack Poland, see *Le khanat de Crimée*, pp. 110–117; it is also edited separately in Chantal Lemerrier-Quelquejaye, “Les khanats de Kazan et de Crimée face à la Moscovie en 1521, d'après un document inédit des Archives du Musée du Palais de Topkapı,” *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 12 (1971): 481–490.

<sup>191</sup> *Deşt-i Qıpçaq barça Moğul padişahı*; see Document 20. Oleksa Hajvoronskyj took the title “padishah of all the Mongols” (Rus. *padišax vsej Mogulov*) as a motto for the chapter on Mehmed Giray in his book on the Giray dynasty; cf. *idem, Poveliteli dvux materikov*, vol. 1, p. 119.

<sup>192</sup> On his correspondence with Sigismund, referring to the heir to the Rjazan' throne who had taken refuge in Lithuania, see Pułaski, “Machmet-Girej,” pp. 345–348.

<sup>193</sup> See Zajcev, *Astraxanskoe xanstvo*, p. 91.

serious accusation in the eyes of an Ottoman sultan.<sup>194</sup> Yet, even before Süleyman had time to react, Mehmed Giray and his son Bahadır were killed in ambush at the hands of the Nogays.

### *Conclusion*

The developments of the initial decades of the 16th century demonstrated the limits of territorial growth of both the Giray khanate and the Jagiellonian kingdom. The efforts of Mehmed Giray to rebuild the Golden Horde were effectively frustrated in 1523 by his own subjects, the inhabitants of claimed territories, and the neighboring rulers. On their part, the Jagiellonians, who had lost almost one third of Lithuania already by 1503, in addition lost Smolensk in 1514. Fearing a Muscovian-Habsburg encirclement, in 1515 Sigismund appeased Emperor Maximilian by ceding his eventual rights to the thrones in Buda and Prague in favor of the House of Austria. When in 1526 Sigismund's nephew, Louis II, perished in the battle of Mohács, the alleged Jagiellonian empire in Central Europe ceased to exist.

In the nineteenth century, after both Poland-Lithuania and the Crimean Khanate had disappeared from the political map of Europe in result of the Russian expansion, Polish historiography began to obsessively look for a "point of no return," when the last obstacles to Muscovy's further growth had been removed. Many Polish historians, who in the era of nationalism easily appropriated the tradition of a separate Lithuanian statehood, cherished the eastern expansion of Algirdas and Vytautas, and condemned the passivity of Casimir and Alexander, who had let down their allies from the Great Horde in 1480 and 1502. Consequently, they also blamed early modern Crimean and Polish-Lithuanian statesmen for their "inadequate" cooperation against the rise of Muscovy. Yet, such condemnations seem both anachronous and unrealistic.

Most of the lands, claimed by the Girays, consisted of barely inhabited steppes. It was the home of the Tatar cavalry, formidable in raids, pillages, and field battles, but hardly useful for besieging and garrisoning fortresses that were indispensable to really control a claimed

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<sup>194</sup> For the letter of the Shirin leaders, see *Le khanat de Crimée*, pp. 106–110. It was addressed to the Crimean prince but its contents, especially regarding the Shiite sympathies of the khan, were intended for the Ottoman audience.

territory. The only settled and urbanized areas of the region were situated along the middle Volga and in the south of the Crimean peninsula. Yet, the former was situated beyond an effective reach for a dynasty based in the Crimea, and the latter, at least its larger part, was controlled by the Ottomans, who had annexed the southern shores of the Crimea in 1475. In effect, the Crimean largest commercial and maritime center of Caffa did not belong to the khans. All this severely limited the economic and political potential of the Khanate.

The demographic and economic potential of Poland, and even of less urbanized Lithuania, was incomparably higher. Yet, one can trace some striking parallels. The largest city of 16th-century Poland was not Cracow, and certainly not Warsaw, but the Baltic city of Danzig (Pol. Gdańsk) with a predominantly German population. Unlike the Crimean khans in Caffa, the Polish kings had a say in Danzig, which formally belonged to them since 1466, but their rights were limited by the city's impressive autonomy. Relaxed taxation and extensive privileges, enjoyed by the subjects of the Jagiellonian double monarchy, increased its attractiveness in the eyes of neighbors, especially if the latter faced an immediate danger from another direction. This explains the spectacular acts of obedience, addressed to King Casimir from such distant centers as Caffa and Velikij Novgorod, whose inhabitants acknowledged the Jagiellonian suzerainty respectively in 1462 and 1470. Yet, the same factors that determined Casimir's attractiveness as a patron, also limited the effective means at his disposal. Contrarily to the wishful thinking of his nineteenth- and twentieth-century critics, Casimir had neither fiscal nor military means to face Mehmed II in 1475, and Ivan III in 1471, when these neighboring monarchs subjugated his imagined distant domains.

Having stressed the weakness of early modern states in Eastern Europe and the limits of their effective range, one must also appreciate their durability and lasting traces left until today. Neither of the discussed states should be identified with a modern nation. For instance, in the light of the sources invoked in the present volume, it is worth reminding of the often forgotten role of Tatar settlers in the southern expansion of both Muscovy and Lithuania. While Ivan III settled Tatars in Kasimov on the Oka, Vytautas and Casimir settled the followers of Tokhtamish on the Sula (Hlyns'k), the followers of Ulug Muhammed on the Sejms and Dnieper (the *tümen* of Jagoldaj), and the followers of Seyyid Ahmed on the Dnieper (the so-called people of Semen Olekvyč). Yet, with time, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania

with its own institutions and state tradition provided a base for the development of modern nations, not just the Lithuanians, but also the Belarusians and Ukrainians. When we read the *yarlıq*, granted by Mengli Giray to Sigismund in 1514, Polack, Vicebsk, Kiev, Smolensk, Brjansk, and Kursk are listed together. Today Polack and Vicebsk belong to Belarus, Kiev to the Ukraine, and Smolensk, Brjansk, and Kursk to Russia. *One* explanation might be that already in 1514 a state border separated the first three towns, which were ruled from Vilnius, from the remaining three, which were ruled from Moscow. Though this border underwent several changes and ceased to exist in 1772, when all the six towns were united in the Russian Empire, it proved to be stable enough to shape linguistic and identity variations used by the 19th-century nation builders.

Analogously, the national identity of the Crimean Tatars, developing in the 19th-century Russian Empire, was embedded in the tradition of the Giray khanate, founded four centuries earlier. The existence of the Crimean Tatar nation today, in spite of the 19th-century expulsions and 20th-century deportations, is the best proof of the durability of this state project.



## CHAPTER TWO

### ON THE EAST EUROPEAN CHESSBOARD. THE CRIMEAN KHANATE AND POLAND-LITHUANIA IN THE YEARS 1523–1671

#### *The troubled decade of Sa'adet and Islam Girays (1523–1532)*

The violent death of Mehmed Giray was followed by a decade of domestic chaos. Having disposed of the khan, the Nogays invaded and devastated the Crimean peninsula. Mehmed's teenage son, Ghazi Giray, who was once to be sent as hostage to Vilnius, assumed the throne, but simultaneously Sa'adet Giray set out from Istanbul to Caffa. Invited by the Shirins already during Mehmed's life and supported by Sultan Suleyman, Sa'adet Giray assumed the throne and executed his nephew.<sup>195</sup> The new khan, who had spent many years at the Porte, aimed to strengthen his rule by developing infantry and artillery formations, shaped after the Ottoman models, and modernizing key fortresses, beginning with Ferahkerman (Perekop). A strengthening of the khan's power was certainly not the Shirins' aim when they had proposed to Sa'adet Giray the throne of his brother. Consequently, when Islam Giray, the oldest living son of Mehmed Giray, returned from Nogay captivity late in the year 1523, many nobles gathered around him initiating a new conspiracy. A rift also occurred within the Shirin clan: while most of its members, including the *qaraçı* bey Memesh, supported Islam Giray, Bakhtiyar remained loyal to Sa'adet Giray.<sup>196</sup>

Sa'adet Giray promptly notified the Polish court of his accession, expressing his wish to maintain the ancient friendship.<sup>197</sup> Yet, the internal

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<sup>195</sup> Hajvoronskyj convincingly dismisses an alternative version, according to which Ghazi Giray ruled until 1524 and then held the post of qalga for another three months; see *idem*, *Poveliteli dvux materikov*, vol. 1, p. 182, n. 13. The latter version is also contradicted by the fact that already in 1523 Sa'adet Giray addressed the Polish court as the new khan; cf. n. 197 below.

<sup>196</sup> On Memesh and Bakhtiyar, see Document 22, notes 7–8.

<sup>197</sup> *Tartarus novus precopensis a Turco constitutus misit huc suam amicitiam offerens et a nobis talem optans, qualis erat cum defuncto*; see the letter of Andrzej Krzycki, the bishop of Przemyśl and former royal secretary, to the vice-chancellor Piotr Tomicki, dated 26 July (*in crastino S. Jacobi*) 1523; published in *Acta Tomiciana*, vol.

crisis in the Crimea encouraged Sigismund to reverse his policy. In 1523, Lithuanian troops led by Ostafij Daškovyč, the *starosta* of Čerkasy and Kaniv, destroyed the Tatar fort of Islamkerman on the lower Dnieper and took along its captured artillery to Čerkasy.<sup>198</sup> Having concluded an armistice with Muscovy in 1522, Sigismund did not fear a rapprochement between Moscow and Qırq Yer, especially as the potential allies were conflicted over the Kazan issue. At the same time, the king received an embassy from the Nogay leaders Agish and Mamay, who had engineered the murder of Mehmed Giray. The Nogays asked Sigismund to release Sheikh Ahmed from Lithuanian custody, offering in return their assistance in a conquest of Očakiv and Islamkerman, whose permanent garrisoning by Lithuanian troops would prevent future Crimean invasions.<sup>199</sup>

In the summer of 1524, the Tatars led by two brothers, Islam and Özbek Girays, raided the Polish Crown's southeastern provinces. In his later correspondence, Sa'adet Giray presented this raid as a

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6, p. 299. The khan's letter, sent from Ottoman Caffa to Cracow (dated in the Muslim year 929 A.H., i.e., between 20 November 1522 and 9 November 1523), is entered in the Lithuanian Register; see Moscow, Rossijskij gosudarstvennyj arxiv drevnix aktov [hereafter, RGADA], fond [hereafter, f.] 389, no. 7, pp. 884–885.

<sup>198</sup> On Islamkerman, cf. Document 9, n. 31, and Document 22, n. 12. On Daškovyč, the famous border commander who had previously assisted the Crimean troops in their invasion of Muscovy (1521) and delivered the royal gifts to the khan (1522), see Kazimierz Pułaski, "Ostafi Daszkiewicz," in: *idem, Szkice i poszukiwania historyczne* (Cracow, 1887): 237–256, and Borys Čerkas, "Ostafij Daškovyč—čerkaś'kyj i kanivś'kyj starosta XVI st.," *Ukrajins'kyj istoryčnyj žurnal* (2002), no. 1: 53–67. Čerkas corrects Pułaski's misassumption that Daškovyč destroyed Očakiv as well. The impression left by Daškovyč's raid of Islamkerman was admittedly so strong that it resulted in gossip about the capture of Očakiv by a huge Polish-Lithuanian army, which spread early in the year 1524; cf. Čerkas, "Polityčna kryza v Kryms'komu xanstvi i borot'ba Islam-Gireja za vladu v 20–30-x rokax XVI st.," in: *Ukrajina v Central'no-Sxidnij Jevropi. Studiji z istoriji XI–XVIII stolit'*, [vol. 1] (Kiev, 2000): 97–118, esp. p. 101, and *idem*, "Vojenna kampanija Velykoho knjazivstva Lytovś'koho ta Korony Pol's'koji 1524 r. na ukrajins'kyx zemljax," in: *Ukrajina v Central'no-Sxidnij Jevropi (z najdavnijšyx časiv do XVIII st.)*, vol. 2 (Kiev, 2002): 200–209, esp. p. 201.

<sup>199</sup> Il'ja Zajcev, "Šejx-Axmad—poslednij xan Zolotoj Ordy (Orda, Krymskoe xanstvo, Osmanskaja imperija i Pol'sko-Litovskoe gosudarstvo v načale XVI v.)," in: *Ot Stambula do Moskvy. Sbornik statej v čest' 100-letija professora A. F. Millera* (Moscow, 2003): 31–52, esp. pp. 43–44; Borys Čerkas, "Ordynś'ka polityka Velykoho Knjazivstva Lytovś'koho v epoxu perśoho lytovś'koho statutu," in: *Pirmasis Lietuvos Statutas ir epocha. Straipsnių rinkinys*. Edited by I. Valikonys and L. Steponavičienė (Vilnius, 2005): 226–241, esp. p. 231; a slightly different version of the above article was earlier published as "Ukrajina v polityčnomu protystojanni Velykoho knjazivstva Lytovś'koho z Moskovś'koju deržavoju i Krymom u 20-x—30-x rr. XVI st.," in: *Ukrajina ta Rosija: problemy polityčnyx i sociokul'turnyx vidnosyn. Zbirnyk naukovyx prac'* (Kiev, 2003): 11–24.

revenge for Daškovyč's action, but in fact the khan faced too many dangers to consider a full-scale invasion of Poland-Lithuania. The raid was rather related to several other reasons: the Ottoman pressure on the khan to attack Poland and thus distract Cracow's attention from Suleyman's planned invasion of Hungary, usual economic factors that made slave raids so popular among the Tatars, and, last but not least, Sa'adet Giray's desire to keep the sons of Mehmed Giray far from the Crimea. In the fall of 1524, Islam Giray returned from the Polish campaign and openly claimed the throne. In the ensuing civil war, Islam initially gained the upper hand, but Sa'adet successfully withheld a siege in the fortress of Ferahkerman. The khan was assisted by Sahib Giray, who had left the throne of Kazan to his nephew, Safa Giray, and arrived in the Crimea, assuming the post of the qalga. During the domestic conflict, both rivals aimed at securing foreign aid. In February 1525, Sa'adet Giray sent a *şartname* to Moscow, inviting Vasilij III to jointly attack Sigismund.<sup>200</sup> In turn, in August 1525, Islam Giray notified Sigismund of his accession simultaneously inquiring about a possible refuge in Lithuania.<sup>201</sup> The civil war ended in 1526 when both sides reached reconciliation. As the price of agreement, the post of the qalga was taken away from Sahib Giray and given to Islam Giray, while Memesh, whom Sa'adet had earlier deprived of the *qaraçı* post in favor of Bakhtiyar, was reinstalled in this dignity.<sup>202</sup>

The Crimean temporary reunification resulted in a large raid of Lithuania, commanded by Sahib Giray. It proved unsuccessful and in February 1527 the invaders were defeated near Čerkasy. If the raid aimed to warn Sigismund against any rapprochement with the Nogays and to prevent the release of Sheikh Ahmed, the effect was opposite. In April 1527, the former khan left Vilnius and, escorted by Lithuanian and Nogay cavalymen, proceeded through Sluck, Kiev, and Čerkasy to Astrakhan, where he soon managed to assume the throne.<sup>203</sup>

<sup>200</sup> Published in "Istoričeskoe i diplomatičeskoe sobranie del proisxodivšix meždu rossijskimi velikimi knjaz'jami i byvšimi v Kryme tatarskimi carjami s 1462 po 1533 god." Collected by A. Malinovskij [hereafter, Malinovskij, "Istoričeskoe sobranie"], in: *Zapiski Odesskago Obščestva istorii i drevnostej*, vol. 5 (Odessa, 1863): 178–419, esp. pp. 415–417. The military and political situation of Sa'adet Giray was apparently so desperate that he chose not to raise the touchy issue of Kazan; cf. Čerkas, "Polityčna kryza v Kryms'komu xanstvi," p. 103.

<sup>201</sup> Čerkas, "Polityčna kryza v Kryms'komu xanstvi," p. 104; *idem*, "Ordyns'ka polityka Velykoho Knjazivstva Lytovs'koho," p. 230.

<sup>202</sup> See Hajvoronskyj, *Poveliteli dvux materikov*, vol. 1, p. 173 and Document 22.

<sup>203</sup> Čerkas, "Ordyns'ka polityka Velykoho Knjazivstva Lytovs'koho," pp. 230–231. On Sheikh Ahmed's departure from Vilnius, see *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 9 (Poznań, 1876),

Only then, the Crimeans reverted to diplomacy. A fitting pretext to resume peace negotiations was the arrival of a royal courier, Myxajlo Hryhorevyč, dispatched to the Crimea already in 1526. The courier delivered Sigismund's request that a new hostage from the Shirin clan should be sent to Lithuania in order to replace Djan Giray, the son of Bakhtiyar, who had been detained since 1522.<sup>204</sup>

Probably in the summer of 1527, Sa'adet Giray sent an oath-*yarlıq* (Ruth. *jarlyk prysjažnyi*) to Cracow. The document contained a long list of accusations and complaints, but also a sworn engagement to keep peace in the future. Having invoked the ancient friendship from the times of Hadji Giray, the author regretted that in the times of Mengli Giray and Casimir the latter had chosen to unite with Khan Ahmed and his children, who had ruled the Trans-Volgine state (i.e., the Great Horde). In result, having no other choice, Mengli had allied with "unworthy slave Ivan" (i.e., Ivan III) who, although being of low descent, had never delayed sending his gifts. Interestingly, Sa'adet Giray covered with silence his own overture towards Vasilij III, dating as recently as 1525. The khan went on explaining the rise of Muscovy and the territorial losses suffered by Lithuania by the lack of cooperation between Vilnius and Qırq Yer. He also expressed his amazement that Sigismund preferred unruly Nogays to the Girays and treated the Crimea "as if nobody had remained in the Crimean state and as if this state had no foundation, being reigned by a petty ruler."

Referring to the recent Crimean civil war, Sa'adet Giray triumphantly noticed that Islam Giray had prostrated before him "having placed a wooden bar on his neck," and had apologized for his ill-advised rebellion. The khan, requested by Memesh, Bakhtiyar, and other councilors to forgive his nephew, granted him the post of qalga whereas the former qalga, Sahib Giray, received in compensation several forts on the lower Dnieper.

Referring to his relations with Sigismund, the khan expressed his regret that the latter had never sent him embassy or gifts "as was customary among brothers." On the contrary, Sigismund's men had destroyed the Tatar forts on the Dnieper and recently delivered Sheikh

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p. 212. Having arrived at Astrakhan, the old khan notified King Sigismund that he was well received in the Horde and his nephew, Qasim, resigned from the throne in his favor; see RGADA, f. 389, no. 7, pp. 1010–1011.

<sup>204</sup> On Myxajlo Hryhorevyč and Djan Giray, see Document 22, notes and 17–18. Djan Giray earlier replaced his uncle Evliya (see above), who was allowed to return to the Crimea only after the former's arrival.

Ahmed to the Nogays. The khan, whom the king “treated as a nobody,” had therefore no other choice but to send troops against Poland-Lithuania, first commanded by Islam and Özbek Girays (i.e., in 1524), and recently by Sahib Giray.

Notwithstanding the previous hostilities, the khan proposed to Sigismund to restore friendship and jointly attack Muscovy on the condition that the king would send him the overdue gifts for the previous years, accompanied with fitting presents for the qalga, the four *qaraçıs*, and other Crimean notables. Having sworn, along with his retinue, to keep friendship and set out against Muscovy, the khan sent his oath-*yarlıq* through an envoy named Yankura (or perhaps Yanchura). A great embassy was to follow, headed by Ma’qul Mirza, another son of Bakhtiyar and the khan’s nephew. In return, Sigismund was to send his great embassy and release Djan Giray.<sup>205</sup>

Islam Giray could not allow Sa’adet to communicate with Sigismund behind his back. Therefore, he also sent an embassy to Cracow, invoking the ancient friendship and regretting past disagreements. One statement contained in his letter was much telling: “by the grace of God I am also a son of the ruler in my state, hence I can prove friendship to our friend or—along with my troops—I can really prove enmity to our enemy.” Islam presented himself and his supporters from the Shirin and Barin clans as Sigismund’s loyal friends, who had persuaded Sa’adet to revive an alliance with Poland-Lithuania and attack Muscovy. In analogy with the khan’s document, Islam Giray issued his own oath-letter (*lyst prysjažnyj*). The document referred to an oath taken by the qalga and his retinue members. The qalga’s court was modeled after the khan’s one and even included a senior councilor from the Shirin clan, Aydıshke. In return for all his goodwill, Islam asked Sigismund, to whom he referred to as his father, to send him gifts in the amount that used to be sent to his older brother Bahadır, the late qalga of Mehmed Giray. Islam’s embassy, headed by Buydalı Mirza, reached Cracow at the same time as the embassy of Sa’adet Giray.<sup>206</sup>

The procedure of reconciliation, that was to culminate in Ma’qul Mirza’s great embassy, was interrupted by the outbreak of new hostilities in the Crimea. In 1528 Sa’adet Giray executed the Shirin *qaraçı*,

<sup>205</sup> See Document 22.

<sup>206</sup> See Document 23.

Memesh, and defeated Islam Giray. The latter took refuge in Lithuania, where he was granted pasturelands near Čerkasy.<sup>207</sup> In 1529, an exotic coalition against Sa'adet Giray was negotiated with Lithuanian support between Sheikh Ahmed and Islam Giray. Yet, Sheikh Ahmed died soon after and Islam again reconciled with the khan.<sup>208</sup>

After a relatively quiet year 1530, early in the year 1531 Ma'qul was finally sent to Sigismund as a great envoy and honorary hostage. Unfortunately, later that year Sa'adet Giray discovered a new Shirin conspiracy. Bakhtiyar, Ma'qul's father, the khan's former supporter and the *qaraçı* since the death of Memesh, was executed along with his brother Evliya and several cousins. The power of the Shirins was seriously weakened and Sa'adet Giray notified Sigismund that Ma'qul lost his diplomatic status.<sup>209</sup>

In the last years of Sa'adet Giray's reign, the Crimean Khanate was in fact divided. The peninsula, along with its main centers, was in the khan's hands, while the steppes on the lower Dnieper were controlled by the qalga. Sometimes the two reconciled, to restart their fighting on the nearest occasion. Whenever Islam was defeated, he could find refuge in Lithuania, protected by the powerful *starosta* of Čerkasy, Ostafij Daškovyč. Daškovyč not only supported Crimean malcontents, but often raided Tatar territories along with regular as well as irregular troops that would later become known as cossacks. His profitable activity was sometimes undertaken with Sigismund's consent, and sometimes without royal knowledge. In February 1532, Sa'adet Giray set out against Čerkasy, irritated by the notorious activity of its commander. Unlike in typical Tatar raids, the khan's army was furnished with artillery, but Daškovyč withheld the two-weeks siege in March 1532.<sup>210</sup>

<sup>207</sup> Oleksa Hajvoronskyj explains the execution of Memesh and the outbreak of new hostilities between the khan and the qalga by the raid of Muscovy, undertaken by Islam and Memesh without the khan's consent in the fall of 1527; see *idem*, *Poveliteli dvux materikov*, vol. 1, p. 174. Yet, in the light of the documents sent earlier by Sa'adet and Islam to Sigismund, a Crimean attack against Muscovy was not so unpredictable.

<sup>208</sup> Čerkas, "Ordyns'ka polityka Velykoho Knjazivstva Lytovs'koho," pp. 232–234.

<sup>209</sup> On Ma'qul Mirza, cf. Document 22, n. 19.

<sup>210</sup> Čerkas, *Ukrajina v polityčnyx vidnosynax*, pp. 194–198; cf. *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 14 (Poznań, 1952), pp. 250–251, 254, 257. Anticipating his Lithuanian campaign, in November 1531 Sa'adet Giray renewed peace with Muscovy; his *šartname*, issued "in November of the year 938" (the Muslim year 938 A.H. lasted from 15 August 1531 to 2 August 1532), is published in Malinovskij, "Istoričeskoe sobranie," pp. 417–419.

Soon after the failed siege of Čerkasy, new envoys arrived from both Sa'adet and Islam Girays and negotiations were resumed. In the summer of 1532, Sigismund decided to send two separate embassies: Andrej Mackevyč to Sa'adet Giray and Hleb Es'man to Islam Giray, explaining in his letter to the Lithuanian Council that "in the present time there are two khans in this Horde."<sup>211</sup> The king also resolved that in order to appease both Crimean rulers, they should receive 2,000 florins each, but there was no need to send them more in the amount known from the times of Mengli and Mehmed Girays. He argued that the horde was weakened and did not pose a great danger; besides, the formerly sent gifts had not prevented Tatar raids.<sup>212</sup> Mackevyč was instructed to ask the khan to swear an oath to keep peace with Sigismund and send him a letter of agreement (*dokončan'e*) through the royal envoy. Sa'adet Giray was also expected to send his great envoy, in whose presence Sigismund would swear his oath and send him back along with a royal letter of agreement. An analogous procedure was to be followed by Islam Giray, although the royal instruction did not refer to the qalga's future envoy as "great envoy."<sup>213</sup>

Before the royal envoys left Lithuania, news arrived from the Crimea about the abdication of Sa'adet Giray and his departure to Istanbul. Mackevyč returned from Kiev, asking for new instructions, and was promptly sent again to the new khan, Islam Giray. Sigismund decided that the gifts previously prepared for Sa'adet should be now given to Islam and even augmented, since there was again only one ruler in the Crimea. On the request of Islam, who had always kept good relations with the Shirins, Sigismund also released Ma'qul Mirza.<sup>214</sup>

After Sa'adet Giray, disenchanted after so many years of contested rule, abdicated and left for Istanbul, Islam Giray finally assumed the long awaited throne. Yet, he was afraid of the Ottoman reaction and desperately needed Sigismund's support. This explains the fact that he warmly received Mackevyč and immediately sent him back, provided

<sup>211</sup> *Teperešneho času na toj Orde dva cary zostaly*; see *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 15 (1528–1538). Užrašymų knyga 15*. Edited by A. Dubonis (Vilnius, 2002), p. 174.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 173–174; cf. Čerkas, "Ordyn'ska polityka Velykoho Knjazivstva Lytov'skoho," pp. 237–238, and Ludwik Kolankowski, *Zygmunt August, wielki książę Litwy do roku 1548* (Lwów [L'viv], 1913), pp. 120–121.

<sup>213</sup> *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 15*, pp. 183–185.

<sup>214</sup> See Sigismund's letter to the Lithuanian Council sent in the fall of 1532, published in *ibidem*, pp. 176–179. In the king's absence, the Council was chaired by the Lithuanian chancellor, Olbracht Gasztołd.

with a solemn *yarlıq*. Curiously, this *yarlıq* was an almost literal copy of the instrument issued in 1517 by Bahadır Giray during his meeting with Olbracht Gasztołd in Čerkasy.<sup>215</sup> It is possible that Gasztołd, who had become the Lithuanian chancellor in 1522, provided Mackevyč with a copy of that old document when he was sending the envoy from Vilnius in the royal absence. In his earlier correspondence with Sigismund, Islam Giray had always invoked with esteem the name of his late older brother. Thus, he apparently did not mind to treat Bahadır's instrument as a model for his own, new *yarlıq*. Hastened by an imminent Ottoman intervention, the khan simply corroborated Bahadır's document with his oath and seal, and sent it back through Mackevyč.<sup>216</sup> The document again "granted" numerous lands to Lithuania and provided for an alliance against Muscovy or any other enemies.<sup>217</sup>

### *The reign of Sahib Giray (1532–1551)*

Islam Giray could not ignore the Ottoman power. In a vain effort to gain the Porte's favor, he officially asked the sultan to designate a new Crimean khan, hoping that he would be the chosen one. Yet, Suleyman chose Sahib Giray, the former Kazan khan and Crimean qalga, who had spent the previous year at the sultan's court. Provided with

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<sup>215</sup> Cf. Document 18. Feliks Šabul'do, who by the way confuses Islam Giray with Sa'adet Giray, claims that the *yarlıq* from 1532 was based on an earlier *yarlıq* of Mehmed Giray from 1515 (today unpreserved), and not Bahadır's instrument from 1517. He argues that the engagement to send a Crimean prince to Vilnius, which was entered in the document from 1532, could not have originated in 1517. Besides, he maintains that the instrument from 1532 is stylistically closer to Mengli's *yarlıqs* from 1513–1514 than to Bahadır's instrument from 1517; cf. *idem*, "Jarlyki," pp. 262, 265–266. Although the now lost *yarlıq* from 1515 probably existed, the assertion that the instrument from 1532 was based directly on that *yarlıq* seems unfounded. Contrary to Šabul'do's statement, the promise to send a Crimean prince to Vilnius is also present in the document from 1517. Stylistic differences between the instruments from 1532 and 1517 can be explained by the possibility that Islam's instrument, admittedly more carefully edited, was based on another, today unpreserved copy of Bahadır's instrument, and not the one that is extant today, entered in the Lithuanian Register.

<sup>216</sup> Such an explanation was already proposed by Borys Čerkas in *idem*, "Ordyns'ka polityka Velykoho Knjazivstva Lytovs'koho," p. 240. Residing outside of Qırq Yer, Islam Giray was also deprived of a proper chancery that could issue a more sophisticated document.

<sup>217</sup> See Document 24. In comparison with Document 18, Byryn and Mumyš (unidentified) are missing, while Karaul reappears; these differences are certainly due to careless copying.



Ottoman janissaries and artillery, the new khan set out from Istanbul while Islam Giray—to his great disappointment—was again appointed the qalga. After the events of 1475, 1478, and 1523, this was the fourth Ottoman intervention that resolved the question of the Crimean throne, and certainly not the last one.

The Ottoman-Polish relations, which had been hostile on the turn of the 15th century, evolved in the following decades towards a cohabitation and then a formal alliance. In 1525, King Sigismund concluded a peace with Sultan Suleyman, securing his domains at the cost of abandoning Hungary on the eve of an Ottoman invasion. After Sigismund's nephew, the last Jagiellonian king of Hungary, perished in the battle of Mohács, the Polish king unwillingly honored the Treaty of Vienna (1515) that left Hungary to the Habsburgs, but unofficially favored an anti-Habsburg claimant to the throne in Buda, John Zapolya (r. 1526–1540), who was also supported by Suleyman. In 1533, Suleyman and Sigismund concluded an unprecedented treaty that belied the ideology of Crusade or Djihad, officially professed by both partners, and—contrary to the Muslim law—was not limited to a certain period of time. In 1536, an analogous treaty was concluded between Suleyman and Francis I. In consequence, France and Poland-Lithuania became the two pillars of Ottoman policy in Europe, directed against the Habsburgs.

Given the rising Ottoman influence in the Crimea, the rapprochement between the king and the sultan should have positively influenced the relations between the king and the khan as well. A relevant question arose whether the Polish-Tatar relations were to be still regulated between Cracow and Qırq Yer, or between Cracow and Istanbul. In 1531, a Polish envoy returning from the Porte brought a letter from Sultan Suleyman, who stressed that Sigismund did not need to negotiate separately with Sa'adet Giray since the khan was not a sovereign ruler, owing his position to the sultan and obliged to obey him.<sup>218</sup> The same question returned with the accession of Sahib Giray. Piotr Opaliński,

<sup>218</sup> [...] *calchularete che talle han non sia principe da per si ne in dyparte*; see AGAD, Archiwum Koronne Warszawskie [hereafter, AKW], Dział turecki, karton 66, teczka 29, no. 66; cf. Abrahamowicz, *Katalog dokumentów tureckich. Dokumenty do dziejów Polski i krajów ościennych w latach 1455–1672* (Warsaw, 1959), p. 41. The letter is preserved only in Italian and Latin translations; for the Latin one, see *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 13 (Poznań, 1915), pp. 150–153. On the Polish embassy to Istanbul, headed by Jan Ocieski in 1531, see Andrzej Dziubiński, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne polsko-tureckie w latach 1500–1572 w kontekście międzynarodowym* (Wrocław, 2005), pp. 82–85.

a Polish envoy traveling to the Porte in order to negotiate the already mentioned “permanent” peace between Sigismund and Suleyman, met in Rumelia, in November 1532, both Suleyman and the new khan, the latter on his way to the Crimea.<sup>219</sup> When the Polish envoy asked the sultan to forbid Sahib Giray to attack the royal domains, he heard in response, alluding to Islam Giray, that the king should not assist Tatar malcontents. Both provisions were promptly registered in the Ottoman *ahdname* issued in Istanbul in January 1533:

Al presente lo inperator di Tartaria, potentissimo, nominato Sachip Cheraichan, el qual è cresuto a la nostra felicissima Porta e ne le nostre inpreze ett operation suefato tanto, che li è nostro fiol, ett esendo tra noi l'amicitia, li avemo dito che ancor lui vi sia amicho, bisogna che voi eciam teniati con lui bona amicitia ett operar di sorte, che Tartari over parenti del dito inperator che non li siano obediendi ett scanpando da lui abino da voi recapito e cercando aiuto, non li ascoltaretì anzi schazarli del vostro paeze e perseguitarli.<sup>220</sup>

The king was still unsatisfied with this clause and asked the powerful Ottoman vizier, Ibrahim Pasha, to strongly order the khan to keep peace with Poland-Lithuania. Ibrahim's letter, written in July 1533, contained a Pythian answer. Admitting that Sahib Giray was like a son to Suleyman and owed his throne to the sultan, the vizier yet stressed that the khan was a sovereign monarch and it was not fitting to include him in the instruments exchanged between other rulers.<sup>221</sup> Nevertheless, he promised to write to the khan, expecting that the latter would maintain friendship with the king. In the years to come, the royal side would often try to influence the khan by resorting to the Porte, but it would not resign from maintaining direct diplomatic contacts with the Crimea.

Having ascended the throne, Sahib Giray reconfirmed Islam Giray in the post of qalga and unwillingly accepted his rule in the northern

<sup>219</sup> Dziubiński, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne polsko-tureckie*, p. 97.

<sup>220</sup> The document, preserved only in Italian translation, is published in Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 230–231. An analogous clause was entered in the royal document, issued in Cracow in May 1533; see *ibidem*, pp. 232–233.

<sup>221</sup> *lakin müstakil selatin 'ıdadından olub başka memlekete vali ve hakimdir bunların 'ahdnamelerinde anun ahvali bile zikr olunub mukayyed olması münasib görülmeyüb zikr olunmadı*; see AGAD, AKW, Dział turecki, karton 67, teczka 35, no. 78; cf. Abrahamowicz, *Katalog dokumentów tureckich*, pp. 45–46; a contemporary Polish translation is published in *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 15 (Wrocław-Cracow, 1957), pp. 68–69, and *Listy polskie XVI wieku*. Edited by K. Rymut, vol. 1 (Cracow, 1998), pp. 39–40.

lands around Perekop (Tur. Ferahkerman or Or).<sup>222</sup> The new political division in the Crimea was convenient for Poland-Lithuania. The khan, dependent on the Ottoman support, was expected to behave properly towards the sultan's ally, while the qalga, who controlled the Khanate's northern territories bordering on Lithuania, had to maintain good relations with Vilnius as only that secured his semi-independent position vis-à-vis the khan. Another auspicious factor for Vilnius was the rise of anti-Muscovian feelings in the Crimea caused by the arrival of Safa Girey, recently expelled from Kazan by a pro-Muscovian coup d'état. In the summer of 1533, Safa and Islam Girays raided the areas of Kasimov and Perejaslavl' Rjazan'skij. Sahib Giray proudly informed Sigismund about this anti-Muscovian raid, demanding that in return the king should send him the gifts that used to be sent to his predecessors.<sup>223</sup>

The Crimean offer of an anti-Muscovian alliance could not be ignored, especially after the death of Vasilij III in December 1533 and the accession of his three-year-old son, Ivan IV (the future Ivan the Terrible). Sigismund did not waste the opportunity and waged war on Muscovy, hoping to recapture the Lithuanian lost territories. Early in the year 1534, an experienced diplomat, Anikij Hornostaj, was sent to the Crimea to negotiate an alliance.<sup>224</sup> In the spring of 1534, the Tatars again raided the province of Rjazan', but then a new domestic war broke out in the Crimea. Following the unspoken rules of the Crimean policy, Islam Giray reacted to Sahib's rapprochement with Vilnius by offering his allegiance to Moscow and raised arms against his uncle.<sup>225</sup>

<sup>222</sup> *Tarih-i Sahib Giray Han (Histoire de Sahib Giray, Khan de Crimée de 1532 à 1551)*. Edited by Ö. Gökbilgin (Ankara, 1973), pp. 21–22 (French translation: 157–158). The chronicle was authored by Remmal Hodja, Sahib Giray's retinue member and an eyewitness.

<sup>223</sup> Hajvoronskyj, *Poveliteli dvux materikov*, vol. 1, p. 193; *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 15, pp. 683, 703.

<sup>224</sup> The date of Hornostaj's departure is unknown; cf. Banionis, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės pasiuntinybių tarnyba*, p. 199. Borys Čerkas suggests that he set out already in the summer of 1533; see *idem*, "Polityčni vidnosyny Velykoho knjazivstva Lytovs'koho z Kryms'kym xanatom u 1533–1540 rr.," in: *Ukraina v Central'no-Sxidnij Jevropi (z najdavnišyx časiv do kincja XVIII st.)*, vol. 3 (Kiev, 2003): 117–128, esp. p. 119. However, from Sigismund's letter dated 14 October 1533, it appears that his envoy had not yet departed; see *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 15, p. 703. It is likely that Hornostaj, who ranked as the great envoy (see *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 15*, p. 246), was sent only after the decision to wage war on Muscovy had been taken.

<sup>225</sup> Kolankowski, *Zygmunt August, wielki książę Litwy*, pp. 123–124; Smirnov, *Krymskoe xanstvo*, p. 401.

A Tatar raid of Volhynia in October 1534 was probably related to this shift in the qalga's policy.<sup>226</sup>

Due to the Crimean domestic conflict, Lithuanian troops could not be reinforced by the Tatars in the Muscovian campaign of 1534 and Hornostaj was forced to find temporary shelter in Ottoman Caffa.<sup>227</sup> Nevertheless, late in that year he was sent back, accompanied by the khan's envoy, Devey Mirza from the Manghit (Mansur) clan.<sup>228</sup> In a letter delivered to Sigismund, Sahib Giray invoked his negotiations with Hornostaj and his consent to issue an instrument of peace that conformed with the ready blank formula prepared by the royal chancery, just as the king had requested.<sup>229</sup> Although the khan blamed Lithuanians for their previous inactivity during the Crimean-Muscovian war, he accepted Hornostaj's proposal to renew the alliance that would be cemented by annual gifts of 7,500 florins in cash and 7,500 florins in cloth, to be sent to the khan. Sahib Giray announced that he had already sworn an oath in the presence of Hornostaj and sent his envoy Devey Mirza, furnished with his solemn letter of agreement (Ruth. *lyst dokončal'nyj*), to repeat this oath in the royal presence. He also warned that unless he received the gifts he would regard his oath as void.<sup>230</sup>

<sup>226</sup> On the raid, see *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 16, pt. 2 (Wrocław etc., 1961), p. 314. The Polish-Lithuanian court realized that even if peace were maintained by both the khan and the qalga, poor Tatars, living on the verge of subsistence, would raid the royal domains on their own initiative; cf. Sigismund's comment in his letter to the Polish councilors from September 1535: *multi tamen sunt in imperio dicioneque illius, qui cum mendicitate atque extrema inopia egestateque laborent, nullius auctoritate contineri possunt, quominus incursionibus et rapinis vitam suam sustentent, fame alioqui morituri*, published in *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 17 (Wrocław etc., 1966), p. 614.

<sup>227</sup> Čerkas, "Polityčni vidnosyny Velykoho knjazivstva Lytovs'koho z Kryms'kym xanatom," p. 122. In September 1534, Sigismund informed from Vilnius his Polish councilors that Hornostaj still remained in Caffa due to the Crimean civil war; see *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 16, pt. 2, p. 183.

<sup>228</sup> The choice of Devey reflected Sahib Giray's conscious policy of promoting the Manghits against the once omnipotent Shirins; on Devey's career, see Document 25, n. 1.

<sup>229</sup> *Pryslal esy do nas posla svoeho pana Onykeja Hornostaja, xotjačy s namy učynyt' pryjazn' bratckuju y večnyj myr, y pryslaly este kopeju do nas, jakovyj lyst mel by byty dokončal'nyj; y my vodluh kopej takovyj dokončal'nyj lyst poslaly esmo*; see *Akty odnosjaščiesja k istorii Zapadnoj Rossii, sobrannye i izdannye Arxeografičeskoju kommissieju*, vol. 2: 1506–1544 (St. Petersburg, 1848), p. 186. The letter is undated and erroneously attributed by the editors to the period between 1527–1533. Judging by the fact that it referred to Hornostaj's sojourn in the Crimea and mentioned a planned Tatar campaign against Muscovy in the approaching winter ("when the rivers freeze"), it could have been written in the fall of 1534.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 185–187. In one place the khan mentioned that he had sent two versions of his instrument and asked Sigismund to keep the one of his preference and

Sigismund received the khan's envoy, but for unclear reasons he refused to accept the khan's document. The oath of Devey Mirza was heard by the king in January 1535. Its wording closely reminded the oath taken by Evliya Mirza in 1522, but on the royal request it also contained the Tatar engagement to keep peace with Sigismund's son, the young king Sigismund II Augustus, enthroned in Vilnius (1529) and Cracow (1530) during his father's lifetime.<sup>231</sup> Unlike Evliya's oath that referred to the khan's instrument (Ruth. *lyst prysjažnyj*) which the envoy had already delivered, Devey's oath referred to the khan's future instrument that was to be collected in the Crimea by the following royal embassy.<sup>232</sup> The reason for that was the royal refusal to accept the letter of agreement, brought by Devey. The Crimean envoy was formally informed that:

In regard to the letter of agreement that you have brought from Khan Sahib Giray to His Royal Majesty, this letter of agreement does not conform with the letters of agreement that had been previously exchanged to assure eternal peace between the grand dukes of Lithuania and the ancestors of Khan Sahib Giray. Therefore, His Royal Majesty ordered to return the khan's letter to you, and you should return it to Khan Sahib Giray and forward him the request of His Royal Majesty that the khan should act according to the ancient custom [...] and order to compose his [letter of] agreement properly, and send it to His Royal Majesty through His Majesty's envoy, Pan Vasyl' Tyškevyč, as was the custom in the times of his ancestors, the great khans.<sup>233</sup>

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send back the other one (*poslal esmy do vašej mylosti dva lysty dokončal'nyx [...] y s tyx obejux lystov, v ktorom by vaša mylost' upodobala pryjazn' bratckuju so mnoju deržaly [sic], tot by lyst vaša mylost' u sebe ostavyl, a ynyj ko mne otosla; a kotoryj lyst vaša mylost' u sebe ostavyš, y vaša mylost' by, podluh toho lystu, y pomynok svoj k nam pryslal*). Yet, elsewhere only one document is mentioned. Also Sigismund, who invoked Devey's embassy in his response to Sahib Giray dated 10 January 1535, referred to the khan's document in the singular; see *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 15*, pp. 246–247. As neither version of the khan's document is extant, it is impossible to guess what was the difference between them.

<sup>231</sup> On Sigismund's diplomatic efforts to include in the Polish-Ottoman treaty of 1533 also the king's and the sultan's sons, Sigismund Augustus and Selim, cf. Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, p. 117.

<sup>232</sup> For the recorded text of Devey's oath, see Document 25; for Evliya's oath, see Document 22.

<sup>233</sup> *Što sja tytočet' toho lystu dokončalnogo, kotoryj esy ot cara Sahap Kyreja Korolju Eho Mylosti prynes, yno tot lyst dokončalnyj ne po tomu spraven, jako pered tym velykyi knjazы lytovskyi s predki carja Sahap Kyreevymy lysty dokončalni na myr večnyj day-aly. A tak Korol Eho Mylost' tot lyst carev zasja kazal tobe daty, y ty by eho carju Sahap Kyreju otdal y ot Korolja Eho Mylosti emu movyl, ažby car podle obyčaju staro-davnoho v tom sja k Eho Mylosti zaxoval y dokončan'e svoe obyčaeм slušnym kazal*

Vasyl' Tyškevyč, sent as a Lithuanian great envoy along with returning Devey Mirza, was provided with a royal treaty document, issued by Sigismund in Vilnius on 10 April 1535. Its form and wording were similar to those of the royal documents from 1513 and 1516. The king promised in his name and in the name of his son, Sigismund Augustus, to maintain peace and friendship with Sahib Giray, referred to as Sigismund's brother, and with Islam Giray, referred to as Sigismund's son although he was not younger than his uncle, the khan. Further standard clauses referred to the expected Tatar help in reconquering of the Lithuanian lands lost to Muscovy, mutual forgiveness of past wrongs, and the freedom of Lithuanian and Polish merchants to import salt from Kačybej and travel to the Crimea, including Ottoman Caffa. For incomprehensible reasons, the Lithuanian chancery removed its traditional engagement not to support "the children of Ahmed and Mahmud" against the Girays, although this clause could serve well to cement the anti-Muscovian alliance.<sup>234</sup> Besides, three clauses were formulated differently than in the previous documents:

- 1) the king diminished almost by half the annual gifts sent formerly to Mengli and Mehmed Girays, and offered to send each year, by 30 June, 200 pieces [*postaws*] of English cloth for the khan, and 60 pieces for the qalga. Calculating one piece as being worth ca. 33 florins, these gifts would amount to 6,600 and 1,980 florins respectively;<sup>235</sup>

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*spravyty, y čerez toho posla Eho Mylosti, pana Vasyľ'ja Tyškevyča do Korolja Eho Mylosti prysłał tak, jako za predkov eho, velykyx carej byvalo*; the written royal explanation, delivered to Devey Mirza in April 1535, is recorded in *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 15*, pp. 247–249.

<sup>234</sup> The descendants of Küchük Muhammed then reigned not only in Astrakhan, but also in Kasimov and Kazan, where they enjoyed Muscovian protection. As recently as 1532, Safa Giray had lost the throne of Kazan to Djan Ali, a Muscovian client and the former khan of Kasimov. In 1535, after Djan Ali was murdered, Safa was to regain the Kazan throne.

<sup>235</sup> On the terms *postaw* and "London cloth," see Document 26, n. 5; in Sahib Giray's document from 1539 (Document 28) one *postaw* of London cloth was calculated as being worth 33 florins. Čerkas regards this and the following two clauses as evidence of political success of Hornostaj's embassy; cf. Čerkas, "Polityčni vidnosyny Velykoho knjazivstva Lytovs'koho z Kryms'kym xanatom," p. 122. Yet, in the aforementioned letter sent to Sigismund through Devey Mirza in 1534, Sahib Giray referred to Hornostaj's consent to send 15,000 florins yearly (cf. *Akty odnosjaščiesja k istorii Zapadnoj Rossii*, vol. 2, pp. 185–187). If the khan's statement was genuine, one might guess that either Hornostaj exceeded his instructions or rather Sigismund changed his mind after his envoy's return and therefore rejected the khan's instrument

- 2) in return, Sigismund asked Sahib Giray to secure that not only his own subjects, but also the loose Tatars (referred to as cossacks) dwelling in the steppes near Akkerman, should not raid the royal lands;
- 3) the king also asked not to send him great embassies, because providing them with horses and allowances caused “great detriment” to the royal treasury; this clause touched a somewhat confusing economic and cultural aspect of mutual contacts, whereas numerous members of the Crimean society regarded their right to send separate embassies as a mark of their social status and a source of personal enrichment through the extortion of royal gifts.

Sigismund’s document was confirmed with his oath sworn in the presence of Devey Mirza. The ceremony was attended by the members of the Lithuanian Council, of whom ten were mentioned by names and functions. Yet, unlike in 1513 and 1516, their seals were not appended to the document, which was corroborated only by Sigismund’s seal used in the Lithuanian chancery.<sup>236</sup>

In order to assure the proper form and contents of the document requested from Sahib Giray, the Lithuanian chancery provided Tyškevyč with a ready formula of the khan’s future letter of agreement.<sup>237</sup> The envoy was instructed to ask Sahib Giray to issue his instrument accordingly. The formula was apparently based on the *yarlıq* from 1517, sworn by Bahadır Giray in Čerkasy in the presence of Olbracht Gasztold. It seems that Gasztold, who once accepted this document in Čerkasy, treated it as a model for the rest of his life. Having become the Lithuanian chancellor, already in 1532 he secured that Islam Giray’s instrument was based on that copy.<sup>238</sup> In 1535, the *yarlıq* from 1517 was again to serve as a model for Sahib Giray’s instrument. The dependence of the Lithuanian chancery’s formula on Bahadır’s instrument from 1517 is best visible in referring to Mengli Giray as “our granfather” (*sic*, Sahib Giray was Mengli’s son) and in misspelling the Ruthenian word *belcom* as *beloholovym*, to be found

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brought by Devey Mirza. Consequently, it is quite possible that in turn Sahib Giray did not accept the new conditions entered in the royal instrument, which merely reflected the royal chancery’s wishful thinking.

<sup>236</sup> See Document 26.

<sup>237</sup> Such a formula (not preserved) was already given in 1534 to Hornostaj (cf. n. 229 above).

<sup>238</sup> Cf. Document 24 and the discussion above.

in both documents.<sup>239</sup> The formula begins from a usual list of lands to be “granted” to Lithuania. A characteristic change was the addition of Ljubeč in the proposed document from 1535. Ljubeč, a castle situated to the east of the Dnieper and lost to Muscovy in 1503, was the only important stronghold restored to Lithuania after the war of 1507–1508. Hence, no wonder that it was added by the Lithuanian chancery, even though it had never figured in original *yarliqs*.<sup>240</sup> As should be expected, the conditions entered in the proposed Crimean document were identical with those present in the royal document. The Lithuanian chancery even provided a proper oath formula, invoking “124,000 prophets and our righteous prophet, His Majesty Muhammad Mustafa.”<sup>241</sup>

We do not know how Sahib Giray reacted to the fact that his original instrument, sent through Devey Mirza, was returned, and whether he was ready to issue an “amended” version that he was asked for. In fact, Tyškevyč never reached Sahib’s court. Two years later, in a letter sent to the khan, Sigismund explained that Tyškevyč had been arrested by Islam Giray, who had also intercepted the royal gifts. Nevertheless, in the summer and fall of 1535 the anti-Muscovian military alliance made some progress. While the Lithuanians, reinforced by the Poles, conquered Homel’ and Starodub, the Crimeans raided southern Muscovian provinces, and Safa Giray restored his rule in Kazan. The most unexpected blow to Moscow came from the direction of Islam Giray, who again changed sides and devastated the province of Rjazan’. The last fact made Borys Čerkas believe that the “interception” of the royal gifts by the qalga was not accidental. Rather, it served to persuade Islam Giray to reconcile with Vilnius and effectively raid Muscovy. Two years later, after Islam’s death, Sigismund could safely blame the late qalga and assure Sahib Giray that the release of the gifts into his rival’s hands occurred against the will of the royal envoy.<sup>242</sup>

<sup>239</sup> Cf. Document 27, n. 5, and Document 24, n. 7. The error was corrected in Islam Giray’s document from 1532; cf. Document 24, n. 7.

<sup>240</sup> In comparison with Bahadır’s *yarliq* from 1517, Ljubeč is added, but Vicebsk and Nycjany are missing in the Lithuanian formula from 1535; the latter two variations should be attributed to careless copying.

<sup>241</sup> See Document 27.

<sup>242</sup> Čerkas, “Polityčni vidnosyny Velykoho knjazivstva Lytovs’koho z Kryms’kym xanatom,” p. 123; *idem*, *Ukrajina v polityčnyx vidnosynax*, pp. 219–221; the fact that after his “failed” mission Tyškevyč was rewarded with the post of the *starosta* of Čerkasy and Kaniv may further confirm the author’s thesis; cf. Document 26, n. 1. For the royal letter issued in Cracow on 7 December 1537, in which the king explained



By 1536, the war lost its impetus as Sigismund had budgetary problems while Sahib Giray faced another rebellion of Islam Giray, who resumed negotiations with Moscow. In 1537, a five-year truce was negotiated between Vilnius and Moscow, restoring Homel' to Lithuania, but leaving Starodub within the Muscovian borders. In the same year, the khan finally succeeded in disposing of his rebellious nephew, who was killed by two brothers, Baki and Devey (the former envoy to Vilnius), the Nogay leaders of the Manghit clan. In 1538, the Ottoman and Polish troops invaded Moldavia, whose ambitious ruler, Peter Rareș (the son of Stephan the Great), caused trouble to both Istanbul and Cracow. Suleyman invited Sahib Giray to join his expedition, and the Crimean troops participated in the Ottoman conquest of Suceava. In 1539, the khan led his troops to the Caucasus, reducing to submission a number of Circassian leaders, but also facing fierce resistance in Kabarda that was strengthened by extreme climatic conditions. Having returned from his rather unsuccessful campaign just before winter, Sahib Giray sent his son and new qalga, Emin Giray, against Muscovy, but the Crimean troops were attacked by the unruly Nogay leader, Baki. The khan initially imprisoned the latter's cadet brothers, Devey and Ak Bibi, but then forgave all the three Manghits, apparently recollecting their help in removing Islam Giray.<sup>243</sup>

In spite of their *de facto* cooperation in Moldavia, the relations between Sahib Giray and Sigismund entered a cold phase in 1538. After Sigismund concluded the truce with Moscow, the khan no longer regarded him as his ally. Having removed Islam Giray, Sahib Giray also felt safer on his throne and displayed his rising irritation with the reduced amount of the royal gifts that had once been sent to Mengli and Mehmed Girays. He might have also resented the royal rejection of his instrument once sent through Devey. The freezing of mutual relations was best illustrated by a two-year detainment of a royal courtier, Myxajlo Tyškevyč, sent to renew the peace with Sahib Giray after the death of Islam Giray in 1537. The khan notified Sigismund that his

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to the khan the whereabouts of Tyškevyč's embassy, see *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 15*, pp. 253–255. On the military campaign of 1535, see also Kolankowski, *Zygmunt August, wielki książę Litwy*, pp. 135–137.

<sup>243</sup> On Emin Giray, see Document 31, n. 10; on the Nogay brothers Baki, Devey, and Ak Bibi, cf. Document 25, n. 1. Many details on the Crimean policy of that period are contained in the chronicle by Remmal Hodja, cf. n. 222 above.

previous consent to the diminished amount of gifts had been temporary, conditioned by his feeble position on the throne due to Islam's rebellion and by the long absence of his Ottoman protector, Sultan Suleyman, who had been campaigning in distant Persia. In the first year of Tyškevyč's detainment, Sigismund rejected the khan's request to augment the gifts, arguing that they had always been given out of his free will and should not be regarded as an obligation.<sup>244</sup> Yet, the king did not want to openly break with the Crimea and finally consented. In December 1539, Myxajlo Tyškevyč was sent home along with the great Crimean envoy, who carried a new instrument of peace. A Crimean courier, Araqchi, sent to announce the embassy's arrival, simultaneously notified Sigismund of the aforementioned raid of Muscovy, effected by Qalga Emin Giray at the same time.<sup>245</sup>

The *yarliq* from 1539 began as usually with a list of lands "granted" to Lithuania. In comparison with the earlier *yarliqs* and the Lithuanian chancery formula from 1535, the list was seriously shortened and over thirty place-names were missing. Not only Ljubeč was omitted, but also numerous towns traditionally listed in the *yarliqs*, such as Luc'k, Kačybej, Kursk, Starodub, Tula, Dašov/Očakiv, Pskov, Velikij Novgorod, and many others. The only addition was Čerkasy that had been present in the first two *yarliqs* of Mengli Giray, but later forgotten. A tempting explanation would be that the khan at last looked at the map and refused to grant the lands that he himself or the Ottoman sultan claimed (Kačybej, Dašov/Očakiv), those that had never been actually controlled by Vilnius (Tula, Pskov, Velikij Novgorod), and those that had been formally ceded by Vilnius to Muscovy (Kursk, Starodub), or, finally, were so distant from the Crimea that their grant would be entirely fictitious (Luc'k). Yet, such an explanation can be true only in part. While the omission of the Black Sea lands, claimed by the khan or the sultan especially after the Moldavian campaign of 1538, might have been conscious and seemed consistent, the *yarliq*

<sup>244</sup> Kolankowski, *Zygmunt August, wielki książę Litwy*, pp. 171–172; Sahib Giray's new conditions and Sigismund's initial refusal are known from the king's letter to the khan, dated 1 November 1538; see *Russkaja Istoričeskaja Biblioteka*, vol. 30: *Litovskaja Metrika. Otdely pervyj-vtoroj. Čast' tret'ja: Knigi Publicnyx Del. Tom pervyj*. Edited by I. Lappo. (Jur'ev [Tartu], 1914), cols. 11–14.

<sup>245</sup> For the contents of the khan's message brought by Araqchi, see Sigismund's response sent through the returning Tatar courier on 10 January 1540, published in *Russkaja Istoričeskaja Biblioteka*, vol. 30, cols. 58–60.

still listed territories situated beyond the then Lithuanian frontiers, such as Smolensk, Putyvl', and Kozel'sk. The remaining clauses of the *yarlıq* referred to the mutual friendship, the future Tatar assistance to reconquer the Lithuanian lands lost to Muscovy, forgiveness of past wrongs, the promise to punish by death future evildoers and compensate incurred damages, and the right of Polish and Lithuanian merchants to import salt and conduct trade. Sahib Giray specifically referred to the three clauses entered by Sigismund in his document from 1535:

- 1) the annual royal gifts were to be worth again 15,000 florins, like in the times of Mengli and Mehmed Girays; these gifts were to be sent by St. George's Day (i.e., 23 April), partly in cash (2,000 golden florins) and partly in kind; the gift in kind was to consist of 394 pieces [*postaws*] of English cloth (197 pieces from Poland and 197 pieces from Lithuania), whereas one piece was calculated as being worth 33 golden florins; the fact that the number of pieces was not rounded up to four hundred seems to reflect a hard bargaining on both sides; the khan conceded that the king was not obliged to send his gifts in a year, when the Tatars would raid Poland or Lithuania "in small or large numbers;"
- 2) in a reference to the royal request that the khan should prevent raids committed by the inhabitants of the steppes near Akkerman, Sahib Giray retorted that Akkerman as well as Očakiv and Azov belonged to the Ottoman emperor and it was not in the khan's power to control their inhabitants; nevertheless, he promised to punish evildoers from the above regions if they would appear in his domains;
- 3) the khan agreed to limit the number of Crimean notables entitled to send envoys to the king; these were: the khan, his wives, daughters, and daughters-in-law, the qalga and all the remaining Giray princes (i.e., the *sultans*), the four *qaraçıs*, and two prominent *mirzas* from the retinue of each *qaraçı* (i.e., eight *mirzas* altogether).

Apparently alluding to the fate of Myxajlo Tyškevyč, who had been detained for two years, the khan also promised that future envoys sent by Sigismund or the latter's son, the young king Sigismund Augustus, would not be mistreated. The document was corroborated with a reference to the oath sworn by the khan and his retinue members.

Unfortunately, the name of the great Crimean envoy, who brought the *yarlıq* of 1539, is unknown.<sup>246</sup>

After the failed raid of Muscovy by Qalga Emin Giray in the winter of 1539/1540, Qırq Yer and Moscow resumed peace negotiations and even exchanged great embassies in 1540. Yet, the anti-Muscovian atmosphere in the Crimea, resulting from the conflict over Kazan, was further heated by the arrival of an aristocratic defector from Muscovy, Prince Simeon Bel'skij. A descendant of the dukes of Belyj, who also claimed his rights to Rjazan', Bel'skij aimed to orchestrate an anti-Muscovian coalition composed of Poland-Lithuania, the Tatars, and even the Ottoman Empire. Received at Sahib Giray's court, he offered his guide services in an invasion of Muscovy.<sup>247</sup>

By the end of 1540, a decision to invade Muscovy prevailed in the Crimea. Consequently, a Tatar envoy, Ali Hadji (*Alihača*),<sup>248</sup> was sent to Poland in order to renew the alliance with King Sigismund. A provisory document was negotiated in Cracow between the Polish lords councilors and the Crimean envoy, who promised that the khan would issue his letter of agreement in accordance with the mutually accepted conditions. The document consisted of thirteen clauses, regarding respectively: the mutual friendship and alliance (no. 1); the Tatar help in reconquering the Lithuanian lands lost to Muscovy (no. 2); the right of royal merchants to import salt from Kačybej and to be compensated for any damage suffered from the khan's men (nos. 4–5); the freedom of royal merchants to travel to the Crimean Khanate and Caffa (no. 6);

<sup>246</sup> See Document 28. The *yarlıq*, preserved in a Polish translation, is dated in the Muslim year 946 A.H. (19 May 1539–7 May 1540) and simultaneously in the Christian year 1542 (the second dating is apparently wrong). A more precise dating is possible thanks to the preserved royal letter, sent to the khan on 10 January 1540 through the latter's courier who had announced the great embassy's arrival (see n. 245 above). From its contents we learn that the great Crimean embassy was already on its way and expected at the royal court. Hence, we can assume that it departed from the Crimea in December 1539.

<sup>247</sup> Zajcev, "Pozabyv Boga, i naše žalovan'e, i svoju dušu..." (Priklučenija knjazja Semena Fedoroviča Bel'skogo)," in: *idem, Meždu Moskvov i Stambulom. Džučidskie gosudarstva, Moskva i Osmanskaja imperija (nač. XV—per. pol. XVI vv.). Očerki* (Moscow, 2004): 131–158; cf. Kolankowski, *Zygmunt August, wielki książę Litwy*, pp. 175–184. The role of Bel'skij in instigating the Crimean invasion of Muscovy in 1541 is attested by the Crimean chronicle of Remmal Hodja; see *Tarih-i Sahib Giray Han*, pp. 55–56 (French translation: 194–195).

<sup>248</sup> On Ali Hadji Bey, a courtier (*ički bek*) of Sahib Giray Khan, who later participated in the summer campaign against Muscovy, cf. Document 29, n. 2.

the provision that each year the king should send the khan a gift in cloths worth 15,000 florins, in two installments, by 24 June and 1 November (nos. 8–9); the provision that the khan should not send too many and too numerous embassies because it caused great detriment to the royal treasury; Crimean couriers were allowed to arrive in the company of at most two men, while great envoys in the company of at most 25 men (nos. 10–11); the engagement that the Tatars would not raid Poland or Lithuania; the transgressors were to be punished by the khan, their families arrested, and the stolen goods restored to their owners; if the khan failed to do so, the king was released from sending the gifts due for a given year (nos. 7 and 12). The longest clause no. 3 contained a list of lands to be again “granted” to Lithuania by Sahib Giray. The list was identical with the one contained in the proposed formula of the khan’s letter, drawn by the Lithuanian chancery in 1535, and even contained the same errors.<sup>249</sup> It ignored the variations introduced in Sahib Giray’s document of 1539. Finally, the clause no. 13 referred to the oath taken by the Crimean envoy, sworn in his own name and on behalf of the khan, and his engagement that Sahib Giray would issue a letter of agreement “being in accord with this draft, but written more broadly.”<sup>250</sup>

Having sworn an oath upon the above document in the presence of the Polish lords councilors in Cracow, Ali Hadji traveled to Vilnius, where King Sigismund spent the whole year 1541.<sup>251</sup> There, in the royal presence the Crimean envoy pronounced an oath worded similarly to the oath of Devey Mirza from 1535. Like the former one, it referred to the khan’s obligations in regard to both kings, Sigismund I and his son, Sigismund II Augustus. The Crimean envoy engaged that the provisions of the document, which he had negotiated with the Polish lords councilors, would be respected by the khan and confirmed in his future oath-letter (*lyst prysjażnyj*). A special reference

<sup>249</sup> Cf. Document 27; for the repeated errors, see Document 29, notes 6, 10, 11, 21.

<sup>250</sup> See Document 29.

<sup>251</sup> King Sigismund arrived at Vilnius on 24 May 1540 and remained there until 19 May 1542; see Antoni Gąsiorowski, “Itineraria dwu ostatnich Jagiellonów,” *Studia Historyczne* 16 (1973): 249–275, esp. p. 267. Both documents related to Ali Hadji’s embassy are undated, but their dating is enabled by a comparison with neighboring documents registered in the Lithuanian Register and by the fact that Hornostaj returned from the Crimea in July 1541. Since the Crimean envoy first negotiated in Cracow and then took an oath in the royal presence, one must assume that he visited first Cracow and then Vilnius.

was made to Anikij Hornostaj, who had already performed successful missions in 1520, 1522, and 1534, and was again appointed the great envoy to accompany Ali Hadji to the Crimea. Apparently having in mind the fate of Myxajlo Tyškevyč and wishing to spare Hornostaj a similar experience, the royal court made Ali Hadji swear that the khan “should not detain the present great envoy, Pan Anikij Hornostaj, or other envoys and couriers who will come from His Royal Majesty to His Majesty the Khan; nor should His Majesty the Khan or the beys, *ulans*, and officials of His Majesty commit any ignoble or inconsiderate acts to the envoys and couriers of His Royal Majesty, or rob them or their servants.”<sup>252</sup>

Hornostaj and Ali Hadji set out to the Crimea early in the year 1541, apparently provided with a royal instrument that confirmed the clauses negotiated with the Tatar envoy in Cracow.<sup>253</sup> In the summer, Sahib Giray led a great expedition against Muscovy, but the Russian resistance and an internal conflict between the khan and the Nogay leader, Baki, prevented the Tatars from crossing the Oka. Accused of sabotage later that year, Baki was cruelly executed along with his younger brother, Ak Bibi, but the third brother (and former envoy to Lithuania), Devey, was spared and in 1563 was to become the Manghit *qaraçı* bey. Not knowing about the failure on the Oka, in July 1541 Hornostaj returned from the Crimea carrying a letter of agreement issued by the khan (unpreserved). Sigismund promptly ordered the *starostas* of Čerkasy, Kaniv, and other border commanders to respect the newly reached peace and not let the cossacks raid the Crimean lands.<sup>254</sup> Simultaneously, he notified the Lithuanian councilors of exorbitant tribute demands of Sahib Giray, who was not satisfied with the conditions negotiated with Myxajlo Tyškevyč in 1539. The king warned that a possible breaking of the peace by the khan might coincide with the extinguishing of the armistice with Muscovy.<sup>255</sup>

In 1542, Sigismund resolved to prolong the peace on both frontiers. In March, an armistice with Muscovy was extended for another

<sup>252</sup> The text of the oath has been recorded and is preserved; see Document 30.

<sup>253</sup> A reference to that document can be found in the khan's instrument from 1542; see Document 31, n. 12.

<sup>254</sup> *Metryka Vjalikaha Knjastva Litouskaha. Kniha 28 (1522–1552). Kniha zapisau 28 (Kopija kanca XVI st.)*. Edited by V. Mjanžynski and U. Svjažynski (Minsk, 2000), pp. 53, 70, 92, 98–102.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 87.

seven years.<sup>256</sup> Almost simultaneously, Konstantyn Ratomski was sent to the Crimea. He returned in the early fall, accompanied by a Tatar envoy, Biybalush, who carried a new letter of agreement.<sup>257</sup> The document, shaped again as a traditional *yarlıq*, began with a list of lands “granted” to Lithuania. The list was composed carelessly: some of the localities were registered twice while others, omitted at the beginning of the *yarlıq*, were added at its end. Moreover, the clause granting lands to Lithuania was erroneously confused with the one engaging to restore to Sigismund the lands captured by Muscovy. In result, Sahib Giray promised to restore to Sigismund such towns as Kiev and Luc’k that had never been lost. Nevertheless, the list from 1542 was more complete than the one from 1539.<sup>258</sup> The following clauses regarded as usually the remission of past wrongs, the security of trade, and the promise to keep friendship. Invoking the clause negotiated in 1541, Sahib Giray confirmed that the king would be released from sending gifts in a year when a Tatar raid occurred without compensation. In regard to the annual gifts, the khan provided that the king should send him London cloth worth 13,000 florins, and in addition 2,000 florins in cash. The clause repeated the provision of the *yarlıq* from 1539 and not the one negotiated with Ali Hadji in Cracow in 1541, whereas according to the latter the whole gift was to consist of cloth. Moreover, the khan insisted that aside from the regular gift, three sets of nine gifts<sup>259</sup> should be sent yearly to him, and customary gifts should be also sent to his beys, servants, wives, sons, and daughters. The document contained a warning covered in the form of an engagement that “if [the king] sends us [the said gifts], then in that year we are not to bring damage [to him, his states, castles, and villages].” Sahib Giray also rejected the efforts of the royal diplomacy to limit the number of Crimean envoys coming to Poland-Lithuania:

As regards the *qaraçıs*, they have each 20,000 or 30,000 servants and they used to send envoys and couriers; should we now reduce their number [i.e., the number of their envoys]? They used to send envoys in the times

<sup>256</sup> Kolankowski, *Zygmunt August, wielki książę Litwy*, p. 188.

<sup>257</sup> See Sigismund’s solemn response to Biybalush, dated 12 October 1542, published in *Russkaja Istoričeskaja Biblioteka*, vol. 30, cols. 81–84.

<sup>258</sup> In comparison with the latter, only Smolensk and Byryn were missing, while Luc’k, Radogošč’, Brjansk, and Starodub were reentered.

<sup>259</sup> On the Turco-Mongolian custom, according to which a gift should have consisted of nine objects, cf. Document 31, n. 15.

of our ancestors and fathers, we cannot reduce their number. As you have the Lithuanian and Polish lords at your side, so they are their peers at our side.

Nevertheless, the khan consented that unlike his family members and *qaraçıs*, other Crimean subjects as well as their envoys would not be entitled to royal gifts and provisions. The document, addressed to King Sigismund and his son, Sigismund Augustus, was corroborated by a reference to the oath sworn by the khan, his son and qalga Emin Giray, as well as other retinue members.<sup>260</sup>

Sahib Giray probably learned about Sigismund's reconciliation with Muscovy before he issued his *yarlıq*. That would explain the mistreatment of Ratomski in the Crimea, raised by the king in his response to Biybalush.<sup>261</sup> In November 1542, Sigismund sent a courier to the khan, explaining the reasons of his decision. Apparently trying to appease the ally's irritation, the king notified the khan that a new Lithuanian great envoy, Venclav Mykolaevyč, had already set out along with the royal gifts, and asked that he be given a Tatar escort on his way from Čerkasy to the Crimea.<sup>262</sup>

The fact that since 1539 the khan did not include Majak, Kačybej, and Dašov (or else Očakiv) in his donation *yarlıq*s issued for Lithuania, reflected a major change in the equilibrium of power on the northern Black Sea shores that occurred after 1538. Following his Moldavian campaign of 1538, Sultan Suleyman converted the Moldavian castle of Tighina on the Dniester river into the Ottoman fortress of Bender. In the years to follow, Bender would become a center of an Ottoman province (*sancak*) and the furthest northern stronghold in the region facing Poland-Lithuania, and in the 18th century

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<sup>260</sup> See Document 31. The *yarlıq*, preserved in Polish translation, is dated in the Muslim year 949 A.H. (17 April 1542–5 April 1543) and simultaneously in the Christian year 1545 (the second dating is apparently wrong). A more precise dating is possible thanks to the preserved royal response to the Crimean envoy, issued on 12 October 1542 (see n. 257 above). Hence, we can assume that the envoy probably departed from the Crimea in late August or early September 1542.

<sup>261</sup> *Russkaja Istoričeskaja Biblioteka*, vol. 30, col. 83.

<sup>262</sup> *Ibidem*, cols. 84–88. Mykolaevyč should be probably identified with the author of a famous description of the Crimea, known under the pen name of Michalon Lituanus; see Jerzy Ochmański, "Michalon Litwin i jego traktat o zwyczajach Tatarów, Litwinów i Moskwiczinów z połowy XVI wieku," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 83 (1976): 765–783; cf. also Mixalon Litvin, *O nřavax tatar, litovcev i moskvitjan*. Edited by A. Xoroškevič et al. (Moscow, 1994), pp. 14–25. For the original Latin edition of his treatise, see n. 26 above.



also Russia. Consequently, Suleyman also claimed the lands extending between the lower Dniester and the lower Boh, garrisoning the Tatar fort of Djankerman (i.e., Očakiv) with Ottoman troops. In 1542, Suleyman urged King Sigismund to conduct a common demarcation and commissioners were appointed by both sides, but the demarcation failed due to mutual mistrust.<sup>263</sup> For yet another century, until the first successful Polish-Ottoman demarcation of 1633, the disputed area was formally claimed by all parties concerned: Poland-Lithuania,<sup>264</sup> the Crimean Khanate, and the Porte, although the royal side tacitly accepted the river of Kodyma, being the right tributary of the Boh, as the real limit of its influence.<sup>265</sup> In regard to the lands extending further eastwards, the Lithuanian authorities gathered testimonies of aged local inhabitants, who maintained that since the times of Semen Olelkovyč, who had ruled in Kiev in the years 1454–1470 as a prince subordinate to King Casimir, the ancient border had reached as far as the Dnieper crossing of Tavan', where ferry incomes had been equally shared between the Lithuanian ruler and the "tsar of Perekop," i.e., the khan (*u Tavanja perevozy byly Vašej Mylosty Hospodarskoje na poly s perekopskym carem*), and then further eastwards as far as the upper Donec.<sup>266</sup> Within the "Muslim" zone, extending southwards from the border, the Porte was satisfied with a sort of an Ottoman-Crimean condominium. The Ottomans controlled major strongholds and their immediate neighborhood, leaving the steppe to the Tatars. In the aforementioned *yarlıq* from 1539, Sahib Giray retorted to the

<sup>263</sup> Gilles Veinstein, "L'occupation ottomane d'Očakov et le problème de la frontière lituano-tatare 1538–1544," in: *Passé Turco-Tatar présent soviétique. Études offertes à Alexandre Bennigsen*. Edited by Ch. Lemerrier-Quelquejay, G. Veinstein, S. E. Wimbush (Louvain-Paris, 1986): 123–155. For obscure reasons, Polish historical maps still depict the area between the lower Dniester and the lower Boh as being Ottoman since 1526 and refer to it by an anachronous name of Yedisian, deriving from a Nogay tribe that settled in the area a century later.

<sup>264</sup> In 1569, Lithuania was forced to cede its southern palatinates of Kiev and Braclav to Poland, hence an Ottoman-Lithuanian border turned into an Ottoman-Polish one.

<sup>265</sup> Cf. Kołodziejczyk, "Inner Lake or Frontier? The Ottoman Black Sea in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in: *Enjeux politiques, économiques et militaires en mer Noire (XIV<sup>e</sup>–XXI<sup>e</sup> siècles). Études à la mémoire de Mihail Guboglu*. Edited by F. Bilici, I. Căndeia, and A. Popescu (Braila, 2007): 125–139, esp. pp. 127–130.

<sup>266</sup> See the entry headed "Hranyca knjazstvu lytovskomu z zemleju tatarskoju per-ekopskoju, Očakovom, Belym horodom y zemleju Voloskoju," in *Lietuvos Metrika (1540–1543) 12–oji Teismų būtų knyga (XVI a. pabaigos kopija)* (Vilnius, 2007), p. 82.

royal request that he should prevent any Muslim raids of Poland-Lithuania, arguing that if the evildoers “flee to Akkerman, Očakiv, or Azov, or if a raid against your state is committed by the cossacks from these castles, then we have no power to confiscate [their captives and spoils] and send back to you, because these castles belong to the Turkish emperor.”<sup>267</sup>

A somewhat ambivalent attitude towards the very concept of territorial rule was best expressed in a letter by Sahib Giray, sent to the Polish king in 1548. When asked to prevent his subjects from grazing their herds in the royal lands on the rivers Boh and Synja voda (Synjuxa), the khan retorted: “this land is neither yours nor mine, but God’s; whoever is stronger, will keep it.”<sup>268</sup>

After the treaty of 1542, for the remaining years of Sahib Giray’s reign his diplomatic relations with Vilnius and Cracow were less intensive. While Poland-Lithuania again extended its armistice with Muscovy (1549), the khan focused his attention on the east. Aiming to subdue the northern Caucasus and the lower Volga, he led several campaigns against the Circassians,<sup>269</sup> invaded Astrakhan (1546–1547), and fought the Nogays. After the death of Safa Giray (1549), he also tried to secure his control over Kazan. His ambitious plans resulted in a conflict with Sultan Suleyman, especially when Sahib Giray refused to assist the Ottomans in their campaign against Persia. The khan’s fate was sealed by gossip of his plan of annexing Ottoman Caffa. In 1551 Suleyman invested Devlet Giray, Sahib’s nephew who resided in Istanbul, and sent him to the Crimea, providing him with Ottoman troops and artillery. Sahib Giray was murdered along with his sons, and the new khan ascended the throne.

<sup>267</sup> See Document 28.

<sup>268</sup> *Bo est to zemlja ny tvoja, ny moja, odno bozskaja: xto mocnejšyj, tot sobe oderžyt’*; see *Kniga posol’skaja*, vol. 1, p. 42; cf. Syročekovskij, “Muxammed-Geraj i ego vassaly,” pp. 7–8, and Kolankowski, *Zygmunt August, wielki książę Litwy*, p. 286.

<sup>269</sup> On the problematic dating of these campaigns, cf. Aleksandr Nekrasov, *Meždunarodnye otnošenija i narody Zapadnogo Kavkaza (poslednjaja četvert’ XV—pervaja polovina XVI v.)* (Moscow, 1990), pp. 107–109.

*The reign of Devlet Giray (1551–1577) and the problematic anti-Muscovian alliance*

In September 1551, in his first foreign military campaign, Devlet Giray conquered and burned the Lithuanian castle of Braclav.<sup>270</sup> The raid surprised its inhabitants, but it was not as unexpected as it might have appeared. Although Poland-Lithuania was officially on peaceful terms with both the Crimean Khanate and the Porte, in the 1540s Polish and Lithuanian border commanders committed numerous raids into the Muslim territories, abducting people, horses, cattle, and sheep. These raids were typically presented as a defensive measure and just revenge for the Tatar raids, but they were also quite profitable. Besides, some of them were inspired by the pro-Habsburg faction in Poland, whose members believed that Cracow should join Vienna in its anti-Ottoman war. The peak of this raiding activity was reached in the years 1548–1549, when Suleyman was campaigning against Persia and Sahib Giray was busy with the Nogays and Kazan. These events coincided with the death of Sigismund I in 1548. Although the old king had prudently included his son in his treaties with both Muslim neighbors, after his death it was expected that Sigismund Augustus would solemnly reconfirm his father's friendly intentions. As the young king procrastinated with sending a great embassy to Istanbul while the border raids continued, the Porte encouraged the Tatars to attack Poland-Lithuania without openly breaking the peace. The first Tatar raid occurred already in 1549, led by Sahib Giray's son and qalga, Emin Giray. The second one, directed against Braclav, was headed in person by the new khan, Devlet Giray.<sup>271</sup>

The crisis in the mutual relations proved temporary. Late in the year 1551, Devlet Giray sent his envoy, Biytak, son of Abdurrahman, who swore in the khan's name to keep peace, provided that the king would send annual gifts in the amount that used to be sent to Sahib Giray. In reply, Sigismund Augustus dispatched his courtier, Aleksandr Vladyka, who carried 2,000 florins in cash, 394 pieces of Eng-

<sup>270</sup> See Jerzy Ochmański, "Organizacja obrony w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim przed napadami Tatarów krymskich w XV–XVI wieku," *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości*, vol. 5 (1960): 349–398, esp. pp. 363–364.

<sup>271</sup> Cf. Dziubiński, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne polsko-tureckie*, pp. 184–186, 198 and 202; *idem*, "Polsko-litewskie napady na tureckie pogranicze czarnomorskie w epoce dwu ostatnich Jagiellonów," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 103 (1996), no. 3, pp. 53–87, esp. pp. 60–63.

lish cloth, and additional three sets of nine gifts. In his letter, issued in May 1552, the khan confirmed that he had received the royal gifts though he complained that the cloth was rotten and the additional gifts of low quality. While he expected future gifts to be more fitting, he added in consolation that his family consisted of merely four wives, two sons, two daughters, and his mother, in comparison to the two wives, six sons, and six daughters of Sahib Giray, hence the royal treasury would save on extra presents. In addition, Devlet Giray urged the king that—for the sake of peace—future great envoys should bring suitable presents for the khan's twelve councilors and officials, his eight trusted servants, and six *qaraçı* beys.<sup>272</sup> Along with his letter, Devlet Giray sent a new instrument of peace and asked the king to swear a solemn oath “according to the Christian law” in the presence of the khan's great envoy, Dervish Mehmed Mirza, son of Bulghaq. On 29 August 1552 Dervish Mehmed, accompanied by a second envoy named Kantemir, arrived at Danzig (Gdańsk) and was received at a solemn audience, attended by the king and his Polish and Lithuanian councilors.<sup>273</sup>

The khan's instrument of peace, issued in May 1552, typically began with a list of lands “granted” to Lithuania. In comparison with Sahib Giray's *yarlıq* from 1542, a few localities were missing while some others, which had been listed in the older *yarlıqs*, were reentered.<sup>274</sup> Four important Ukrainian castles: Ovruch, Žytomyr, Vinnycja, and Kaniv were registered for the first time, which proves that the document's author aimed to update its contents. The following clauses regarded the khan's engagement to restore to Lithuania its lands lost to Muscovy, the mutual forgiveness of past wrongs, and the security of merchants and envoys. Devlet Giray reiterated his promise that no damage should ever be done to Poland, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, or the Ukraine.<sup>275</sup> Unlike his predecessor, who explained in 1539

<sup>272</sup> On the number of *qaraçıs*, cf. n. 110 above.

<sup>273</sup> All the above information is contained in the khan's letter sent along with the instrument of peace; see *Kniga posol'skaja*, vol. 1, pp. 60–63. The envoy's father, Bulghaq, should be probably identified with a prominent courtier (*ıçki bek*) of Sa'adet Giray; cf. Malinovskij, “Istoričeskoe sobranie,” p. 415. Perhaps Dervish Mehmed should be identified with the future leader of the Külük clan (?); cf. Document 41, n. 2.

<sup>274</sup> Radogošč', Starodub, and Brjansk were missing while Sokolec', Byryn, Vicebsk, and the lands along the Dnieper were reentered.

<sup>275</sup> ...*obejum pan'stvam, Ljackomu y Velykomu Knjazstvu Lytovskomu, abo na Ukrayne*; the original meaning of the Slavic word *ukrayna/ukraina* is “frontier,” but in the given context it already refers to the geographical region—the Ukraine.

that he could not prevent the inhabitants of Akkerman, Očakiv, and Azov from raiding the royal lands because they were Ottoman subjects, Devlet Giray invoked his authority to do so, granted directly by Sultan Suleyman, as:

His Majesty, the Turkish emperor, allowed me to keep a tight rein on these cossacks and restrain them from such acts; even if I punish them for their transgressions, then His Majesty, the Emperor will not reproach me for this.

In return for all these favors, the king was obliged to send each year, by 1 November, his gifts in exactly the same amount as stipulated by the *yarlıq* from 1542. Like Sahib Giray in 1539, Devlet agreed to limit the number of Crimean notables entitled to send separate embassies to the king; these were: the khan, his wives, the qalga sultan and other Giray princes (i.e., the *sultans*), three *qaraçıs*, and two *mirzas*—the sons of the above *qaraçıs*.<sup>276</sup> The document was corroborated by a solemn oath, sworn by the khan, his son and qalga Ahmed Giray, as well as other retinue members.<sup>277</sup>

A major factor that prompted Devlet Giray to reconcile with Sigismund Augustus after the pillage of Braclav was the imminent danger coming from Moscow. Ivan IV skilfully benefitted from the internal conflicts in both the Kazan and Crimean khanates and resolved to annex the lands on the middle Volga. Devlet Giray tried to prevent this, but his raid of Muscovy in the summer of 1552 proved unsuccessful. On 2 October 1552 Kazan succumbed to the invaders and the khanate ceased to exist.

In 1553, the reconciliation between Poland-Lithuania and the Crimea was confirmed by a new formal treaty between Cracow and Istanbul. Unlike in 1533, when the Ottomans had hesitated to include the khan in the treaty, regarding him as a sovereign ruler, the *'ahd-name* of Sultan Suleyman, issued in 1553, stipulated that the khan was obliged to keep peace in return for “customary payments” (Tur.

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<sup>276</sup> The *yarlıq* from 1539 listed four *qaraçıs* and eight *mirzas*. It is worth noting that in his letter to the king, Devlet Giray named six *qaraçıs* entitled to receive royal gifts, but apparently only three of them, the beys of the Shirins, Manghits, and Barins, were entitled to send their proper embassies; cf. *Kniga posol'skaja*, vol. 1, p. 61, and n. 110 above.

<sup>277</sup> See Document 32.

'*adetler*') sent from the royal side.<sup>278</sup> An analogous clause was inserted to the royal instrument of peace, sent to Istanbul in 1554, yet with one notable difference: the royal chancery regarded the gifts delivered to the khan as a stipend (Lat. *stipendium*) paid in return for Tatar military assistance.<sup>279</sup> The clause regarding the annual payments for the Crimean khan would reappear in all subsequent Polish-Ottoman treaties until the end of the 17th century and provoke repeated disputes in regard to its interpretation. It was abolished only in 1699 by the Karlowitz Treaty.<sup>280</sup>

The conquest of Kazan encouraged Ivan IV to further his expansion along the Volga. He supported a Nogay malcontent, Ibrahim, against his older brother, Yusuf. In 1554, Ibrahim killed Yusuf and took the rein of the Nogay horde, declaring his loyalty to Ivan. In the same year, Russian troops entered Astrakhan putting on its throne a new khan, Dervish Ali, who acknowledged Muscovian suzerainty. Devlet Giray reacted by raiding Muscovy and defeating a Muscovian army at Sud'bišči in June 1555. As Ahmed Giray perished in the battle, the post of qalga was given to another son of Devlet, Mehmed Giray.<sup>281</sup> Later on, Devlet Giray persuaded the new khan of Astrakhan to expel his Russian advisers, but it only resulted in the final Muscovian annexation of the khanate in September 1556.<sup>282</sup>

The Russian march along the Volga resulted from the conscious policy of Ivan IV, who already in 1547 adopted the title of tsar, developing an expansive imperial ideology. Muscovian aims to control the fertile lands on the Volga and the trade routes leading to Central Asia

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<sup>278</sup> "Henceforth, as long as the customary payments [*'adetler*], which used to be given since olden days, are paid on time by the king to the Tatar khan, [and] as long as the king does nothing contrary to the treaty, no meddling or interference, harm or damage should be done to the dominions and subjects of the king by the khan and the Tatar army; in such a manner that when a damage is done by the Tatars, they will be punished according to my noble order;" see Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 240–241.

<sup>279</sup> *Caesar Przekopceusis durante hoc foedere nulla damna ditionibus nostris inferre debebit. Nos vero stipendium solitum, ut nobis contra hostes nostros assistat, dare illi debebimus*; see *ibidem*, p. 245.

<sup>280</sup> Cf. Kołodziejczyk, "La Res Publica polono-lituanienne était-elle le vassal de l'Empire ottoman?" in: *Studies in Oriental Art and Culture of Professor Tadeusz Majda*. Edited by A. Parzymies (Warsaw, 2006): 125–136.

<sup>281</sup> I.e., the future khan Mehmed II Giray (r. 1577–1584); on the campaign of 1555, see Vinogradov, *Russko-krymskie otnošenija*, vol. 1, pp. 95–97.

<sup>282</sup> On the last years of the khanate of Astrakhan, see Zajcev, *Astraxanskoe xanstvo*, pp. 151–170.

were legitimized by Ivan's open claim to the heritage of the Golden Horde.<sup>283</sup>

Following the fall of Kazan and Astrakhan, some of their inhabitants, dissatisfied with "infidel" rule, found refuge in the Crimea. The Nogay civil war of 1554 also resulted in a large Nogay immigration to the west. The newcomers joined the clan of the Manghits (Mansurs), who had established themselves in the Crimean Khanate in the early 16th century. Another group of the Nogays, dissatisfied with Ibrahim and his pro-Muscovian stand, joined Ghazi Mirza, who created the so-called Little Nogay horde, whose grazing lands extended between the Don and northern Caucasus.<sup>284</sup>

The influx of refugees to the Crimea strengthened anti-Muscovian feelings among the Tatars and augured well for a Crimean-Lithuanian cooperation against Ivan IV. Yet, in 1556 Vilnius extended its armistice with Moscow for another six years. Moreover, the Crimeans and Ottomans were alarmed by constant raids of a royal subject, Dmytro Vyšnevec'kyj, the *starosta* of Čerkasy and Kaniv. This adventurous military commander created a semiprivate cossack army composed of Lithuanian and Muscovian subjects and built a fortified camp on the Dnieper island Xortycja, known as the Cossack Sič. In June 1556, Vyšnevec'kyj besieged Očakiv, and in October 1556 he conquered Islamkerman, taking along the captured Tatar guns to the Sič. Devlet Giray retorted by destroying the Sič in 1557 and sending troops to raid Lithuania in 1558. The Crimean-Lithuanian conflict was appeased with the help of Ottoman diplomacy and Vyšnevec'kyj, disenchanted with his royal patron, entered the Muscovian service.<sup>285</sup>

By maintaining hostile relations with both his northern neighbors, Devlet Giray risked their possible alliance against the Crimea. Yet, a cooperation between Vilnius and Moscow was prevented by mutual

<sup>283</sup> Cf. Jaroslav Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan. Conquest and Imperial Ideology (1438–1560s)* (The Hague-Paris, 1974), and Keenan, "Muscovy and Kazan," pp. 548–558.

<sup>284</sup> Trepavlov, *Istorija Nogajskoj Ordy*, pp. 270–311; cf. Hajvoronskyj, *Poveliteli dvux materikov*, vol. 1, pp. 238–239.

<sup>285</sup> In the years 1558–1560, while in the Muscovian service, he organized several attacks against Azov; having returned to Lithuania in 1561, he was captured in Moldavia, sent to Istanbul, and executed in 1563; on Vyšnevec'kyj's career, cf. Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Un condottiere lithuanien du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, le prince Dimitrij Višneveckij et l'origine de la *seč'* zaporogue d'après les archives ottomanes," *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* 10 (1969): 258–279; Dziubiński, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne polsko-tureckie*, pp. 190–192; Vinogradov, *Russko-krymskie otnošenija*, vol. 1, pp. 103–106 and 110–111.

distrust and a new conflict in the Baltic region. In 1557, Sigismund Augustus engaged to defend the remnants of the Teutonic Order in Livonia against a possible Muscovian invasion. The treaty only induced Ivan IV to invade Livonia in 1558. A direct military confrontation between Vilnius and Moscow was thus imminent, although both sides chose to wait till the end of the armistice, due to extinguish in 1562.

In order to secure a Crimean assistance in the upcoming conflict, in 1559 Sigismund Augustus sent his envoy, Skumin Tyškevyč, to renew the treaty with the khan. Tyškevyč returned in 1560, accompanied by a Crimean envoy, Hadji Ali Bey,<sup>286</sup> and carrying a new instrument of peace, issued by Devlet Giray. In his document, the khan “granted” to Lithuania the same localities as in his *yarliq* of 1552,<sup>287</sup> and added the usual clauses regarding his engagement to restore to Lithuania its lands lost to Muscovy, the mutual forgiveness of past wrongs, and the security of merchants. The document’s contents reflected the recent activity of Dmytro Vyšnevec’kyj and his cossacks in the Black Sea steppes. Referring to the security of royal merchants, who traveled to take salt in Kačybej, Devlet Giray declined any responsibility for any harm done to them by the Lithuanian or Muscovian cossacks. Besides, the royal side was made responsible for the transport of gifts as far as Perekop, and not Tavan’, as had been stipulated in earlier agreements. The latter change could be easily explained by the recent destruction of Islamkerman which deprived the khan of his major base to patrol the lower Dnieper area. On his part, Devlet Giray reiterated his promise to prevent his own subjects as well as the Ottoman subjects from Akkerman, Očakiv, and Azov, from raiding the royal lands, pledging to severely punish any possible culprits and compensate any damages. The rising presence of the Nogays in the making of the Crimean society was reflected by the fact that the Nogays were for the first time singled out among the Crimean subjects, on whose behalf the khan engaged to keep peace and friendship.<sup>288</sup>

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<sup>286</sup> Referred to as a Circassian (*Hadčy Alej Petyhorec*) in a letter by Sigismund Augustus from 1571; see *Kniga posol’skaja*, vol. 1, p. 310. Perhaps identical with Ali Hadji, a courtier (*ički bek*) of Sahib Giray Khan, sent in embassy to Cracow and Vilnius in 1541? Cf. Document 29, n. 2, and Document 30, n. 1.

<sup>287</sup> Only Luc’k was omitted, apparently by error.

<sup>288</sup> Mentioning “the Nogays, who loyally serve us,” in his document, Devlet Giray might have referred to Nogay newcomers, who had joined the Crimean clan of the Manghuts (Mansurs), or the Little Nogay horde, whose leader, Ghazi Mirza, closely cooperated with the khan (or perhaps both groups).



New precise regulations regarded the diplomatic exchange. The document stipulated that Crimean merchants: Turks, Franks,<sup>289</sup> Armenians, and Jews, should not join the khan's embassies in the hope that they would be granted tax exemptions and royal allowance which was due solely to envoys and couriers. The deadline for sending royal gifts was moved from 1 November to Christmas. The gifts were to be carried by royal envoys as far as Perekop, where they were to be delivered to the khan's agents who would transport them further to Qırq Yer. Finally, envoys were not to be mistreated or detained longer than a month.

Invoking the past Lithuanian-Crimean cooperation against Muscovy in the times of Mehmed Giray (r. 1515–1523), the document introduced two categories of gifts: ordinary gifts, apparently treated by the khan as a tribute, which were to be sent irrespective of the political situation on the sole condition that the Tatars preserved the peace, and extraordinary gifts, to be sent only in the years when the Tatars raided Muscovy. The latter gifts were to be delivered to the khan and to his son and qalga, Mehmed Giray, amounting to the quotas once received by Khan Mehmed Giray and his son and qalga, Bahadır Giray Sultan. The document was corroborated with a solemn oath, sworn by the khan, his qalga, and other retinue members.<sup>290</sup>

In the fall of 1561, Sigismund Augustus urged Devlet Giray to raid the Muscovian province of Novhorod-Sivers'kyj in cooperation with Lithuanian troops.<sup>291</sup> In the spring of 1562, a large Crimean army, headed by the khan and the qalga, set out against Muscovy. From his camp on the Samara river (a left tributary of the Dnieper), Devlet Giray urged Sigismund Augustus to join the attack. He also confirmed the receipt of the royal gifts, brought earlier that year by Skumin Tyškevyč, although he complained that the cloth was rotten and of poor quality.<sup>292</sup> In June, the Tatars reached the Oka and besieged Mcensk but failed

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<sup>289</sup> A term referring to Latin Westerners, in the given context apparently to the Italians living in the Crimea.

<sup>290</sup> See Document 33.

<sup>291</sup> The royal letter to the khan is copied in *Kniga posol'skaja*, vol. 1, pp. 218–219.

<sup>292</sup> The undated original letter in Ruthenian, provided with Devlet Giray's seal, is preserved in AGAD, AKW, Dział tatarski [hereafter, Dz. tat.], k. 65, t. 9, no. 585; it is published under a wrong date (1571) in Jurij Mycyk, "Z dyplomatyčnogo lystuvannja urjadu Kryms'kogo xanstva (druha polovyna XVI—počatok XVIII stolit')," *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva imeni Ševčenko*, vol. 240 (Lviv, 2000): 473–502, esp. pp. 478–479. The letter is also copied in *Kniga posol'skaja*, vol. 1, pp. 224–225.

to obtain any substantial gains. Somewhat paradoxically, the campaign of 1562 resulted in a Crimean-Muscovian rapprochement. While the khan was dismayed with Lithuanian passivity, the tsar realized that in order to conduct a campaign in the west, he needed a peace from the south.<sup>293</sup> When in 1563 Ivan IV launched a full-scale attack against Lithuania, conquering the fortress of Polack, he simultaneously sent an embassy to the Crimea. Prolonged negotiations resulted in a preliminary reconciliation at the beginning of the year 1564.<sup>294</sup>

The confrontation between Vilnius and Muscovy over Livonia was soon joined by Sweden and Denmark and the conflict evolved into the First Northern War. While both Nordic participants reached a settlement in 1570, the war between Poland-Lithuania and Muscovy was to last until 1582.<sup>295</sup> Both belligerents were ready to lavish gifts onto Devlet Giray in order to get his military support and the khan knew how to exploit it. Having entered negotiations with Moscow, he did not break his relations with Vilnius and refused to enter an anti-Lithuanian clause in his treaty with Ivan IV, thus securing that he would receive gifts from both the king and the tsar. Besides, a peace with the latter was unpopular among the Crimean nobility. In a rare unanimity, the leaders of the Shirins and Manghits, Hadji and Devey (appointed the Manghit *qaraçı* in 1563), vehemently opposed a reconciliation with Moscow. The already exchanged preliminary oaths did not prevent Devlet Giray from raiding Muscovy in August 1564,

<sup>293</sup> For a recent discussion of the Muscovian diplomacy of that period and conflicting priorities in regard to the southern (i.e., anti-Crimean) and northern (i.e., Baltic) foreign policy, see Vinogradov, *Russko-krymskie otnošenija*, vol. 1, pp. 147, 171–179, and 189.

<sup>294</sup> Vinogradov, *Russko-krymskie otnošenija*, vol. 2, pp. 3–33. Devlet Giray swore an oath to keep peace on 2 January, and Ivan IV on 5 March; the procedure was to be completed by an exchange of solemn peace documents. Ivan's preliminary instrument (*zapis*) from March 1564, referring to his oath, is published in *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij Krymskago xanstva s Moskovskim gosudarstvom v XVI i XVII v.v. xranjaščiesja v Moskovskom Glavnom Arxive Ministerstva Inostrannyx Del*. Edited by F. Laškov (Simferopol, 1891), pp. 26–29. See also Aleksandr Filjuškin, "Proekty russko-krymskogo voennogo sojuza v gody Livonskoj vojny," in: "V kratkix slovesax mnogoj razum zamykajušče...": *Sbornik naučnyx trudov v čest' 75-letija professora Ruslana Grigor'oviča Skrynnikova*. Edited by A. Dvorničenko (St. Petersburg, 2008): 309–337, esp. pp. 310–320.

<sup>295</sup> In 1570, Poland-Lithuania and Muscovy concluded an armistice, but in 1577 Ivan IV launched a new campaign in Livonia and Stephan Báthory reciprocated with a full-scale offensive in 1579, repeated in 1580 and 1581. For a recent English narrative of the First Northern War, see Robert Frost, *The Northern Wars: War, State and Society in Northeastern Europe, 1558–1721* (Harlow, 2000), pp. 23–44.

October 1564, and October 1565.<sup>296</sup> In July 1566, the khan resumed the negotiations with Muscovian envoys, although he admitted that for the moment he could not swear an oath in the name of “the whole land” (*vsej zemlej* in the Russian report) because many beys and *mirzas*, along with Qalga Mehmed Giray, were overseas, participating in an Ottoman campaign in Hungary (i.e., the Szigetvár campaign).<sup>297</sup> With a predictable logic, a major Tatar raid of Lithuania occurred in the fall of the same year.

Ivan IV did not have time to enjoy his diplomatic success as another shift in the Crimean policy occurred within a few months. Lured by the promises of new gifts coming from Vilnius, the Tatars were also alarmed by the construction of a Muscovian fort on the Terek river (1567). Combined with the alliance between Ivan IV and Temrük, a Kabardinian prince, who had become the tsar’s father-in-law in 1561, this was clear evidence of a Muscovian march towards the northern Caucasus, regarded by the khans as their zone of influence. For this time, the Muscovian southward expansion also alarmed Istanbul.<sup>298</sup> Grand Vizier Mehmed Sokollu (in office between 1565 and 1579), who directed the Porte’s policy after the death of Suleyman and accession of his son, Selim II, developed a visionary though hardly realistic plan to dig a channel connecting the Don with the Volga. The channel would enable the transport of galleys and heavy guns towards Astrakhan, and, after its recapture from Muscovian hands, introducing the Ottoman fleet on the Caspian Sea and reaching the silk-producing Caspian provinces of the Ottoman archenemies, the Safavids. In order to attain these goals, Crimean cooperation was indispensable, so the khan was ordered to join the expedition. In the spring of 1569, a large Ottoman-Crimean army, commanded by Qasım Pasha, the Ottoman governor of Caffa, and Khan Devlet Giray, set out against Astrakhan. The campaign turned into a disaster as the allies soon faced extremely unfavorable conditions: lack of water, fodder, and food, attacks by Muscovian regular troops and cossacks as well as Tatar and Nogay

<sup>296</sup> Vinogradov, *Russko-krymskie otnošenija*, vol. 2, pp. 38–48 and 56–57. Filjuškin blames Ivan IV for missing an opportunity to “win the Crimean auction” in the summer of 1564 due to his temporizing and placing ritual, semiotic and financial aspects over political and military ones; see *idem*, “Proekty russko-krymskogo voennogo sojuza,” pp. 309, 312 and 323.

<sup>297</sup> Vinogradov, *Russko-krymskie otnošenija*, vol. 1, p. 66, vol. 2, pp. 63–64.

<sup>298</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, vol. 2, pp. 66–77, and Khodarkovsky, *Russia’s Steppe Frontier*, p. 115.

marauders, and the technical impossibility to dig the planned channel within one season.

As Poland-Lithuania was also at war with Muscovy and the Polish-Ottoman treaty was recently renewed between the king and the new sultan in 1568, Sigismund Augustus was regarded as an ally by both Muslim rulers. A royal envoy, Jędrzej Taranowski, received by Selim II in Istanbul in July 1569, was then invited to join the invading army and found Devlet Giray deep in the steppe. The envoy witnessed the rising tensions between the Turks and the Tatars and left a vivid narrative of the catastrophe.<sup>299</sup>

Disenchanted with the failed expedition, in 1570 the Ottomans turned their attention to the south and invaded Venetian Cyprus. By an apparent paradox, only then Devlet Giray resolved a full-scale invasion of Muscovy. Firstly, he feared that his previous lack of enthusiasm might invite trouble from the side of the Porte and wanted to make up for the failure. Secondly and more importantly, with the Ottomans gone, he did not have to share the potential gains with the sultan. In 1571, a huge Tatar army attacked and burned Moscow. The humiliated tsar, who had left his capital on the eve of the invasion, promised to “restore” Astrakhan to the khan, who then earned his nickname of the “Capturer of Capitals” (*Taht-Alğan*). As it soon turned out that Ivan IV was merely temporizing and had no intention to cede Astrakhan, another major Tatar invasion occurred in 1572. Yet this time, the Crimean troops, assisted by the Nogays, were defeated at Molodi, not far from Moscow.<sup>300</sup>

Although the shared enmity towards Muscovy should promote cooperation between the king and the khan, their mutual relations in the last years of Sigismund Augustus’ reign were not devoid of tensions. Both sides accused each other in Istanbul, trying to win a favorable Ottoman mediation in regard to border skirmishes and the

<sup>299</sup> Taranowski’s relation, entitled “Krótkie wypisanie drogi z Polski do Konstantynopola, a z tamtąd zaś do Astrachania zamku moskiewskiego, który leży na wschód słońca ku granicom perskim, przytem jako wojsko tureckie, które jeździło pod Astrachań roku 1569 zginęło [...],” is published in Józef Ignacy Kraszewski (ed.), *Podróże i poselstwa polskie do Turcyi, a mianowicie: Podróż E. Otwinowskiego 1557, Jędrzeja Taranowskiego komornika j. k. m. 1569, i Poselstwo Piotra Zborowskiego 1568* (Cracow, 1860): 41–63. For a German contemporary translation, see István Vásáry and Lajos Tardy, “Andrzej Taranowskis Bericht über seine Gesandtschaftsreise in der Tartarei (1569),” *AO ASH* 28 (1974): 213–252.

<sup>300</sup> Vinogradov, *Russko-krymskie otnošenija*, vol. 2, pp. 193–221.

amount of gifts to be sent to the khan.<sup>301</sup> From a royal letter, sent to the khan in 1571, we learn that Devlet Giray was unsatisfied with the former agreement, negotiated by Skumin Tyškevyč, blamed his scribe for changing several ancient clauses without his knowledge, and proposed to issue a new instrument of peace. The king expressed his amazement that the khan had first sworn to keep the treaty and observed it for some time, only to change his mind after a while. Nevertheless, Sigismund Augustus admitted that he also was not entirely satisfied with the treaty and sent another envoy, Jurij Bykovskyj, to collect a new instrument from the khan.<sup>302</sup> The royal chancery provided Bykovskyj with a ready formula, according to which the khan was to issue his document. The formula, whose text is not preserved, provided that royal envoys were to transport annual gifts only as far as Kiev or Braclav, and not to Perekop as had been provided by the document from 1560. The responsibility for further transport and incurred costs was to be taken by the khan's agents. If the Tatars rejected this amendment, the royal envoy was instructed to accept the khan's instrument in its previous form but refuse any alterations.<sup>303</sup> We do not know, whether the mission was successful, as no treaty instruments issued by Devlet Giray have been preserved apart from the ones dated 1552 and 1560.

In 1569, a major change occurred on the map of Eastern Europe. Sensing near death, Sigismund Augustus, the last member of the Jagiellonian dynasty without an heir, yielded to the general wish of Polish nobility and convened a Diet in Lublin, where the personal union between Poland and Lithuania was converted into a permanent one. The new federal state was to have one monarch, to be elected by the whole nobility, and one Diet, although numerous institutions, such as military command and chancellery, remained separate for the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The union was less popular among Lithuanian nobles, especially princely families who feared Polish domination and losing their status. Facing opposition, on the eve of the union Sigismund Augustus—still acting as an hereditary grand duke—had ceded to Poland four Lithuanian provinces: Podlachia, Volhynia, Kiev, and Braclav. This move persuaded the Lithuanian opponents to accept the union in vain hope that the monarch

<sup>301</sup> Cf. Dziubiński, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne polsko-tureckie*, pp. 264–267.

<sup>302</sup> See the royal letter to the khan, published in *Kniga posol'skaja*, vol. 1, pp. 309–311.

<sup>303</sup> See the envoy's instruction, published in *ibidem*, pp. 311–312.

would reverse his move. In fact, numerous nobles from the four provinces concerned accepted their transfer quite easily, and for various reasons: the nobles from Podlachia, Polish or largely Polonized, were already liaised by numerous links with neighboring Polish Mazovia, while the nobles of southern provinces, predominantly Orthodox and Ruthenian, hoped that Cracow would provide more effective defence against the Tatars than Vilnius had done. In fact, due to the loss of its southern provinces, after 1569 Lithuania no longer bordered with the Crimean Khanate. In result, the defence system against Tatar raids was monopolized in the hands of Polish Crown hetmans while the Polish Crown chancery was put in charge of the diplomatic relations with Baghchasaray.<sup>304</sup>

*Polish interregna and the reigns of Mehmed II Giray (1577–1584)  
and Islam II Giray (1584–1588)*

Following the death of Sigismund Augustus in 1572, a fierce competition for the Polish-Lithuanian throne began. Ivan IV, lured with a perspective of his own or his son's candidacy, temporarily suspended hostilities. A serious candidate came from the House of Habsburg, but this option was equal with an Ottoman invasion. Finally, a French prince, Henri de Valois, was elected in 1573 with the strong French and Ottoman support. His election augured well to the Polish-Crimean relations as the khan would not dare to attack an Ottoman candidate.<sup>305</sup> Nevertheless, the young French prince was certainly not pleased upon having received over three dozens of letters sent by the

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<sup>304</sup> As a matter of fact, Lithuania continued to financially participate in the maintaining of diplomatic relations with the Crimea, especially when Tatar embassies traveled through the Grand Duchy as the king resided in Vilnius or headed campaigns against Russia. Nevertheless, Zbigniew Wójcik has calculated that in the mid-seventeenth century the Lithuanian share had not surpassed five percent of the Commonwealth's expenditures for the diplomatic exchange with the Crimea; see *idem*, "Some problems of Polish-Tatar relations in the seventeenth century," pp. 91–92.

<sup>305</sup> In a letter to Devlet Giray, the Ottoman sultan Selim II explicitly ordered the khan to support the brother of the French king, recently elected to the Polish throne, provided that the latter would pay the customary tribut to the khan; see Jan Rypka, "Briefwechsel der Hohen Pforte mit den Krimchanen im II. Bande von Feridüns Münšeât," in: *Festschrift Georg Jacob zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*. Edited by Th. Menzel (Leipzig, 1932): 241–269, esp. pp. 249–250; Selim's letter is published in Feridun Bey, *Münşe'atü's-Selatin*, vol. 2 (Istanbul, 1275 A.H./1858 A.D.), pp. 557–558; the term, translated by Rypka as *Tribut*, appears in the Turkish text as *vergü*.

Crimean princes, ladies, nobles, and functionaries, invariably demanding gifts for themselves and their retinue members in return for their friendship.<sup>306</sup> To say that these letters prompted his escape would be an overstatement, but they certainly added to his bewilderment with the limits of royal power in Poland. Having learned about the death of his brother, Charles IX, in June 1574 King Henry secretly left Poland in order to assume the French throne.

A fierce struggle resumed between the pro-Habsburg and anti-Habsburg factions for the vacated Polish throne. Finally, in 1575 Stephan Báthory, the palatine of Transylvania and Ottoman vassal, was elected with the substantial support wielded by Ottoman diplomacy, and crowned on his arrival to Poland in 1576.<sup>307</sup> As the new king envisioned a war with Muscovy, he aimed to confirm the peace with Istanbul and Baghchasaray. The first task was attained already in 1577, but the second one proved less easy. Jędrzej Taranowski, sent to the khan in January 1577, was detained in the Crimea,<sup>308</sup> while the Tatars resumed negotiations with Moscow. Ivan IV, disillusioned by Báthory's election and endangered by his military plans, desperately

<sup>306</sup> These letters are preserved in AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 60, t. 76 and ff; k. 65, t. 85 and ff.

<sup>307</sup> On the role of Ottoman diplomacy in the Polish elections, see Kemal Beydilli, *Die Polnischen Königswahlen und Interregnen von 1572 und 1576 im Lichte osmanischer Archivalien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der osmanischen Machtpolitik* (Munich, 1976); Janusz Pajewski, *Turcja wobec elekcji Batorego* (Cracow, 1935); and Wojciech Hensel, "Uwagi o stosunkach polsko-tureckich w XVI wieku do panowania Stefana Batorego," in: *Stosunki polsko-tureckie. Materiały z sesji naukowej zorganizowanej przez Instytut Orientalistyczny i Towarzystwo Polska Turcja w 1988 roku*. Edited by T. Majda (Warsaw, 1995): 19–29.

<sup>308</sup> Kazimierz Dopierała, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne Polski z Turcją za Stefana Batorego* (Warsaw, 1986), pp. 43 and 48. Taranowski had earlier traveled to the khan in 1569. The royal instruction, issued in Toruń on 31 December 1576 and regarding the conditions of a new treaty, is published in *Kniga posol'skaja Metriki Velikago Knjažestva Litovskago, soderžaščaja v sebe diplomatičeskija snošenija Litvy v gosudarstvovanie korolja Stefana Batorija (s 1573 po 1580 god)*. Edited by M. Pogodin and D. Dubenskij (Moscow, 1843), pp. 11–13. In return for Crimean military assistance against Muscovy, Taranowski was to propose the khan a yearly gift of 20,000, or at most 24,000 thalers. Báthory's negotiating position was weakened by the riot of Danzig, the royal city and Baltic port mostly inhabited by the Germans, which had supported the Habsburg candidate to the Polish throne—the emperor Maximilian II himself (even the emperor's death in October 1576 did not appease the conflict). In his instruction to Taranowski, the king admitted that due to his conflict with the Germans (i.e., the Habsburgs as well as Danzig) he was unable to obtain Western cloth, hence he proposed that the whole gift be in cash and not partly in cash and partly in cloth like in the previous years.

tried to secure his southern border. In February 1577, the tsar resolved to send a great embassy to the Crimea, even at the cost of his prestige.<sup>309</sup> Although the embassy's departure was postponed due to the news of the death of Devlet Giray and the enthronement of his son and former qalga, Mehmed II Giray, in 1578 the Muscovian chancery prepared a draft of a treaty. The skillfully drawn document contained Ivan's engagement that his "palatines and Livonian people" (*voevody i livonskie ljudi*) would not attack the Tatar lands.<sup>310</sup> If accepted by the khan, this clause would legitimize Ivan's claim to his Livonian conquests.

The Muscovian efforts provoked swift reaction of King Stephan, who intervened at the Porte and reinforced his diplomatic mission in the Crimea. Having no news from Taranowski, in April 1578 the king sent yet another envoy, his secretary Marcin Broniowski. The royal envoy, who would later gain due fame as the author of a detailed description of the Crimea, left Poland in April 1578.<sup>311</sup> Taranowski and Broniowski returned together in the summer of 1578, accompanied by a Polish renegade, Ibrahim Bielecki, who brought the list of peace conditions. Apart from overdue gifts, unpaid for several years, Mehmed II Giray demanded that the king suppress the raids of the Dnieper Cossacks and accept the khan's right to keep peace simultaneously with Cracow and Moscow (and consequently to obtain gifts from both the king and the tsar). Irritated by the prolonged negotiations, in September 1578 King Stephan sent Broniowski again to the khan with a warning that invoked the sultan's wrath and the possibility of a Polish-Muscovian rapprochement. Consequently, Jędrzej Taranowski was sent to Istanbul in order to secure the Porte's pressure on the khan. In the spring of 1579, Mehmed II Giray finally issued an instrument of agreement

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<sup>309</sup> Earlier, Ivan IV required that a great embassy be first sent by the Crimean side thus making an appearance that in was the khan who petitioned for peace; cf. Filjuškin, "Proekty russko-krymskogo voennogo sojuza," p. 325.

<sup>310</sup> See *ibidem*, pp. 328–330; the project of a *şartname* to be issued by Mehmed II Giray is published in *ibidem*, pp. 335–336.

<sup>311</sup> Dopierała, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne Polski z Turcją*, pp. 77–78; the royal instruction, given to Broniowski on 4 April 1578, is published in *Akta historyczne do panowania Stefana Batorego, króla polskiego, od 3 marca 1578 do 18 kwietnia 1579*. Edited by J. Janicki (Warsaw, 1881), pp. 34–37. For Broniowski's description of the Crimea, see *Martini Broniovii de Biezdżfedea bis in Tartariam nomine Stephani primi Poloniae regis legati Tartariae descriptio* (Cologne, 1595).



and sent it through Broniowski and a Tatar envoy, Kazan Agha.<sup>312</sup> In the same year, King Stephan declared war on Muscovy and reconquered Polack, lost by Lithuania in 1563. After another two years of campaigns, in 1582 a peace was reached between Stephan and Ivan IV, securing not only the restoration of Polack, but the annexation of Livonia to Poland-Lithuania.

The Crimean-Polish reconciliation was favored by the Ottomans, who needed Tatar assistance in their new war against the Safavids. In the Transcaucasian campaign of 1578, Crimean auxiliaries were commanded by the khan's brother and qalga Adil Giray, who fell prisoner and was executed in Iran a year later due to an illicit love affair. In 1579, Crimean auxiliary troops were led in person by Mehmed II Giray.<sup>313</sup>

As the captivity and death of Adil Giray vacated the post of qalga, Mehmed II Giray intended to grant it to his son, Sa'adet Giray. The move caused vehement reaction of the khan's brothers, who felt that their rights were violated. In the spring of 1581, the khan's two cadet brothers, Alp and Selamet Girays, ran from the Crimea heading for Istanbul, but they were captured by the Cossacks in the Polish Ukraine and delivered to the *starosta* of Čerkasy, Myxajlo Vyšnevec'kyj. After intensive deliberations within the Polish Royal Council and interventions from Istanbul and Baghchararay, the Tatar princes were set free, being first made to solemnly swear that in the future they would keep friendship with the Commonwealth.<sup>314</sup> Meanwhile, a compromise was negotiated in the Crimea. Alp Giray became the qalga while Sa'adet Giray was given in compensation the new post of nureddin, created especially for him. The introduction of the new dignity, reserved for

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<sup>312</sup> On the return of Broniowski and Taranowski from the Crimea and their following missions, respectively to Baghchararay and Istanbul, see Dopierała, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne Polski z Turcją*, pp. 84–88 and 93–97. The name of the Tatar envoy who joined Broniowski, not provided by Dopierała, can be learned from later correspondence (see n. 315 below). The text of Mehmed II Giray's instrument is not preserved.

<sup>313</sup> Akif Farzaliev, *Južnyj Kavkaz v konce XVI veka. Osmano-sefevidskoe soperničestvo* (St. Petersburg, 2002), pp. 87–97; Mustafa Eravcı, "The role of the Crimean Tatars in the Ottoman-Safavi war (1578–1639)," *Historical Yearbook* 4 (2007): 153–160, esp. pp. 155–158.

<sup>314</sup> Dopierała, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne Polski z Turcją*, pp. 108–111; the younger of the two princes, the future khan Selamet Giray, would later refer to his oath, taken in front of Prince Vyšnevec'kyj and Chancellor Jan Zamoyski, in his instrument of peace issued in December 1609; see Document 44.

the Giray family members and standing in hierarchy immediately after the qalga, changed permanently the structure of Crimean politics.

Although King Stephan continued to send gifts to the Crimea during his conflict with Muscovy, he was not satisfied with the khan's instrument brought in 1579.<sup>315</sup> In 1581, a new embassy was sent to the Crimea, headed by a Lithuanian scribe, Andrzej Chorążyc. The envoy was provided with a ready formula of an "amended" instrument expected from the khan. Mehmed II Giray detained Chorążyc almost a year and sent him back along with a Crimean great envoy in November 1582. The khan declared that he issued a new instrument, written word for word in accordance with the royal formula, but simultaneously warned that his engagement would be void if the king did not compensate the Tatars for the losses suffered by them from the Cossacks. The warning caused an angry reaction of King Stephan who reproached the khan that the contents of his message contradicted his outwardly peaceful declarations.<sup>316</sup>

Repeated Ottoman invitations to join distant Persian campaigns caused Mehmed II Giray's growing irritation. Firstly, he did not want

<sup>315</sup> In a letter to King Stephan, delivered on 5 January 1583 in Cracow, Mehmed II Giray recalled that his earlier sealed instrument of agreement (Pol. *dokończenie pod pieczęcią*), sent through his envoy, Kazan Agha, "had not pleased His Royal Majesty" (*i Wasza Królewska Miłość tego dokończenia nie polubiel*); see Bibl. Kór., ms. 280, fol. 15b–17a; for another version, see Bibl. Czart., ms. 90 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 13–14 (its copyist misread *nie polubiwszy* as *na polu bywszy*, sic). The khan did not refer to the date of Kazan Agha's embassy, but it was apparently identical with the mission of 1579.

<sup>316</sup> On the embassy of Andrzej Chorążyc (alias Andrej Xoruzhyc; the family later adopted the surname Obryński), see Dopierała, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne Polski z Turcją*, pp. 123–125. The name of the Crimean great envoy who accompanied Chorążyc on his way back to Poland is recorded in Polish sources as Kulozdem murza Bulhakowicz, Kulozdembi (i.e., Kulozdem bej) Bulganowicz, or Kubdembej Bulganowicz (spelled in the Polish orthography, with the Slavic form of the envoy's patronymic). In his letter to the king, Mehmed II Giray announced that he sent an instrument of peace (*dokończenie*) written word for word (*słowo w słowo*) after the royal formula and sealed with his golden seal (*pod pieczęcią swą złotą, pieczęć swą przyłożywszy posłałem*); see Bibl. Kór., ms. 280, fol. 15b–17a; Bibl. Czart., ms. 90 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 13–14; Bibl. Czart., ms. 89 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 285–287 (another version dated 5 November 1582). Yet, from a preserved royal answer it appears that the Crimean great envoy only announced the imminent arrival of the khan's instrument (*przez niego rozkazałeś do nas, iżże posłałeś nam dokończenie*) but the king still did not receive it as he insisted that the khan should confirm it with an oath (*listę swój jako nam dajesz znać napisacieś kazał, przysięgą byś potwierdził*); see Bibl. Kór., ms. 280, fol. 35a–39a. Mehmed II Giray's "ordinary" letters, brought to Cracow in January 1582, are preserved in several copies, but his instrument of peace is not extant. Moreover, it is not certain whether it ever reached Poland.

to fight someone else's wars while leaving behind his unruly subjects and family members. Secondly, his nickname "Fat" (*Semiz*) alluded to his growing incapacity to mount a horse. In 1583, he openly quarrelled with the Ottoman commander on the Persian front, Osman Pasha. The latter received an order from Istanbul to depose the khan and was simultaneously approached by Alp Giray, who had been dreaming of his brother's removal. In 1584, a war broke out in the Crimea. Mehmed II Giray besieged Osman Pasha in Caffa, but his troops were repulsed by the means of the fortress artillery and the guns of the Ottoman fleet.<sup>317</sup> Sensing defeat, the khan tried to escape but was killed by Alp Giray. Contrary to the latter's expectations, the Porte designated as the new khan another brother, Islam Giray, who had spent numerous years in the Ottoman Empire as the guarantor of "proper behavior" of their father (i.e., Devlet Giray).

The new khan introduced the custom of preceding the khan's name with the sultan's name in the invocation pronounced during the Muslim Friday prayer (*khutbe*), which became a visible sign of decline of the Crimean sovereignty.<sup>318</sup> Islam II Giray's position was further weakened by the fact that three sons of Mehmed II Giray: Sa'adet, Murad, and Safa, found refuge in Muscovy. Sa'adet Giray even temporarily captured the Crimean throne, but was defeated. Fearing that the exiles might be used against him, Islam II Giray resigned from any aggressive designs against the northern neighbor, even though Russia seemed weakened after the death of Ivan IV (1584).

In Poland-Lithuania, internal developments in the Crimea were carefully watched. During the campaigns of 1579–1581, the engagement of Tatar troops in Transcaucasia deprived King Stephan of a potential ally against Muscovy, but the Tatars remained at least neu-

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<sup>317</sup> The internal struggle within the Giray family and the deposition of Mehmed II Giray is narrated in the Ottoman chronicle devoted to the deeds of Osman Pasha; for a recent facsimile edition, comprising miniatures depicting Alp Giray (p. 420) and the defeat of the Tatar besiegers in front of the walls of Caffa (p. 425), see Âsâfî Dal Mehmed Çelebi, *Şecâ'atnâme. Özdemiroğlu Osman Paşa'nın Şark Seferleri (1578–1585)*. Edited by A. Özcan (Istanbul, 2006). On this conflict and the subsequent events, see also Alexandre Bennigsen and Chantal Lemerrier-Quelquejay, "La Moscovie, l'Empire ottoman et la crise successorale de 1577–1588 dans le khanat de Crimée. La tradition nomade contre le modèle des monarchies sédentaires," *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* 14 (1973): 453–487, and Aleksandr Vinogradov, "Russko-krymskie otnošenija v 1570–1590-x gg. v kontekste dinastičeskogo krizisa Gireev," in: *Srednevekovye tjurko-tatarskie gosudarstva*, vypusk 2 (Kazan, 2010): 274–299.

<sup>318</sup> Smirnov, *Krymskoe xanstvo*, p. 443.

tral.<sup>319</sup> After the turmoil in the Khanate, Broniowski was sent again to the Crimea and returned in May 1585 along with a Tatar envoy, Ali Mirza, who brought an instrument of peace issued by the new khan.<sup>320</sup> Yet, the document's contents irritated the king since—like earlier Mehmed II Giray—apart from demanding to send him ordinary gifts, the khan conditioned his goodwill on the expulsion of the Cossacks from the Dnieper and compensation of all damages inflicted by them to his subjects. Eventually, the instrument was returned to the Tatar envoy with a request that it should be taken back to the khan in order to be amended.<sup>321</sup>

The prominence of the Cossack issue in the Polish-Crimean correspondence of that period is not accidental. King Stephan is justly credited as the ruler who developed this semi-regular formation and used the Cossacks in his campaigns against Muscovy. Historians still disagree whether his plans of an anti-Ottoman crusade, pronounced in the final years of his reign, were genuine or rather served him to gain legitimacy in the eyes of the pope and the Habsburgs, who still regarded him as an Ottoman creature. What matters here is that after the peace with Muscovy in 1582, Poland-Lithuania did not enter any new war. The Cossacks, unemployed and deprived of salaries and spoils, learned to make their living by raiding the neighboring Crimean, Ottoman, and Moldavian lands. It did not augur well to the future of Polish

<sup>319</sup> A useful diversion was provided by Tatar raids of Muscovy in 1580 and 1581; cf. Podhorodecki, *Chanat krymski i jego stosunki z Polską*, p. 188. Yet, these raids were of a smaller scale and motivated by economic rather than political reasons.

<sup>320</sup> In his letter to Marcin Kromer, the bishop of Warmia (Ermland), dated 1 June 1585, the king referred to a Tatar envoy (*orator*) who had brought a *foedus in scriptis* from Islam Giray; the document was apparently in Turkish, because the king referred to its being translated *ex arabico in latinum*; Bibl. Czart., ms. 91 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 497–498. A year later, in his letter to Qalga Alp Giray, dated 8 April 1586, King Stephan recalled that Ali Mirza (referred to as *Alli murza*) had brought him the khan's oath-letter (*lyst prysjażnyj*); see *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 594 (1585–1600)*. Edited by A. Baliulis (Vilnius, 2006), p. 20.

<sup>321</sup> See Bibl. Kórñ., ms. 281, fol. 235a–235b; Dopierała, familiar with this letter, addressed to Andrzej Opaliński and reporting the events at the royal court, did not understand the phrase *dłatego to przymierze król odsyła* (“therefore the king sends back this instrument of agreement”) and erroneously assumed that the king had sent back the Tatar envoy along with his own, royal instrument of peace; cf. *idem*, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne Polski z Turcją*, p. 140. In fact, the king had only sent back the khan's instrument with a request that it should be corrected. Today, neither the original instrument of Islam II Giray, nor its amended version (if it was issued at all) is extant.

relations with southern neighbors, although these relations remained mostly peaceful until King Stephan's death in 1586.<sup>322</sup>

The following Polish election revived the hostility between the pro-Habsburg and anti-Habsburg factions and evolved into a civil war. Archduke Maximilian of Habsburg competed for the throne with Sigismund Vasa, the son of King John III of Sweden and Queen Catherine, the sister of Sigismund Augustus, the last Jagiellonian king. In December 1587, the Swedish prince was crowned in Cracow as Sigismund III, but the conflict lasted till January 1588, when Maximilian was defeated and imprisoned by Jan Zamoyski, the powerful chancellor, hetman, and Sigismund's chief supporter.<sup>323</sup>

The interregnum, lasting over one year, certainly did not serve well to appease the conflicts along the southern border. Irritated by the unstable situation in Poland, the Porte authorized a Tatar raid and provided the khan with Ottoman janissaries. Islam II Giray departed from Perekop in January 1588, but had to wait another month until the Dnieper froze and enabled the passage of troops. Having arrived at Akkerman, the khan waited for Ottoman reinforcements and unexpectedly died in early April. In his stead, his brother Ghazi Giray was appointed the new khan and sent from Istanbul to the Crimea, but the campaign against Poland was cancelled.<sup>324</sup>

*In the shade of the Ottoman-Habsburg confrontation: the reign  
of Ghazi II Giray (1588–1608)*

Ghazi Giray, the son of Devlet Giray, had participated in Ottoman-Safavid campaigns and, taken prisoner in 1581, spent four years in Iranian captivity. After a successful escape, he arrived at Istanbul and

<sup>322</sup> In 1585 and 1586, the king twice prepared embassies that were to deliver gifts to the khan; yet, in both cases the envoys were recalled upon fresh news of a Tatar raid; see *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 594 (1585–1600)*, pp. 20 and 52.

<sup>323</sup> Zamoyski was to say that he would rather call Turks for help than let a German [i.e., Maximilian Habsburg] into Poland; see Władysław Konopczyński, *Dzieje Polski nowożytnej* (Warsaw, 1986), vol. 1, p. 176 [first published in 1936].

<sup>324</sup> See the raport of a Russian envoy, who arrived in the Crimea in February 1588 and witnessed the change on the khan's throne: "Statejnyj spisok moskovskogo poslannika v Krym Ivana Sudakova v 1587–1588 godu." Edited by F. Laškov, in: *Izvestija Tavričeskoj učennoj arxivnoj kommissii*, no. 14 (Simferopol, 1891): 43–80, esp. pp. 67–69. On the dating of Islam II Giray's death, see also Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, p. 48.

gained the favor of Sultan Murad III. Having ascended the throne, the new khan simultaneously offered peace to Moscow and Cracow, invoking his influence at the Ottoman court, but in return demanded to send him overdue gifts. When a Russian envoy protested, finding the Crimean financial demands exorbitant, Ghazi II Giray retorted that if not for his dissuasion, Murad III would have led a new expedition against Astrakhan.<sup>325</sup> Almost at the same time, Ghazi II Giray made an analogous offer to Cracow while his chancery prepared the extensive list of Crimean dignitaries entitled to receive royal presents (*tiyiş*) in addition to the annual gifts due to the khan.<sup>326</sup>

Although Sigismund III Vasa initially enjoyed the Ottoman support as an anti-Habsburg candidate, his delay in sending a great embassy to Istanbul soon led to a political crisis. In 1589, the Porte encouraged Ghazi II Giray, who still waited in vain for the royal gifts and was furious because of a recent Cossack raid of Kōzlev, to pillage Polish southeastern provinces.<sup>327</sup> In the following year, a full-scale Ottoman invasion of Poland was expected, but the crisis was appeased.<sup>328</sup> In 1591, Murad III confirmed the peace with Sigismund III by a new *'ahdname*, while Marcin Broniowski was again sent to the Crimea along with the royal gifts. In the spring of 1592, Broniowski returned to Poland, accompanied by the khan's great envoy, Qasım, and provided with two solemn documents. The first one, referred to alternatively as a *yarlıq* or an *'ahdname*, was addressed to the general audience: the royal councilors and subjects. Recalling the ancient friendship, Ghazi II Giray deplored that after the death of Sigismund Augustus, during the interregnum and in the times of Stephan Báthory, the Dnieper Cossacks had been unleashed, protected, and even encouraged to raid Muslim lands. Their raids provoked in revenge Tatar raids of Poland, and hence the peace was mutually broken. Having acquitted that he received the gifts, recently brought by Broniowski from the new king,

<sup>325</sup> "Statejnyj spisok moskovskago poslannika v Krym Ivana Sudakova," pp. 79–80.

<sup>326</sup> For the list (*defter*), dated 1 Shaban 996 A.H. (26 June 1588), see AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 65, t. 124, no. 700; it enumerates the khan himself along with his mother and four wives, the khan's younger brother and qalga Feth Giray, the nureddin Safa Giray (Mehmed II Giray's son, who had returned from exile in Muscovy), further—male and female—Giray family members, and a few dozen of courtiers and retainers.

<sup>327</sup> Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, p. 59.

<sup>328</sup> The reconciliation was reached with the help of the English diplomacy, interested in focusing the Ottoman energy against Spain, as well as the Jewish merchants, involved in the Polish-Ottoman trade; see Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, p. 125.

the khan expressed his hope that from then on, the gifts and presents for himself, his brother and qalga Feth Giray, as well as other Crimean dignitaries, listed in a separate register (*defter*), would be sent on time, and the Cossacks would be expelled from the Dnieper. In return, he offered security from Tatar raids, the freedom of trade, the right to buy salt in his domains, and the Crimean military assistance against Muscovy in return for an extra monetary allowance. The envoys of both sides were not to be detained longer than two months.<sup>329</sup>

The second document, also referred to as *yarlıq*, was addressed to Sigismund III and of similar contents. Like in his earlier negotiations with Muscovy, Ghazi II Giray ascribed to himself the merit of dissuading Murad III from invading Poland. The khan quoted his letter to the Porte, in which he blamed Stephan Báthory for unleashing the Cossacks, since “the Hungarian kings had been old enemies of His Excellency, [...] the illustrious padishah,” but defended the new king, Sigismund III, from the sultan’s wrath. The khan also stressed that, persuaded by Sigismund’s financial promises, he rejected lavish offers from Moscow, ordered a Russian envoy arrested, invaded Muscovy in the previous year (i.e., 1591), and prepared a new campaign in the upcoming summer.<sup>330</sup>

The role of Cracow and Stockholm in instigating the aforementioned Tatar raids of Muscovy was not negligible. King John III of Sweden, the father of Sigismund III, counted on a Tatar diversion in his approaching war against Muscovy. In 1589, a Crimean embassy traveled through Poland to Sweden, and in 1590 the Swedish-Muscovian war began. In the summer of 1591, Ghazi II Giray reached the suburbs of Moscow at the head of his troops, but the Russian capital was successfully defended by Boris Godunov (the future tsar). In 1592, another Tatar raid, headed by Qalga Feth Giray, devastated the region of Tula. Nevertheless, in the years 1593–1594 a Crimean-Muscovian reconciliation was reached and confirmed by solemn documents, exchanged between Khan Ghazi II Giray and Tsar Fedor Ivanovič.<sup>331</sup>

<sup>329</sup> See Document 34.

<sup>330</sup> See Document 35.

<sup>331</sup> Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 50 and 59; Carl Max Kortepeter, *Ottoman Imperialism during the Reformation. Europe and the Caucasus* (New York and London, 1972), pp. 110–112; Podhorodecki, *Chanat krymski i jego stosunki z Polską*, pp. 121–122; Vinogradov, “Rod Suleša vo vnešnej politike Krymskogo xanstva vtoroj poloviny XVI v.,” p. 64; *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*.... Edited by F. Laškov, pp. 29–34.

A major factor that contributed towards the Crimean-Muscovian peace and made it durable for another 15 years, was the Tatar engagement in the long Habsburg-Ottoman war (1593–1606). After the khan was summoned to assist the Ottoman troops, in 1594 the Tatars marched through Poland, heading for Transylvania and Hungary.<sup>332</sup> At the outset of the war, the Ottomans were challenged by the pro-Habsburg stand of the rulers of Wallachia and Transylvania, Michael the Brave (Mihai Viteazul) and Sigismund Báthory, who also exerted pressure on Moldavia. To counter this challenge, the Porte resolved to convert Moldavia into a regular Ottoman province, but this move provoked a Polish response. Although Poland-Lithuania remained neutral in the Habsburg-Ottoman conflict, the devastations made by the Tatars during their unauthorized march in 1594 were deeply resented. Moreover, the turning of Moldavia into an Ottoman province infringed Polish interests and made a direct Polish-Ottoman confrontation imminent. In 1595, a Polish army headed by Jan Zamoyski, the Polish hetman and chancellor, entered Moldavia with the aim to install on its throne a pro-Polish candidate, Ieremia Movilă. From another direction, Moldavia was entered by an Ottoman-Crimean army headed by Khan Ghazi II Giray, Qalga Feth Giray, and Ahmed Bey, the Ottoman governor (*sancakbeyi*) of Bender and would-be governor-general (*beylerbeyi*) of Moldavia. In October 1595, when a military confrontation seemed unavoidable, a compromise was reached at Țuțora (Pol. Cecora) on the Prut river. Movilă was confirmed on the Moldavian throne, but his status of an Ottoman vassal was to remain unalterable. The Porte apparently tried to ease its relations with Poland in view of its pending confrontation with the Habsburgs.<sup>333</sup>

<sup>332</sup> Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 60–61; Bronisław Kocowski, *Wyprawa Tatarów na Węgry przez Polskę w 1594 r.* (Lublin, 1948); on the Crimean participation in the long Habsburg-Ottoman war, cf. Mária Ivanics, *A Krími Kánság a tizenöt éves háborúban (1593–1606)* (Budapest, 1994).

<sup>333</sup> Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 126–127 and 298–302 (Documents 25–26). The instrument of peace, dated 12/22 October 1595 (the first date according to the Old Style) and composed in two versions: a broken Serbian and a Polish one, was corroborated from the Muslim side by Ghazi Giray, Feth Giray, and Ahmed Bey. The fact that the khan and the qalga corroborated the instrument on behalf of the Ottoman sultan convinced the present author to regard it as a Polish-Ottoman, and not Polish-Crimean treaty (on this issue, see also Part II). The pacification at Țuțora has been studied by Kortepeter, who explains the conciliatory policy of Ghazi II Giray towards Poland by earlier Ottoman refusal to secure the Moldavian throne for the khan's brother. At first, the Porte openly ignored the khan's wish by appointing Djafer Pasha, the former governor of Shirvan, to the governorship of Mol-



The reconciliation of 1595 was confirmed by a formal *‘ahdname*, issued by the new Ottoman sultan, Mehmed III,<sup>334</sup> in November 1597. Due to some Polish reservations in regard to its contents, an “amended” version was issued in August 1598. This second version provided that “if an imperial [i.e., Ottoman] campaign is ordered in any direction, while the Tatar khan with the Tatar army must set out and head [in this direction], they should not enter Poland but they should pass through another suitable territory, and they should not annoy Poland.” Moreover, in the hope to gain Sigismund’s support against Vienna, the Porte tempted the Polish king with the prospect of conquering Kassa, Huszt, and Munkács—three northern Hungarian fortresses held by the Habsburgs.<sup>335</sup>

In parallel with the Polish-Ottoman rapprochement, negotiations also took place between Cracow and Baghchasaray. Already in November 1595, straight from the military camp at Țuțora, a Crimean envoy, Djan Ahmed Chelebi, arrived at Cracow in order to collect the promised gifts. While the delivery of gifts was postponed until the return of the Polish embassy from Istanbul, in 1596 Ghazi II Giray was deposed in favor of his brother and qalga, Feth Giray, who gained the Porte’s favor due to his deeds in the Hungarian campaign. Early in 1597, Ghazi II Giray regained the throne and executed his brother, promptly sending again Djan Ahmed to Poland in order to resume the

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davia in May 1595. He was soon replaced by another candidate, Ibrahim Bey, the former *sandjakbey* of Vize. Finally, in order to appease the khan, the Porte resolved to appoint Ahmed Bey, the *sandjakbey* of Bender, who was a son of the khan’s sister. Nonetheless, the Girays’ dream to exert direct control over Moldavia remained unfulfilled. Unable to secure their exclusive rule over Moldavia, they apparently preferred a joint Ottoman-Crimean or even Ottoman-Crimean-Polish protectorate to an exclusive Ottoman suzerainty; cf. Kortepeter, *Ottoman Imperialism*, pp. 142–146. The information regarding the relation between Ghazi II Giray and Ahmed Bey (referred to as *sororis filius chani*) origins from a contemporary chronicle by Reinhold Heidenstein; see *idem*, *Vitae Joannis Zamoyscii*, in: *Collectanea vitam resque gestas Joannis Zamoyscii magni cancellarii et summi ducis Reipublicae Polonae*. Edited by A. Działyński (Poznań, 1861), p. 121. On the successive appointments of Djafer Pasha and Ibrahim Bey to the governorship of Moldavia, see Mihai Maxim, “*Voyvodalik ou beğlerbeğilik? La politique ottomane envers les principautés roumaines (novembre 1594—février 1596) à la lumière des nouveaux documents turcs*,” in: *idem*, *Romano-Ottomanica. Essays and Documents from the Turkish Archives* (Istanbul, 2001): 163–172, esp. pp. 168–172.

<sup>334</sup> Murad III died in January 1595; his death was ominous for his protégé, Ghazi Giray, who was to suffer a temporary deposition the following year.

<sup>335</sup> Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 127 and 303–323 (for the two new clauses, see pp. 321 and 323). Today Košice is located in Slovakia, and Xust and Mukačeve in Ukrainian Transcarpathia.

negotiations. The Tatar envoy was detained over one year but finally, on 21 April 1598, Sigismund III issued an instrument of peace, to be sent to the khan through a royal envoy, Nikodem Kossakowski.<sup>336</sup>

The royal document referred to the preliminary agreement reached at Țuțora between Ghazi II Giray and Jan Zamoyski, and contained clauses regarding: mutual friendship, military alliance against Muscovy and other common enemies, remission of past transgressions, freedom of trade, and confirmation of Ieremia Movilă on the Moldavian throne. The royal customary gifts were to be transported each year to Akkerman. A highly contradictory clause asserted the Polish right to the access to the Black Sea and simultaneously required that Tatar troops should not pass through Poland while heading for military campaigns against other states. Having in mind that Tatar auxiliaries regularly participated in Ottoman campaigns in Hungary, it was obvious that they could not omit the Polish territory if it really extended to the Black Sea! Nevertheless, this clause was to reappear in the Polish-Crimean treaties until 1624. In fact, Poland-Lithuania had tacitly resigned from the access to the Black Sea already by 1542, but it was officially confirmed only by the Polish-Ottoman demarcation of 1633.<sup>337</sup>

Although the royal instrument invoked the tradition of friendship dating back to the times of Mengli Giray and Sigismund I, in a separate instruction Kossakowski was specifically ordered not to accept the customary clause contained in the ancient treaties, by which the khans “granted” Kiev and other lands to Lithuania, because the Tatars “could not donate a thing that had never belonged to them.”<sup>338</sup> The envoy

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<sup>336</sup> In fact, the envoy was provided with two versions of the royal instrument. In the second one, the king unwillingly conceded to the khan's previous request and engaged to restrain the Cossacks, but Kossakowski was instructed not to display it unless in the utmost necessity. The royal chancery hoped that the khan would accept the first version, in which the Cossack issue was not mentioned. Today only the text of the first version, which was actually used by Kossakowski, is extant. On the Polish-Crimean diplomatic relations in the years 1595–1599, see Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 66–90; *idem*, “Poselstwo na Krym Nikodema Kossakowskiego. Przyczynek do stosunków polsko-tatarskich w ostatnich latach XVI wieku,” *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 108 (2001), no. 2, pp. 25–42.

<sup>337</sup> See Document 36. On the Black Sea issue, cf. Kołodziejczyk, “Inner Lake or Frontier? The Ottoman Black Sea in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” pp. 129–130.

<sup>338</sup> Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, p. 79. On this issue, cf. notes 143–144 in Part II.

was to secure that the khan's instrument be written word for word in accordance with the royal version.

Due to financial problems, Kossakowski left Poland only in December 1598, but he never reached the court of Ghazi II Giray as the latter participated in the Ottoman campaign in Hungary. The Polish envoy remained in Suceava, the old Moldavian capital, corresponding with the khan and the new qalga, Selamet Giray, and negotiating with their envoys. In result of these negotiations, in the summer of 1599 Ghazi II Giray, still in Hungary, issued a letter of agreement and sent it through his envoy, Djan Temir Agha. The Crimean envoy traveled through Moldavia and, having met Kossakowski in Suceava, continued his trip to Poland. On 8 October 1599, he delivered the khan's document at a solemn audience in Radom. As the khan's instrument differed in some details from the royal one, Djan Temir Agha was made to draw a provisory document in which he engaged that the khan would issue an "amended" version and until that time no raid should occur in the royal lands.<sup>339</sup> In sum, the royal side was satisfied with the result. Kossakowski was finally ordered to release the gifts and returned from Moldavia late in the year 1599.

The charges of the royal chancery, regarding discrepancies between the royal instrument from 1598 and the khan's instrument from 1599, seemed ungrounded.<sup>340</sup> In fact, Ghazi II Giray easily accepted all the proposed conditions. He did not even object to the contradictory clause regarding the Polish territorial claims and the closure of Tatar

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<sup>339</sup> See Document 38. The instrument, preserved in Polish translation, is dated 3 Rebi I 1008 A.H. (*miesiąca po naszej liczbie Rebel Avela die 3 roku 1008*), i.e., 23 September 1599, yet apparently it was issued in October, after or shortly before the audience in Radom, which took place on 8 October; cf. Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, p. 88. Possibly, being far away from the Crimea, the Tatar envoy lost track of time or the error should be attributed to a Polish translator or scribe who confused Rebi I (*Rebi'ü 'l-evvel*) with Rebi II (*Rebi'ü 'l-ahir*).

<sup>340</sup> Unfortunately, a list of discrepancies between the two documents, reportedly prepared by Jan Zamoyski, is not preserved. These charges are upheld by Skorupa, yet, he does not provide convincing evidence; cf. *ibidem*, p. 88. Contrary to Skorupa's assertions, the khan engaged to assist the king against Muscovy and admitted that the royal gifts should be reciprocated by the Crimean friendship and assistance (the provision, regarding the Crimean military assistance as a necessary condition of the delivery of royal gifts, had been often rejected by the khans who regarded the gifts as a form of unconditional tribute). From a contemporary report on the deliberations of the royal councilors, one learns that their most serious concern was the lack of the khan's great seal (*nišan*) on the document; see Bibl. Czart., ms. 97 (*Teki Narusze-wicza*), pp. 917–918; cf. also n. 341 below and n. 270 in Part II.

trails leading to Hungary, promising that “we will not enter his [i.e., Sigismund’s] lands and soils [extending] as far as the Black Sea [...] and if we, along with our troops, are to go to the states of our enemies, we should not pass through the states of the king of Poland.”<sup>341</sup> One gets an impression that the khan did not really care what he promised, being primarily interested in receiving the royal gifts.

Ghazi II Giray did not blindly follow the Ottoman lead in Hungarian campaigns that, apart from spoils, did not bring him political advantages. The mutual Crimean-Ottoman mistrust, so apparent in the campaign of 1569, had not diminished.<sup>342</sup> The khan eagerly acted as a mediator: in 1595 between Istanbul and Cracow, and since 1597 between Istanbul and Vienna, entering secret negotiations with the pro-Habsburg Transylvanian ruler, Sigismund Báthory, and then from 1599 by negotiating directly with Vienna.<sup>343</sup> In the years 1599–1601, all the neighboring powers were alarmed by the rise of Michael the Brave, the Wallachian hospodar, who invaded Transylvania (October 1599) and Moldavia (May 1600), aiming to unite the three principalities under his rule. Ieremia Movilă took refuge in the fortress of Hotin, sending letters to Poland and waiting for a relief. In October 1600, Zamoyski invaded Moldavia, reinstalled Ieremia on its throne, and pursued Michael into Wallachia, enthroning Ieremia’s brother, Simion Movilă, in Bucharest. In August 1601, Michael was murdered upon an

<sup>341</sup> See Document 37. The instrument is preserved only in Polish translation that possibly differed from the Turkish original. The latter was corroborated merely with the khan’s signet seal, because his great seal (*nişan*) was left in the Crimea while the khan was campaigning in Hungary.

<sup>342</sup> For instance, in 1605 Ottoman provincial officials were ordered not to let the Tatar auxiliaries to cross to the southern, “Muslim” side of the Danube; see *Le khanat de Crimée*, p. 143. The order probably resulted from previous experience as in 1598 the Tatars had devastated the Ottoman lands while marching along the southern shore of the Danube; see Kortepeter, *Ottoman Imperialism*, p. 165.

<sup>343</sup> Mária Ivanics [Ivanič], “Posol’stva krymskix tatar pri Venskom dvore v 1598–1682 gg. (iz istorii krymsko-tatarskoj diplomatii XVI–XVII vv.),” in: *Turcica et Ottomanica. Sbornik statej v čest’ 70-letija M. S. Mejera*. Edited by I. Zajcev and S. Oreškova (Moscow, 2006): 226–237, esp. pp. 228–229. On the contacts between Ghazi II Giray and Sigismund Báthory, which resulted in a formal agreement, confirmed by the khan’s instrument of peace (*‘ahdname*) issued in 1598, see *eadem*, “Der Bündnisplan zwischen dem Chan Gazi Giray II. und dem Fürsten Sigismund Báthory aus dem Jahre 1598,” in: *Hungarian-Ottoman Military and Diplomatic Relations in the Age of Süleyman the Magnificent*. Edited by G. Dávid and P. Fodor (Budapest, 1994): 183–198.

instigation of a Habsburg general to a visible relief in Vienna, Warsaw, Istanbul, as well as Baghchasaray.

While the Polish troops reached the Danube, another conflict was pending in the north. Sigismund III, who inherited the throne of Sweden after the death of his father in 1592, was unpopular in his hereditary kingdom due to his ardent Catholicism. In 1599 he was dethroned, but never acknowledged the loss. In order to draw Polish support against his Protestant uncle, Charles of Södermanland (crowned as Charles IX in 1604), in 1600 Sigismund declared the incorporation of Swedish Estonia to Poland-Lithuania, additionally heating the conflict that was to last until 1660. In the face of a war with Sweden, a reconfirmation of peace in the south was indispensable. In April 1601 a royal envoy, Ławryn (Wawrzyniec) Piaseczyński, set out to the Crimea, provided with a new instrument of peace. The document, issued in Warsaw on 20 March 1601, repeated the clauses of the royal instrument from 1598, with a few detectable variations:

- 1) the king no longer promised to deny refuge to the khan's enemies, although he still required that the khan deny refuge to the enemies of Ieremia Movilă;
- 2) the Polish-Crimean patronage over Moldavia and its ruler was extended towards Ieremia's brother, Simion, who ruled in Wallachia;
- 3) the document mentioned by name the qalga Selamet Giray, who was to observe the peace along with his older brother, the khan.<sup>344</sup>

The two latter additions proved short-lived as was evidenced by future events: Simion Movilă lost the Wallachian throne in the summer of 1601, to regain it a few months later due to another Polish intervention, and to be finally replaced by Radu Șerban in the summer of 1602; also Selamet Giray did not remain in his post for long.

Piaseczyński was received by Ghazi II Giray on 23 August 1601. In the following days, he negotiated the contents of the future Crimean instrument along with Djan Ahmed Chelebi, the experienced Crimean diplomat and former envoy to Poland, who was appointed to this task by the khan. After the khan's document was issued, on 4 September Piaseczyński was also received by the qalga, Selamet Giray. Yet, on 10 September he recorded in his diary that Selamet escaped from the

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<sup>344</sup> See Document 39.

Crimea to the Ottoman lands, and on 20 September the post of qalga was given to the khan's twelve-year old son, Tokhtamish Giray. Late on the same day, Piaseczyński was given a farewell audience by the khan, and on 4 October he embarked a ship from Kōzlev to Akkerman, accompanied by Djan Ahmed. Curiously enough, though the Polish envoy remained in the Crimea until early October, the Crimean chancery did not try to amend the khan's instrument and replace the name of Selamet by that of Tokhtamish. After both envoys arrived at Vilnius, Djan Ahmed delivered the khan's document at a solemn audience on 27 December 1601.<sup>345</sup>

Piaseczyński could not control the final result of his negotiations since the khan's instrument, entrusted to Djan Ahmed, was unpacked only in Vilnius. After its contents were made known, the Polish envoy as well as the royal chancery were deeply disappointed. The somewhat amusing fact that Poland was not listed among Sigismund's domains could be attributed to a scribal error. Yet, other omissions were not so innocent. While the khan guaranteed security to Moldavia, no mention was made of Wallachia. The document did not contain provisions concerning the royal claim to the Black Sea shores or the effort to ban the Tatars from passing through Poland. In fact, the khan's instrument of 1601 better conformed with the Crimean chancery tradition than the document of 1599, issued in a military camp and simply mirroring the royal instrument. Instead of referring to the agreement of Țuțora, the document of 1601 invoked the memory of the ancient khans: Hadji, Mengli, Mehmed, and Devlet Girays. The khan required that the royal gifts, already amassed in Kamieniec, be immediately released to his envoy, yet in the future the king was to send his gifts not to Kamieniec, but along the ancient route across the steppe, towards the Dnieper crossing. The remaining clauses referred to customary matters such as mutual military assistance, restraining Cossack and Tatar raids, and security of trade.<sup>346</sup>

<sup>345</sup> On Piaseczyński's three embassies to the Tatars in the years 1601–1603, see a lengthy article, based on the envoy's diary that contains his correspondence and related documents, by Kazimierz Pułaski, "Trzy poselstwa Piaseczyńskiego do Kazi Gireja, hana Tatarów perekopskich (1601–1603). Szkic historyczny," *Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki* 39 (1911): 135–145, 244–256, 358–366, 467–480, 553–566, 645–660, 756–768, 845–864, 945–960; the manuscript diary, entitled "Księga poselstwa Ławryna Piaseczyńskiego," is extant in Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, ms. III. 3086. On these embassies, see also Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 96–117.

<sup>346</sup> See Document 40. For Piaseczyński's critique of the khan's instrument, cf. Pułaski, "Trzy poselstwa Piaseczyńskiego," pp. 554–555.

As the royal court refused to accept the khan's instrument, Piaseczyński was sent anew in order to procure a "better" document. He was to return the khan's document and exchange it for a new, amended version. The latter was to be based on the Polish instrument of 1601, whose Arabic-script translation was also given to the envoy.<sup>347</sup> On 3 March 1602, Piaseczyński set out from Vilnius, again accompanied by Djan Ahmed. The Tatars were infuriated by the Polish reluctance to conclude a final peace, and especially by the delayed delivery of the royal gifts, still detained in Kamieniec. Piaseczyński's reception in the Crimea in June 1602 was very cold, not devoid of open threats. Ghazi II Giray refused to issue a new instrument, and especially to accept the Polish claim regarding the Black Sea border. He only agreed to prolong a temporary peace and Piaseczyński was sent back to Poland. After he returned to Cracow in August 1602, the royal court resolved not to risk an open break with the Crimea and consented to release the gifts. In October 1602, Piaseczyński once more departed to the khan. Since the latter was campaigning in Hungary, the envoy did not reach him and traveled only as far as Jassy. There, in January 1603 he finally released the gifts to the Tatar envoy, Ali Mirza, and in February returned to Poland.

Late in the year 1603, a new tension occurred between Istanbul and Baghchasaray after the khan deserted the Ottoman campaign in Hungary. Ghazi II Giray secretly notified the Polish court through his special envoy, Djan Anton Spinola, of his intention to ally with Poland, and confirmed his intentions by a proposal to send his son as a hostage. While Zamoyski and other royal councilors cautiously advised to procrastinate with a definite answer, the Ottoman-Crimean tension relaxed and the issue became stale.<sup>348</sup>

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<sup>347</sup> According to Piaseczyński's relation, at the audience in Közlev on 30 June 1602, he returned to Ghazi II Giray the latter's original document from 1601 and delivered an Arabic-script translation of the royal instrument from 1601 (*i podałem mu kopię tego listu [...] po arabsku teraz przełożoną, co sam czytał*), so that the khan could compare both texts and issue his instrument in accordance with the royal one; see Pułaski, "Trzy poselstwa Piaseczyńskiego," pp. 758–759. Skorupa maintains that in 1602 Piaseczyński was given a new royal instrument, although identical in contents with the one from 1601 and therefore not entered in the envoy's diary and not preserved; cf. *idem*, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, p. 109.

<sup>348</sup> Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 121–123; on Djan Anton or Gianantonio Spinola, a diplomat of Italian origin in the Crimean service, see Document 45, n. 8.

In November 1604, a new great Crimean embassy, headed by Sefer Ghazi Bey,<sup>349</sup> arrived at Cracow. The envoy brought a new instrument of peace, issued by Ghazi II Giray. The document openly referred to Piaseczyński's embassy and the khan's previous instrument from 1601. Though the omission of Poland among Sigismund's domains, which had infuriated the royal side in 1601, was corrected, and the document was updated by replacing the name of Selamet Giray with the name of the new qalga, Tokhtamish Giray, its political contents remained unchanged, to the dismay of the royal court. The khan guaranteed security to Moldavia, but no mention was made of Wallachia. The Polish claims to the access to the Black Sea were ignored. Although the khan promised his military assistance against royal enemies, in return he expected an extra reward apart from the usual gifts. The latter were to be transported at the royal cost along the ancient road to the Crimean side of the Dnieper, and not to Kamieniec. The khan also repeated his rather unrealistic demand that the king should remove the Cossacks from the Dnieper.<sup>350</sup>

Like in 1601, the document was not accepted, although the Crimean envoy was assured that the king was still willing to conclude an agreement. Sigismund also promised to send the annual gifts as soon as his conditions were fulfilled. After Sefer Ghazi left Cracow on 7 January 1605, a new Polish embassy was prepared, to be headed by a royal secretary, Florian Oleszko.<sup>351</sup> According to the royal instruction, dated 6 May 1605, Oleszko was to require that the khan's instrument be written "word for word" in accordance with the royal one. The Polish Black Sea claims were to be recognized as it had already been done in Ghazi II Giray's instrument from 1599. Any reference to the Ottoman Porte was to be ejected since the agreement was negotiated with the khan and not with the sultan. The king and the khan were to politically cooperate in both Moldavia and Wallachia. The khan was to resign from the royal gifts due for previous years and not to demand any extra payment for his military assistance. Finally, the Cossacks were not to be mentioned in the treaty, since they did not obey the king and committed as much damage in Poland as in the Crimea. In addition,

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<sup>349</sup> On Sefer Ghazi Bey, see Document 41, n. 5. His father, Dervish Bey, was the leader of the Külük clan and probably the envoy to Poland in 1552 (then referred to as Dervish Mehmed Mirza); cf. Document 41, n. 2.

<sup>350</sup> See Document 41; on its contents, cf. Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 126–127.

<sup>351</sup> On Florian Oleszko, see Document 42, n. 7.



Ghazi Giray was asked to protect the Carmelite friars, probably sent earlier from Poland to look after the Catholic captives. After successful negotiations, the khan was to receive the royal gifts, amassed in Kamieniec.<sup>352</sup>

Oleszko was provided with a new royal instrument, almost identical in contents with the previous instruments of 1598 and 1601. It commenced with a long narration referring to the unsuccessful missions of Djan Ahmed Chelebi (1597), Nikodem Kossakowski (1598), Djan Temir Agha (1599), Ławryn Piaseczyński (1601), and Sefer Ghazi Bey (1604), who had all failed to reach a final agreement. Apart from listing the name of the new qalga, Tokhtamış Giray, the instrument differed from the previous one by a more vaguely formulated clause regarding the mutual protection over Wallachia. The change was easily explainable: after the Polish protégé, Simion Movilă, lost the throne of Wallachia in 1602, the Polish court was less concerned about the safety of its new ruler, Radu Șerban (r. 1602–1611), although it did not entirely resign from the idea of a Polish-Ottoman condominium in Moldavia as well as Wallachia. The royal side also insisted on transporting the gifts for the khan only as far as Kamieniec, and not by the ancient, dangerous road through the steppe to the Dnieper crossing at Tavan', which was obviously more costly.<sup>353</sup>

Finally, a minor but perhaps significant change was detectable in the clause regarding the alliance against Muscovy. While the document of 1601 referred to "the ancient kings of Poland and the grand dukes of Lithuania," in 1605 the grand dukes of Lithuania were no more recalled. Already in 1598, the royal chancery instructed Kossakowski that under no circumstances was he to accept the humiliating clause granting Kiev and other lands to Lithuania, as this clause originated from the Crimean treaties with Lithuania, but not with Poland, and after the Polish-Lithuanian Union of Lublin (1569) it lost any relevance.<sup>354</sup> Admittedly, the omission of Lithuania could be accidental, but it more probably reflected a conscious effort to efface any trace of the former Tatar hegemony in Eastern Europe.

Several reasons postponed Oleszko's departure, to mention only usual financial problems and the death of Hetman Zamoyski on 3 June

<sup>352</sup> Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 127–130; cf. Bibl. Czart., ms. 1640, pp. 841–844.

<sup>353</sup> See Document 42.

<sup>354</sup> See Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, p. 79. On this issue, cf. notes 143–144 in Part II.

1605. In August, Ghazi II Giray, disillusioned with the prolonged negotiations and encouraged by the death of the famous military commander, led a massive raid against the Polish southeastern provinces. Oleszko, who by that time did not even reach the Polish border, was ordered to return to Cracow.<sup>355</sup>

In the years 1606–1607, Sigismund III confirmed the peace with the new Ottoman sultan, Ahmed I (r. 1603–1617). Though the Habsburg-Ottoman war was over, the Porte was already engaged in a new campaign against the Safavids, therefore it needed a peace in the north. A Polish complaint against the khan caused an Ottoman diplomatic intervention in Baghchasaray. Ghazi II Giray bitterly reminded Sigismund that “up to this time the Ottoman [sultan] has not interfered between us,” but he complied with the sultan’s wish and returned to negotiations. In the spring of 1607, Oleszko again set out to the Crimea and returned through Moldavia in the fall of the same year, accompanied by a Crimean envoy, Ahatey Mirza, who carried the khan’s instrument of peace.<sup>356</sup>

The khan’s document, dated 24 July 1607 (29 Rebi I 1016 A.H.), is today preserved only in Latin translation by Grzegorz Kochański, a royal chancery translator. Yet, the khan’s *intitulatio* as well as the oath formula are correctly rendered. In its form, the document reflected the Muslim chancery tradition, but in content it closely followed the political clauses of the royal instrument of 1605. At last, the royal chancery obtained what it wanted. After a long narration, recalling the agreement of Țuțora and the unsuccessful missions of Djan Ahmed Chelebi, Nikodem Kossakowski, Djan Temir Agha, and Sefer Ghazi Bey,<sup>357</sup> the khan referred to his consent to grant a solemn document requested by Oleszko. The instrument, issued in the name of Ghazi II Giray, the qalga Tokhtamish Giray, and the nureddin Sefer Giray, guaranteed peace to Poland-Lithuania, Moldavia, as well as Wallachia, military assistance against Muscovy, remission of past transgressions, and security of trade. Like in the times of Mengli Giray, the khan and his family members were allowed to come as guests, allies, or refugees to Poland-Lithuania. The khan was also entitled to the customary royal gifts, to be sent each year by St. Demetrius’ Day (i.e., 5 November).

<sup>355</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 131–136.

<sup>356</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 139–146.

<sup>357</sup> The missions of Piaseczyński and Djan Ahmed Chelebi (1601) are not mentioned. The latter was not mentioned in the royal instrument either.

Even the controversial clause, regarding the Polish territorial claims reaching the Black Sea, was entered in the khan's instrument.<sup>358</sup>

After Oleszko's return, the long awaited royal gifts, divided into several installments, were released to the Crimean envoys between October 1607 and February 1608. On 15 February 1608, the king sent his courier, Florian Zbrożek, notifying the khan of his acceptance of the new treaty.<sup>359</sup> Probably at the same time, Ghazi II Giray died after almost twenty years of reign.<sup>360</sup>

### *The violent period 1608–1623*

After the death of Ghazi II Giray, his son and qalga, Tokhtamish Giray, ascended the Crimean throne, but the Porte resolved to support his uncle, the former qalga Selamet Giray. Although Tokhtamish duly abdicated, he was killed in a skirmish with Selamet's qalga, Mehmed Giray (the latter soon quarreled with the khan and was replaced by Djanibek Giray). The accession of Selamet Giray was followed by two Tatar raids of Poland-Lithuania in the summer and fall of 1608. Only in the following year the new khan released Zbrożek, who had been sent to his predecessor, and sent his own courier, Muzaffer Agha, with a formal notification of his accession followed by a request to send him customary gifts. The Crimean courier was received in Vilnius in July 1609. The royal side promised to send the gifts on the condition that the khan issued an instrument of peace identical with the one of Ghazi II Giray. On his way back, Muzaffer Agha was accompanied by Florian Zbrożek, again sent to the Crimea.

<sup>358</sup> [...] *in locis provinciisque illorum ad Mare usque Nigrum in pascuis pecoribus damnum nullum faciemus*; see Document 43. This clause had already been entered in Ghazi II Giray's instrument from 1599 (Document 37), but disappeared from his successive documents of 1601 and 1604.

<sup>359</sup> Admittedly, some minor matters still needed to be settled. For instance, the king continued to insist that the gifts should be delivered in Kamieniec and not on the Dnieper crossing; see Sigismund's letter to Ghazi II Giray, dated 15 February, preserved in a copy in: Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie, ms. 51 [*Liber legationum*], pp. 197–199. On Florian Zbrożek and his several missions to the Crimea, see Document 44, n. 8.

<sup>360</sup> Skorupa convincingly argues that the death of Ghazi II Giray probably occurred in February 1608; see *idem*, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 145–147. The date and circumstances of the khan's death are also discussed in Kortepeter, *Ottoman Imperialism*, pp. 230 and 234 (n. 14).

In December 1609, Zbrożek was received in Baghchasaray and sent back along with a great Crimean embassy. It was headed by Sefer Ghazi Bey, who had already been in Poland in 1604. The Crimean envoys brought a solemn instrument of peace, issued by Selamet Giray. They were received by Sigismund III in April 1610, in a military camp near Smolensk.<sup>361</sup>

In his document, dated 20 December 1609 (old or new style), Selamet Giray referred to the earlier mission of Muzaffer Agha and reiterated his wish to live in brotherly friendship with the king, just as his brother, Ghazi Giray, had done, or “even more” as he recalled the oath that he and Alp Giray had sworn in 1581, when they had been captured in Poland.<sup>362</sup> The document was issued on behalf of the khan and his two nephews, who were simultaneously his adopted sons, the qalga Djanibek Giray and the nureddin Devlet Giray.<sup>363</sup> It contained usual clauses regarding the military assistance against Muscovy, the security of trade, and the protection of the current Moldavian ruler, the Polish protégé Constantin Movilă. Wallachia was not included, although the document admitted that “the kings of Poland used to appoint hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia.” Unlike the document of 1607, where the touchy issue of Cossack raids was not even mentioned, the instrument of 1609 stipulated that a future peace depended on their effective suppressing by the royal side. In return, the clause regarding the Polish territorial claims to the Black Sea shore was missing altogether.<sup>364</sup>

As the khan’s instrument differed from the “ideal” one of 1607, Sigismund III did not accept it and refused to send gifts. Nevertheless, the Tatar envoy received 1,000 florins on account of the future

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<sup>361</sup> Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 148–158. A semi-private Polish support, given in 1604 to False Dimitrij, evolved by 1610 into a full-scale intervention in Muscovy and the candidacy of King Sigismund’s son, Vladislaus, for the tsar’s throne. The conflict culminated in the siege and conquest of Smolensk (1610–1611) and the garrisoning of Polish troops in Moscow (1610–1612).

<sup>362</sup> Cf. n. 314 above. Already in 1601, when he held the post of the qalga and received a Polish envoy in the Crimea, Selamet Giray assured that he did not forget the promise that he had given along with his brother, Alp Giray, and the beneficence that they had experienced in Poland from the side of King Stephan; see Pułaski, “Trzy poselstwa Piaseczyńskiego,” p. 365.

<sup>363</sup> Djanibek Giray (the future khan) and Devlet Giray (his future qalga) were the sons of Selamet’s older brother, Mübarek Giray, whose widow remarried twice, first to Feth Giray, and then to Selamet Giray.

<sup>364</sup> See Document 44; on its dating, cf. 478 in Part II.

gifts that were to be delivered immediately after the khan issued an amended version of his document. In order to secure this, Zbrożek was once more sent to the Crimea along with Sefer Ghazi. Yet, Selamet Giray died shortly afterwards and the peacemaking procedure had to begin anew.<sup>365</sup>

After Selamet's death, his nephew and adopted son, Djanibek Giray, ascended the throne in June 1610. His rule was challenged by Mehmed and Shahin Girays, whose father, Sa'adet Giray, was Mehmed II Giray's son and nureddin, who had lost the struggle for the throne in 1584 and died in exile in Muscovy. The older of the two brothers, Mehmed Giray, had been the first qalga of Selamet Giray, responsible for killing Tokhtamish Giray in 1608 (see above), but he had then quarrelled with the khan and went into exile. In 1610, the confrontation was won by Djanibek Giray, but the two brothers did not resign from the struggle and were to repeatedly frustrate Djanibek's reign in the following years.

The Crimean domestic chaos encouraged Tatar raids against Muscovy and Poland-Lithuania, unrestrained by the khan's authority. Nevertheless, in January 1611 Djanibek issued a letter of agreement and sent it to Sigismund III through an experienced envoy, Djan Anton Spinola.<sup>366</sup> In his document, the khan expressed his dismay that although eight months had already passed since his accession, no royal gifts had reached his capital. As an inducement he added that in return for the gifts Tatar troops could be used in the current royal campaign against Muscovy. Djanibek's instrument, though referred to as a letter of agreement and containing the khan's engagement to keep peace, was much shorter than the analogous documents sent previously by Ghazi II and Selamet Girays.<sup>367</sup>

The second decade of the 17th century brought a radical deterioration of the Polish-Ottoman relations that had a direct impact on the Polish-Crimean ones. There were at least three reasons of the rising tensions, related to Moldavia, the Cossacks, and the Habsburgs. After the Ottoman-Habsburg war had been terminated by the Treaty of Zsitvatorok (1606), the Porte strove to regain its full influence in the Danubian principalities. In 1611, the Ottoman protégé Radu Mihnea

<sup>365</sup> Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 158–161.

<sup>366</sup> Cf. n. 348 above.

<sup>367</sup> See Document 45.

replaced on the Wallachian throne the more independently minded Radu Șerban. In the same year, the Polish client, Constantin Movilă (Jeremia's son), lost the Moldavian throne in favor of an Ottoman candidate, Stefan Tomșa II. This meant a radical end of the Polish influence in both principalities. As by that time the Movilăs had entered kinship relations with several Polish magnate families, two semiprivate Polish interventions occurred in Moldavia in 1612 and 1615–1616, aiming to restore the Movilăs in power, but ending with fiascos. In the same period, the activity of Ukrainian Cossacks, remaining at least in theory Polish subjects, reached its apex. By 1616, the Cossacks had raided and pillaged not only the Crimea, but also the Black Sea shores in the Ottoman Balkans (Varna) and Asia Minor (Sinop), reaching as far as the Bosphorus.<sup>368</sup> The third factor that infuriated Istanbul was the Polish-Habsburg rapprochement. Sigismund III Vasa, once elected as an anti-Habsburg candidate, soon dismayed many of his supporters, both foreign and domestic. Fascinated by the splendor of the House of Austria and influenced by the spirit of Counter-Reformation, he drew inspiration from the Habsburg policy in both the internal and external domain. In his domestic policy, he supported re-Catholisation and strove to liberate himself from parliamentary bonds. In foreign policy, his gradual rapprochement with Vienna was to result in straining his relations with Istanbul. In 1613, a secret clause was entered into the Polish-Habsburg treaty, providing mutual assistance in quelling rebellions and permitting to recruit mercenaries in each other's domains. As a result, Polish mercenaries were soon to fight on the Habsburg side against the Transylvanian prince and Ottoman protégé, Gábor Bethlen (r. 1613–1629).

The years 1611–1616 parallelly brought rising tensions between Cracow and Baghchasaray. Despite his overture in 1611, Djanibek Giray waited in vain for the royal gifts. During the Polish intervention in Moldavia in 1612, the khan entered Poland but resigned from a full-scale campaign. In 1614, he sent yet another embassy demanding the royal gifts. In response, Florian Oleszko was to depart to the Crimea but his mission was first delayed and then canceled after a large Tatar

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<sup>368</sup> See the most recent and authoritative study by Victor Ostapchuk about the impact of these raids on the Ottoman policy, economy, and everyday life: *idem*, "The Human Landscape of the Ottoman Black Sea in the Face of the Cossack Naval Raids," *Oriente Moderno XX* (LXXXI) (2001) = *The Ottomans and the Sea*. Edited by K. Fleet (Naples, 2001): 23–95.

raid in September 1615.<sup>369</sup> Another ominous factor was the Crimean rapprochement with Muscovy confirmed by a solemn embassy in 1614.<sup>370</sup> Fortunately for Poland, its war against Muscovy, ruled since 1613 by the new Romanov dynasty, was nearing its end. On the other hand, renewed hostilities with Persia made the Ottomans more ready for a compromise.

In the years 1617–1618, the majority of Ottoman troops, assisted by Khan Djanibek Giray, were fighting in the east against the Safavids. Nevertheless, following the second Polish intervention in Moldavia of 1615–1616, in January 1617 Devlet Giray, Djanibek's brother and qalga, raided the Polish Ukraine. Later the same year, the Ottoman commander in Moldavia, Iskender Pasha, was dispatched towards the Polish border. On 23 September 1617, a last minute reconciliation was reached on the Dniester river between Iskender Pasha and the Polish field hetman, Stanisław Żółkiewski. The Polish side engaged to prevent the Cossack raids and to restrain from meddling in the affairs of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania by supporting anti-Ottoman pretenders to their thrones. In return, the Ottomans promised to stop the Tatar raids into Poland on the condition that the king sent annual gifts to the khan.<sup>371</sup> The agreement was duly confirmed by solemn docu-

<sup>369</sup> Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 172–187.

<sup>370</sup> See Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba Moskovskogo gosudarstva s Tatarami*, pp. 83–84. Novosel'skij's assertion that between 1607–1610 a formal anti-Muscovian alliance existed between Warsaw and Baghcharay is put in question by Skorupa, who stresses the discontinuity of the Crimean politics and invokes several Tatar raids effected against Poland-Lithuania in that period; cf. Novosel'skij, *op. cit.*, pp. 50–55, and Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 159–162. In a recent article, Dmitrij Lisejcev goes even further and argues that if any alliance existed, it was between Moscow and Baghcharay as Crimean troops assisted Tsar Vasilij IV in the years 1609–1610; see *idem*, “Russko-krymskie diplomatičeskie kontakty v načale XVII stoletija,” in: *Tjurkologičeskij Sbornik* (2005) = *Tjurkskie narody Rossii i Velikoj stepi* (Moscow, 2006): 238–282, esp. pp. 269–271 and 278. The truth seems to lie in between. Any Tatar raid against Muscovy could be explained by the formal clause entered repeatedly in the Polish-Crimean treaties since the 16th century and was certainly greeted with enthusiasm in Warsaw. In analogy, Tatar raids against Poland-Lithuania were typically presented by the khans in their correspondence with Moscow as a fulfillment of the mutual alliance against Warsaw. The internal crisis, civil war, and foreign intervention in Muscovy undoubtedly induced the Tatars to send troops, who could side with either party and benefit by raiding Muscovian lands and abducting captives. To be sure, the subsequent conquest of Moscow by the Polish troops in 1610 and a Polish candidacy to the Muscovian throne alarmed the Tatars and resulted in a Crimean-Muscovian rapprochement and the acknowledgement of the new Russian dynasty of Romanovs by Baghcharay.

<sup>371</sup> See Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 129–130, 345–353.

ments, issued by Sultan Osman II and King Sigismund III respectively in May and December 1619.<sup>372</sup>

A Crimean plenipotentiary, Alish Mirza, was present at the Polish-Ottoman negotiations of 1617. He insisted that the Commonwealth should send gifts due for the past seven years (i.e., since the accession of Djanibek Giray), but the Ottoman-Polish treaty only stipulated that the gifts should be sent in the following years.<sup>373</sup> The Tatar disillusionement became apparent in 1618 when, after several minor raids in the spring and summer, in September a large force, led by Qalga Devlet Giray and Kantemir, the powerful Manghit (Mansur) leader, outmaneuvered Żółkiewski and devastated vast tracts of Poland. Nevertheless, early in the year 1619 Djanibek Giray sent an embassy to Poland, announcing his return from the Persian front and demanding the payment of the gifts. Although the Tatar embassy was coldly received, it was decided to send Florian Oleszko once more to the khan. Oleszko was provided with a royal instruction, dated 25 October 1619, and a ready formula of the khan's instrument, to be issued by Djanibek Giray.<sup>374</sup>

The khan's proposed instrument, drawn by the royal chancery, was almost identical in political contents with the royal instruments of 1601 and 1605 as well as Ghazi II Giray's instrument from 1607.<sup>375</sup> It was only updated by entering the new names of the khan and the qalga (i.e., Devlet Giray), and by enlarging King Sigismund's *intitulatio* that now also comprised Černihiv and Smolensk, lost to Muscovy in 1503/1514, recaptured in 1611, and formally restored to Poland-Lithuania by the terms of the Truce of Deulino (Divilino) in January 1619. The proposed document provided for mutual friendship and military assistance against Muscovy, remission of past transgressions, security of trade, and the right of the khan and his family members to come as guests to Poland-Lithuania. The khan was to explicitly resign from the gifts due for the past years, and in the following years the gifts were to be amassed in Kamieniec by 1 November and further transported to Akkerman on the khan's cost. The number of Tatar envoys, who would come to Kamieniec to collect the gifts, was not to exceed twelve, and they were to be provisioned by the Polish *starosta*

<sup>372</sup> See *ibidem*, pp. 354–375.

<sup>373</sup> Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 199–201.

<sup>374</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 205–225.

<sup>375</sup> Cf. Documents 39, 42 and 43.



of Kamieniec<sup>376</sup> no longer than two weeks. On his part, the khan was to declare that the royal envoys would not be detained in the Crimea longer than one month. The proposed document also contained the controversial clause regarding the Polish territorial claims reaching the Black Sea and the khan's obligation not to pass through Poland while heading for military campaigns. Last but not least, the khan was to maintain friendship with the rulers of Moldavia and Wallachia, appointed in mutual consent between the Polish king and the Ottoman sultan. At that moment, both Danubian thrones were again occupied by rulers disposed in a friendly way towards Poland: Gașpar Grațiani (Graziani), a Catholic hospodar of Moldavia (r. 1619–1620), and Gavril Movilă, the hospodar of Wallachia (r. 1618–1620) and the son of its former ruler Simion.<sup>377</sup>

Oleszko did not reach the Crimea until the spring of 1620.<sup>378</sup> By that time, the Polish relations not just with Baghchasaray, but also with Istanbul, deteriorated again due to the repeated Cossack raids and the participation of Polish mercenaries, recruited by the Habsburgs, in the Thirty Years' War. When the Porte resolved to depose Gașpar Grațiani from the Moldavian throne, the hospodar asked for Polish support and Hetman Stanisław Żółkiewski entered Moldavia with his troops in September 1620. After the Polish army encamped at Țuțora (Pol. Cecora), Ottoman and Crimean troops approached, led by Iskender Pasha, Qalga Devlet Giray, and Kantemir. Unlike in 1595, no agreement was reached and Żółkiewski decided to withdraw to Poland. On 7 October 1620, the retreating Polish army was annihilated while its commander was killed. Encouraged by the victory, the Tatars raided Polish provinces while the young Ottoman sultan, Osman II, resolved to lead in person a full-scale invasion of Poland in the following year. New hospodars were appointed to the thrones of Moldavia and Wallachia and called to assist the Ottomans in the Polish campaign. A similar order was delivered to Djanibek Giray.

The Polish-Lithuanian Diet, faced with the largest external threat in the Commonwealth's history, voted new taxes and called for a full-scale military mobilization. As the Polish grand hetman had been killed and his deputy, the field hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski, taken captive, the

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<sup>376</sup> Curiously referred to in the Polish document as the bey of Kamieniec (*bek kamieniecki*).

<sup>377</sup> See Document 46.

<sup>378</sup> Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 228–230.

command was entrusted to the Lithuanian grand hetman, Jan Karol Chodkiewicz. The Polish-Lithuanian regular troops were assisted by Ukrainian Cossacks commanded by Petro Konaševyč-Sahajdačnyj. In September 1621, the Commonwealth's troops successfully resisted Ottoman-Tatar assaults in a fortified camp constructed near Hotin. Even the death of Chodkiewicz did not break the defence. Finally, an agreement was reached on 9 October and provisional instruments in Polish and Ottoman-Turkish were exchanged between the two sides, to be later confirmed by solemn documents issued by the king and the sultan.

According to the agreement of 1621, Cossack raids into the Black Sea area as well as the incursions by Tatars and Moldavians into the Commonwealth were to be stopped. Poland was to cease interfering in Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, and Hungary. Polish relations with the Crimean khans and Moldavian hospodars were to remain friendly as stipulated by the previous treaties, with a specific provision that the khans should receive annual royal gifts, to be delivered in the Moldavian capital of Jassy. Finally, the two sides were to appoint commissioners to undertake a demarcation of the common borders. Some differences between the two versions of the agreement, composed in Polish and Ottoman-Turkish, led to future misunderstandings. For instance, in the Polish version the annual gifts for the khan were referred to as *żołd* ("soldier's pay"), while in the Ottoman as *vergü* ("gift" or "tax"). Moreover, the Ottoman instrument provided that a fitting *pişkeş* ("gift" or "tribute") should be sent to the sultan as well, while in the Polish version this provision is missing! No wonder that the results of the Hotin campaign were differently presented in the two countries, and are sometimes differently presented even today.<sup>379</sup>

The agreement, negotiated in Hotin, was confirmed in the years 1623–1624 by the exchange of solemn instruments between Istanbul and Warsaw.<sup>380</sup> Although the Polish reconciliation with the sultan should have automatically resulted in the one with the khan, the

<sup>379</sup> See Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 131–132, 376–387; cf. *idem*, "Tratatul de la Hotin—un exemplu de diplomatie premodernă," *Revistă de Istorie a Moldovei* (2004), 1 (57), pp. 20–25 and 74–78 (Polish version entitled: "Traktat chocimski jako przykład dyplomacji wczesnonowożytnej").

<sup>380</sup> After Osman II was deposed and murdered in 1622, he was replaced by his mentally unfit uncle, Mustafa. Mustafa issued his *'ahdname* in February 1623, but was in turn replaced by Murad IV, who issued a new *'ahdname* in October 1623. The peace-making procedure was completed with a royal instrument, issued by Sigismund III

matter proved more complicated. Djanibek Giray participated in the siege of Hotin, but a Polish proposal to invite him to the negotiations was rejected by the Ottomans, who maintained that the Tatars should simply obey the Porte. Such a stand certainly did not please the khan, whose relations with Sultan Osman II constantly deteriorated.<sup>381</sup> To make things more complicated, Kantemir, the khan's unruly subject who had distinguished himself in the campaign of Țuțora, was in 1621 rewarded by Osman II with the post of the Ottoman governor of Očakiv. In the following years, Kantemir was to build a semi-independent base of power, drawing its strength from the Nogay tribes dwelling in Budjak, whose obedience to either the khan or the sultan was highly questionable.<sup>382</sup>

In April 1622, even before the Polish embassy left for Istanbul, the royal chancery prepared a mission to the Crimea, performed by Krzysztof Krauzowski. The Polish envoy was accompanied by Djan Anton Spinola, who had come to Poland in 1620 and had been detained during the war. Like Oleszko in 1619, Krauzowski was provided with a ready formula of the khan's instrument, to be issued by Djanibek Giray.<sup>383</sup>

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in April 1624; cf. Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 133–135, 388–426.

<sup>381</sup> Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 241–242; the Tatars did not participate in the siege of Hotin very actively, though they effectively cut off the Polish lines of communication and greatly devastated Poland's southeastern provinces.

<sup>382</sup> On Kantemir, cf. Mihnea Berindei, "La Porte Ottomane face aux Cosaques Zaporogues, 1600–1637," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 1 (1977): 273–307, esp. pp. 291–293. The Ottoman province of Očakiv (Tur. Özü) was created in the late 16th century in order to defend the western and northwestern Black Sea shores against the Cossacks. The province was alternatively named after Silistra, since its governor often resided in this Danubian fortress.

<sup>383</sup> Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 227 and 244–251. Skorupa convincingly argues that, contrary to its heading (probably entered later), the document extant in three Polish copies is merely a formula of the khan's proposed instrument, drawn by the royal chancery, and not the khan's actual document. This conclusion is fully confirmed by the document's form and wording which closely resemble the royal chancery formula drawn in 1619. On the other hand, Skorupa's assertion that Krauzowski was given a royal instrument of peace, whose copy is not preserved (*ibidem*, p. 246), seems unbased. Krauzowski's instruction does not mention such a document although it even refers to a copy of the Treaty of Hotin (*egzemplar pakt pod Chocimiem z cesarzem tureckim zawartych*) that the envoy took along to the Crimea in order to refute possible Tatar claims regarding the amount of the gifts. The envoy apparently brought to the khan only an ordinary royal letter, whose copy is preserved among the embassy papers; for the royal instruction to Krauzowski recorded along with Sigismund's letter to the khan, dated 30 April 1622, see Bibl. Kór., ms. 326, pp. 997–1003, and Biblioteka PAN w Krakowie, ms. 1051, fol. 457a–459b.

Apart from the changed name of the envoy, entered in the *narratio*, the formula taken by Krauzowski to Baghchasaray was identical with the one taken by Oleszko, as if nothing had happened between 1619 and 1622. It contained the notorious clause regarding the Polish territorial claims reaching the Black Sea, even though a Polish-Ottoman demarcation had been already decided in Hotin and it was unlikely that the Porte would acknowledge the Polish pretensions. Moreover, the formula again provided that the royal gifts were to be delivered in Kamieniec,<sup>384</sup> even though it had been agreed in Hotin that the delivery should take place in Jassy. Finally, the clauses regarding the rulers of Moldavia and Wallachia, reportedly placed on their thrones upon the wish of the Polish king, were completely anachronous after 1620, when the Porte had removed Polish protégés from both Danubian principalities.<sup>385</sup>

Given his strained relations with the Porte and the unattractiveness of the Polish peace offer, no wonder that Djanibek Giray did not hasten to issue an instrument of peace, either in the form suggested by the Polish side, or any other. In May 1623, while Krauzowski was still in the Crimea, the khan was deposed by the Porte and exiled to Rhodes.

*The period of Crimean civil wars and the rise and fall  
of Kantemir (1623–1637)*

In June 1623, the new khan Mehmed III Giray arrived from Istanbul to the Crimea. He was soon joined by his eccentric brother, Shahin Giray, who had spent previous years in Iran, in the service of Shah Abbas the Great, the archenemy of the Ottomans. Mehmed III Giray was known for his ambitious and uneasy character. In 1608, appointed the qalga of Selamet Giray, he helped him to secure the throne by killing

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<sup>384</sup> The only minor variation was that in 1619 the khan was to send his envoys “on the 1st day of October” (*na dzień pierwszego octobra posłów swoich...posyłać mam*) so that they could collect the gifts in Kamieniec on 1 November, while the formula of 1622 merely provided that the delivery of the gifts should take place on 1 November in Kamieniec.

<sup>385</sup> See Document 47; in 1622, Moldavia was ruled by Stefan Tomşa II (r. 1611–1615 and 1621–1623) and Wallachia by Radu Mihnea (r. 1601–1602, 1611–1616, and 1620–1623, also in Moldavia in the years 1616–1619 and 1623–1626). Both hospodars had been appointed by the Porte without consulting the Polish king, in fact against the latter’s will.

his rival Tokhtamish (see above), but soon after quarrelled with the khan and went into exile. In 1610, he competed for the throne with Djanibek Giray, but the latter was effectively supported by the Porte.<sup>386</sup> In 1623, Mehmed Giray managed to obtain the support of the Ottoman grand vizier, Mere Hüseyin Pasha, and assumed the throne. The decision was yet reversed, and in 1624 the Porte sent again Djanibek to the Crimea with the assistance of the Ottoman fleet and troops. To Istanbul's surprise, the brothers Mehmed and Shahin Girays refused to obey, defeated the Ottomans and conquered Caffa, forcing the sultan's unlucky protégé to return to Istanbul. The Porte then surrendered and Mehmed III Giray was reaffirmed on the throne, although the humiliation was not forgotten.<sup>387</sup>

Using sometimes cruel methods in quelling dissent within the Giray family as well as among the Crimean aristocracy, the brothers also faced domestic opposition. Moreover, many a Crimean Sunni regarded Shahin Giray, who had long served the Shiite shah of Iran, as an heretic. Facing a virtual boycott from the side of the remaining Giray princes, Mehmed III Giray promoted to the post of nureddin an illegitimate son of Feth Giray nicknamed Choban Mustafa ("Mustafa the shepherd") and simultaneously gave him a new name: Devlet Giray.<sup>388</sup>

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<sup>386</sup> A crucial role in supporting Djanibek against Mehmed and Shahin Girays was played in 1610 by the Ottoman governor of Caffa, Rizvan Pasha. A local narrative of the Crimean civil wars of 1610, 1623–1624, and 1628 can be found in the chronicle authored by Rizvan's son, Abdullah; see Zajączkowski (ed.), *La chronique des Steppes Kiptchak* Tevârih-i Dešt-i Qipçaq *du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, pp. 41–64 and 85–94. Interestingly the author, though praising his father's role, knew to appreciate the dignity and virility of the two brothers, who were able to defy the Ottoman suzerainty over the Khanate; cf. *Le khanat de Crimée*, pp. 336–338.

<sup>387</sup> Smirnov, *Krymskoe xanstvo*, pp. 480–494.

<sup>388</sup> The Islamic law did not differentiate between the sons born from wives and slave women, yet, Feth Giray himself denounced the fatherhood of Mustafa. Mustafa was reportedly born from a Polish captive, identified by some authors as Maria Potocka, a legendary wife of a Crimean khan, in whose memory the famous Fountain of Tears (Rus. *Fontan slez*) in the Palace of Baghchasaray was reportedly constructed; cf. *Le khanat de Crimée*, p. 337. In fact, the legend is dubious as it was virtually impossible for a woman from the magnate Potocki family to be captured and remain unransomed; besides, the Fountain of Tears was constructed in 1764. For the legend of Maria Potocka, alternatively identified with Dilara Bikech, the favorite concubine of Khan Qırım Giray (r. 1758–1764 and 1768–1769), cf. Kerstin Jobst, *Die Perle des Imperiums. Der russische Krim-Diskurs im Zarenreich* (Constance, 2007), 255–282. Choban Mustafa, renamed as Devlet Giray, was the protoplast of a side branch of the Giray dynasty named Choban Girays; his son, Adil Giray, reigned in the years 1666–

The external and domestic threat forced Mehmed III Giray to secure peace in the north. Although he did not issue a formal instrument, for which Krauzowski had been sent to his predecessor, the new khan received the Polish envoy and assured him of his peaceful intentions provided that the king sent the customary gifts, restrained the Cossacks and did not support the Habsburgs against Gábor Bethlen. In September 1623, Krauzowski was sent back to Poland along with Ghazi Murad, the khan's great envoy who carried a letter addressed to the king.<sup>389</sup> In December 1623, Mehmed III Giray also received Russian envoys, who brought him annual gifts from the tsar, and swore to keep peace with Moscow.<sup>390</sup>

In August 1624, when the Crimean-Ottoman conflict was at its peak, Qalga Shahin Giray sent a letter to Sigismund III, offering Tatar assistance if the king wished to conquer Akkerman, Bender, and Kilia from the Ottomans. The qalga also transmitted a letter of his former patron, Shah Abbas, who had recently captured Ottoman Baghdad, proposing

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1671. On the Choban Girays, cf. Halim Giray Sultan, *Gülbün-i hânân yahut Qırım tarihi = Rozovyy kust xanov, ili Istoriya Kryma*. Edited by A. Hilmi and K. Hüseyinov (Simferopol, 2004), pp. 55–57.

<sup>389</sup> Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 252–253. Interestingly, Krauzowski was convinced that the khan's letter entrusted to Ghazi Murad (referred to as *Kaze Murat* in the Polish sources) was a sworn instrument of peace (Pol. *poprzysiężone pakta*); such erroneous information is contained in the letter of Hetman Koniecpolski sent to King Sigismund III from Podolia on 23 October 1623, after the hetman had met Krauzowski who was on his way back to Warsaw; see *Żródła do dziejów polskich*, vol. 1. Edited by M. Grabowski and A. Przeździecki (Wilno [Vilnius], 1843), pp. 107–108; this erroneous information is repeated in *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 2: 1572–1795. Edited by Z. Wójcik (Warsaw, 1982), p. 85 (the name of the khan's envoy is misspelled as Kara Murad). For the khan's letter, issued near Akkerman "in September 1032 A.H." (i.e., September 1623 A.D.) and preserved in a Polish translation, see Bibl. Kór., ms. 326, pp. 1051–1053 (another copy with an erroneous date: 27 November, is preserved in Bibl. Kór., ms. 333, fol. 191a–193a). In fact, it is an ordinary letter in which the khan explicitly engages that he will send a formal instrument of peace only after he receives the royal gifts. The fact that Krauzowski returned without a letter of agreement (*poseł bez listu przymiernego przyjechał*) is confirmed in the royal instruction to Suliman Rubaj, a royal messenger dispatched to the Crimea after Krauzowski's return; see Bibl. Kór., ms. 326, pp. 1057–1058 (dated 12 December 1623). On his part, Sigismund III made clear in his letter to Mehmed III Giray that the customary gifts would not be released unless the khan first issued a letter of agreement required by the royal side (*póki listu przymiernego [...] nie pošlesz*); see the royal letter to the khan, entrusted to Suliman Rubaj and dated 12 December 1623, in Bibl. Kór., ms. 326, pp. 1059–1060.

<sup>390</sup> Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba Moskovskogo gosudarstva s Tatarami*, p. 111. The audience took place on 29 November according to the Old Style.

a Persian-Crimean-Polish alliance against the Porte. In return, Shahin Giray asked the king to send him gunpowder and munitions and dispatch the Cossacks in order to assist him and his brother. The offer was so unusual that it caused mixed feelings in the royal entourage and the royal answer was extremely cautious.<sup>391</sup> While Shahin Giray still tried to win support among some Polish magnates, he did not waste time and also directly contacted the Cossacks, without asking for a royal permission. On 3 January 1625, the qalga met the Cossack elders at Karayteben, an elevated spot surrounded by the Dnieper and Kins'ki vody rivers, which served as a traditional place of border exchange. The negotiations resulted in a Tatar-Cossack alliance, confirmed with the exchanging of formal instruments between the two sides.<sup>392</sup> For Shahin Giray, the alliance was directed against the Porte, but the Cossacks hoped that it might be equally useful against Poland.

<sup>391</sup> Baranowski, *Polska a Tatarszczyzna w latach 1624–1629*, pp. 29–31. The shah's undated letter, composed in Ottoman Turkish and brought to Warsaw in October 1624, has been preserved in the original; see AGAD, AKW, Dział perski, no. 4; its contemporary Polish translation, apparently made by Samuel Otwinowski, is published (with a wrong date: 1628) in Stanisław Przylęcki (ed.), *Ukraińskie sprawy. Przyczynek do dziejów polskich, tatarskich i tureckich XVII wieku* (Lwów [L'viv], 1842), pp. 19–20. Interestingly, Abbas referred to Shahin Giray as the Crimean khan "who sits on the throne of the Genghis-khanid sultanate" (*calis-i evreng-i saltanat-i Çingiz-hani* [...] *Şahin Gërey Han*). The letter did not openly refer to an anti-Ottoman alliance but only invoked the unity and friendship between the shah, the khan, and the king, titled as "one who commands over the Polish kingdoms" (*ferman-fermay-i memalik-i Leh*). More delicate details were discussed orally with the Persian envoy.

<sup>392</sup> Baranowski, *Polska a Tatarszczyzna w latach 1624–1629*, pp. 36–38; cf. *idem*, "Geneza sojuszu kozacko-tatarskiego z 1648 r.," *Przegląd Historyczny* 37 (1948): 276–287, esp. pp. 278–279. The qalga's instrument, dated 24 December 1624 (according to the Old Style, since in his later correspondence Shahin Giray mentioned the date 23 Rebi I 1034 A.H., i.e., 3 January 1625), has been preserved in a Polish copy. It is published in Stepan Golubev, *Kievskij mitropolit Petr Mogila i ego spodvižniki (Opyt istoričeskago izsledovanija)*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1883), appendix: *Materialy dlja istorii zapadno-russkoj cerkvi*, p. 276. We do not know who corroborated the unpreserved Cossack document, perhaps Kalenyk Andrijevych, the Cossack hetman between October 1624 and January 1625; cf. Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj, *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy*, vol. 7 (Kiev, 1995), p. 527, also the English translation by B. Strumiński: Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. 7: *The Cossack Age to 1625* (Edmonton-Toronto, 1999), p. 412. On Karayteben, referred to as a market place which served for trade between the Cossacks and the Tatars (*uroczyisko Karajteben, które jest forum, albo rynek, gdzie Tatarowie z Kozaki wszelkie targi swe miewają*), see Bartosz Paprocki, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*. Edited by K. Turowski (Cracow, 1858), p. 159 [originally published in 1584]; for the etymology of its Turkic name, see Jurij Kravčenko, "Tjurkizmy v hidronimnij systemi kolyšn'oho Velykoho Luhu Zaporoz'koho—II," *Visnyk Zaporiz'koho nacional'noho universytetu* (2009), *Filolohični nauky*, no. 1, pp. 91–95, esp. p. 93.

To their disappointment, when in the following months they rebelled against Poland, the awaited Tatar relief did not come.

It is hard to resolve whether Mehmed III Giray authorized the adventurous plans of his younger brother. Yet, their close cooperation lasting till the final catastrophe suggests a tacit division of roles: while the qalga negotiated an anti-Ottoman “crusade,” the khan led a more prudent policy, aiming at a reconciliation with Istanbul and stabilizing his rule. In September 1624, the Porte confirmed Mehmed III Giray on the Crimean throne.<sup>393</sup> Almost simultaneously, the khan issued a formal instrument of peace (*şartname*) for Muscovy.<sup>394</sup> Having received the sultan’s pardon, in late October 1624 he also issued an instrument of peace for Poland that he had earlier refused to Krauzowski. In the changed political situation, when the Tatars no longer needed Polish assistance against Istanbul but, on the contrary, they could count on Ottoman protection, no wonder that the document largely differed from the formula proposed by the royal side in 1622.

Paradoxically, the document issued by Mehmed III Giray, who had successfully defied the sultan’s will, bore distinct traces of the Ottomanization of the Crimean chancery, especially apparent in the invocation, full of Koranic citations, and in the closing formula. For the first time, the name of the Polish king was followed by an Islamic *salutatio*, alluding to the hope for his conversion to Islam. These external changes apparently reflected the conscious policy of centralization, applied by Mehmed III Giray.<sup>395</sup> The khan’s instrument contained a

<sup>393</sup> This fact was reported in September by a Muscovian envoy sent to the Crimea; see Novosel’skij, *Bor’ba Moskovskogo gosudarstva s Tatarami*, p. 115; the khan’s official confirmation was also reported on 24 October in the correspondence of the Venetian bailo from Istanbul; see Berindei, “La Porte Ottomane face aux Cosaques Zaporogues,” p. 295.

<sup>394</sup> The document, dated 11 September 1624 (28 Zilkade 1033 A.H.), is preserved in a contemporary copy in Arabic script; see RGADA, f. 123 “Snošenija Rossii s Krymom,” opis’ [hereafter, op.] 2, no. 36; published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva izvlečennija, po rasporyženiju Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk, iz Moskovskago Glavnogo Arxiva Ministerstva Inostrannyx Del*. Edited by V. Vel’jaminov-Zernov and X. Faizxanov [Fejzخانov] (St. Petersburg, 1864), pp. 20–24. Its Russian translation is published under a wrong date (8/18 September 1623) in *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*.... Edited by F. Laškov, pp. 47–50.

<sup>395</sup> On Mehmed III Giray’s domestic policy that followed the Ottoman example, cf. Hajvoronskij, *Poveliteli dvux materikov*, vol. 2, pp. 86–88. A characteristic scene was recorded by the Muscovian envoys, received by Mehmed III Giray in December 1623; when the khan was requested that also his courtiers should take an oath to keep peace, he retorted that they were not his companions, as had been the case in the



lengthy narration, referring to the ancient friendship dating back to the times of the khans Mengli Giray and Devlet Giray, and the kings Sigismund I and Sigismund Augustus. In this idealized past, “the poor and [other] subjects of the two states lived in peace,” and the “Tatars and Nogays, who dwelled on both sides of the Dnieper, drinking the Dnieper water and grazing, obeyed the imperial [i.e., Ottoman-DK] authority and remained in peace. Also the Dnieper Cossacks remained in peace, always respecting the illustrious [Ottoman-DK] emperor, without any violation of his will.” According to Mehmed III Giray, the reason of this pristine state was the timely delivery of the annual royal gifts, “partly in cash, partly in beautiful textiles, partly in other customary goods,” which the kings used to send “as far as to the Crimea, to our prosperous seat in Baghchararay, having loaded them on their own carts.” The khan stressed that the gifts used to be sent not merely to the khans, but also to the qalga and nureddin,<sup>396</sup> other Giray princes, the court officials and aghas, as well as the leading beys and *mirzas*, who represented the Crimean nobility. The document also referred to the Treaty of Țuțora (1595) and the peace between Sigismund III and Ghazi II Giray, admitting that in their times the royal gifts were transported only as far as Očakiv.<sup>397</sup>

Expressing his wish to revive the ancient friendship, Mehmed III Giray simultaneously acted as a self-appointed representative of the Ottoman sultan. The first provision of his document required that the royal subjects stop raiding not merely the Crimea, but also Moldavia, Wallachia, and the sultan’s lands around Akkerman, Bender, and Kilia, ironically the same three Ottoman castles that had been offered by Shahin Giray to Poland only two months earlier. The second provision regarded the timely delivery of the royal gifts, destined not only for the khan, but also for Qalga Shahin Giray, the nureddin and other Giray princes, twelve leading aghas, and the leading beys and *mirzas*. In return, the khan offered mutual military assistance, security of trade, and engaged that his subjects, both Tatar and Nogay, would not raid the royal lands or march through them while heading

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times of Djanibek Giray, but merely his slaves (Rus. *xolopy*); see Novosel’skij, *Bor’ba Moskovskogo gosudarstva s Tatarami*, p. 111.

<sup>396</sup> In fact, the post of nureddin did not exist before 1581.

<sup>397</sup> In fact, they were transported to Kamieniec along the road that led further to Jassy and Akkerman.

for campaigns. Curiously, the document also contained the controversial clause regarding the Polish territorial pretensions, which the royal chancery had tried to enter so many times in the Polish-Crimean treaty documents. It is hard to guess what Mehmed III Giray had in mind when he engaged that “no [Tatar] troops and no Tatar should be seen [in the lands extending] as far as the Black Sea.”<sup>398</sup> To be sure, his resignation from the pasturages extending to the north of the Black Sea was highly unlikely.

Mehmed III Giray’s embassy to Poland was entrusted to the experienced Tatar envoy, Sefer Ghazi Bey, who delivered the khan’s *ahd-name* at the royal court probably in January 1625. For the envoy, who participated in numerous embassies to Poland since 1604, it turned out to be his last mission. On his return way, he embarked a ship in Akkerman and died in an accident on the Black Sea.<sup>399</sup>

Although the pacification process was frustrated by the death of the Tatar envoy, mutual relations were at least temporarily appeased. In 1625, Mehmed III Giray received the royal gifts, though not in the expected quantity. The khan ignored his brother’s treaty with the Cossacks and allowed the royal troops to quell the Cossack rebellion.<sup>400</sup> Even before the Poles pacified the Ukraine, Shahin Giray defeated Kantemir near Akkerman and forced him to settle down in

<sup>398</sup> In the Polish contemporary translation: *aż do samego Czarnego Morza wojska żadne, ani Tatarzyn widzian nie będąc*.

<sup>399</sup> For the khan’s *ahdname*, whose contents are summarized above, see Document 48. The document, preserved in Polish translation, is dated “in the middle” (apparently in the second decade) of Muharrem 1034 A.H., i.e., between 24 October and 2 November 1624. It also contains a confusing dating according to the Christian era, namely “in the middle of the month of January of the year 1625,” which perhaps refers to the month when the document was delivered at the royal court. The identity of the Crimean envoy is not disclosed in the document, but we learn it from a later letter by Mehmed III Giray, sent to Sigismund III in 1627 (dated in the month of Safer 1037 A.H., i.e., 12 October–9 November 1627 A.D.), where the khan recalled that he had sent “Sefer Ghazi Bey along with our exalted letter of agreement, written in golden script” (*Sefer Gazy Bega z listem naszym wielmożnym przymiernym, złotem pismem pisanym, posłaliśmy byli*) and deplored that upon reaching Akkerman on his return way, the envoy had embarked a ship in desire to reach the khan’s court as soon as possible and had perished at sea (*do Białogrodu przyszedzsy, a stamtąd w okręt wsiadzsy, u nas prędko być chcąc, na morzu zginął*); the letter, preserved in a seventeenth-century Polish translation, apparently made by Samuel Otwinowski, is published in Stanisław Przyłęcki (ed.), *Ukraińskie sprawy*, pp. 14–17, see esp. p. 15; on Sefer Ghazi’s earlier career, see Document 41, n. 5.

<sup>400</sup> Baranowski, *Polska a Tatarszczyzna w latach 1624–1629*, pp. 41–42.

the Crimea.<sup>401</sup> This was a great relief for the royal side as between May 1622 and June 1624 Kantemir, the then Ottoman governor of Očakiv and simultaneously the Nogay leader, had led four raids to Poland, disregarding both the khan's authority and the peace between the sultan and the king.<sup>402</sup> Although the Polish court sent frequent complaints to Istanbul, Kantemir could be secure of his position as he remained the Porte's major defence against the Cossacks and a counterweight to the rebellious Crimean khan.

The Polish-Crimean peace did not last long. In February 1626, Mehmed III Giray led a devastating raid into Poland. Polish protests in Istanbul were met with a retort that the king had failed to stop the Cossack raids and the gifts for the khan were inadequate, as they covered only a half-year period instead of the expected three years. The Giray brothers apparently still played their "good and bad cop" roles: Shahin Giray did not participate in the raid and even warned—rather belatedly—Hetman Koniecpolski of the danger.<sup>403</sup>

In the following months, the situation turned still worse as Hetman Koniecpolski along with the main Polish troops, which usually garrisoned in the southeastern provinces, headed to Royal Prussia in order to fight against the Swedes. The clash between Catholic Poland and Protestant Sweden could be justly regarded yet another theatre of the Thirty Years' War, so the members of the anti-Habsburg coalition, especially the Dutch diplomacy in Istanbul, tried to direct the Porte against Poland. The plan was supported by the Orthodox patriarch Kyrillos Lukaris, who envisioned a broad Orthodox-Protestant coalition against the Catholics. Moreover, King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden encouraged the Crimean khan to raid Poland, offering to triple the gifts if he assumed the Polish throne. This broader political background combined with prospects of spoils created a favorable atmosphere for a new raid against Poland both in the courts of Istanbul and Baghchasaray and among the rank and file Tatars and Nogays. In October 1626, a large army, recruited in the Crimea and Budjak,

<sup>401</sup> Berindei, "La Porte Ottomane face aux Cosaques Zaporogues," p. 294.

<sup>402</sup> Podhorodecki, *Chanał krymski i jego stosunki z Polską*, pp. 141–147. The last raid was successfully repulsed in the battle at Martyniv. Kantemir "merited" a separate mention in the royal instrument confirming the Polish-Ottoman peace, issued in Warsaw on 1 April 1624. The document stipulated that neither the khan, nor the qalga, Kantemir Mirza, other mirzas, and [rank and file] Tatars should cause harm to the royal domains; see Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, p. 421.

<sup>403</sup> Baranowski, *Polska a Tatarszczyzna w latach 1624–1629*, pp. 43–51.

entered the Polish Ukraine. Thanks to a skillful command, the Polish troops assisted by the Cossacks defeated the invaders at Bila Cerkva.<sup>404</sup>

After the fateful year of 1626, remembered for two Tatar invasions of Poland, the Polish-Crimean relations calmed down due to the revival of tensions between Kantemir and the Giray brothers. In 1627, the Nogay leader managed to return to Budjak and revived hostilities with the Girays. In 1628, Shahin Giray invaded Budjak and Dobrudja, but was defeated by Kantemir at Babadagh. In his turn, Kantemir chased Shahin Giray into the Crimea and besieged the two brothers in Bagh-chasaray. In a seemingly hopeless situation, the khan and the qalga were rescued by the Cossacks, who answered Shahin's call and arrived led by their hetman, Myxajlo Dorošenko.<sup>405</sup> Now, it was Kantemir who had to seek for refuge in Ottoman Caffa, besieged by the Tatar-Cossack coalition. The conflict was resolved by the Porte that grabbed the opportunity to dispose of the troublesome brothers. In June 1628, a large Ottoman fleet anchored in Caffa, carrying on board Djanibek Giray, who was appointed the khan for the third time. After a panic broke out in the Tatar camp, Mehmed and Shahin Girays along with their Cossack patrons retreated to the Polish Ukraine. Having sworn loyalty to Poland-Lithuania, the brothers, assisted by the Cossacks, returned in November, and then again in June 1629, trying in vain to recapture the Crimean throne. During the second failed expedition, Mehmed III Giray was killed by disappointed Cossacks while Shahin Giray escaped to Iran.<sup>406</sup>

Although Sigismund III did not officially support the rebellious brothers in their struggle against the Porte, he tacitly accepted the Cossack interventions in the Crimea as a mode to divert the Tatar energy from raiding Poland. It certainly did not dispose the Porte, and particularly Djanibek Giray and Kantemir, well towards the northern neighbor. In August 1629, a Tatar-Nogay army, commanded by Qalga Devlet Giray and Kantemir, entered Poland. The raid was only partly successful as many invaders were killed or captured at the Dniester crossing of Ustja (Pol. Uście) in October 1629. Among the captives

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<sup>404</sup> Baranowski, *Polska a Tatarszczyzna w latach 1624–1629*, pp. 57–65; on the political plans of Lukaris, cf. Gunnar Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat und europäische Politik 1620–1638* (Wiesbaden, 1968), p. 30.

<sup>405</sup> Dorošenko was killed shortly after his arrival to the Crimea.

<sup>406</sup> Berindei, "La Porte Ottomane face aux Cosaques Zaporogues," pp. 298–300; Baranowski, *Polska a Tatarszczyzna w latach 1624–1629*, pp. 76–99.

was the future khan, Islam Giray, who was to remain in Poland until 1634, imprisoned in the castle of Rawa.<sup>407</sup>

In order to appease the situation and prevent a possible Ottoman invasion, a Polish envoy, Aleksander Piaseczyński, was sent to Istanbul in 1630. During his negotiations with the *kaymakam* Redjeb Pasha, who substituted for the grand vizier then campaigning in Persia, Piaseczyński was assured that the *ahdname*, issued by Sultan Murad IV in 1623, was still in force. Nevertheless, the *kaymakam* and the envoy wrote down five articles, whose observance was deemed necessary to preserve the peace. The first, most important article provided that the king should remove the Cossacks from the Dnieper islands and stop their raids. In return, the Porte offered to resettle the Nogays from Budjak to the Crimea. Moreover, the king was to send annual gifts to the khan, and in return the khan was to restrain his subjects from raiding Poland. At the same time, negotiations were led on the spot between Murtaza Pasha, the Ottoman governor of Očakiv, and Hetman Koniecpolski. The latter had recently returned from the Swedish campaign and pacified yet another Cossack rebellion in June 1630, hence the Polish authorities could claim that they cooperated with the Porte in restraining the Cossacks. On 9 September 1630, an agreement was reached, consisting of seven articles. Articles 1 and 3 regarded the removal of the Cossacks from the Dnieper islands; article 4—disbanding of troops gathered by both sides; article 5—the obligation of the Polish king to send the customary gifts to the Crimean khan; article 6—the Ottoman engagement to prevent the Tatars from raiding Poland; article 7—the Ottoman engagement to prohibit Kantemir, his brother Aytemir, his cousin Oraq Mirza, and other Nogays dwelling in Budjak to raid Poland; finally, article 2 provided that the Crimean prince, Islam Giray, should be set free from the Polish captivity.<sup>408</sup>

<sup>407</sup> Baranowski, *Polska a Tatarszczyzna w latach 1624–1629*, pp. 105–115; Przemysław Gawron, “Najazd tatarski na przełomie września i października 1629 roku. Kartka z dziejów współpracy polsko-kozackiej,” in: *350-lecie unii hadziackiej (1658–2008)*. Edited by T. Chynczewska-Hennel and M. Nagielski (Warsaw, 2008): 459–486, esp. p. 481. On the date of Islam Giray’s delivery, see Baranowski, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie w latach 1632–1648*, p. 87.

<sup>408</sup> See Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 135–136 and 427–431. My mistaken interpretation of article 2, regarding Islam Giray, was corrected by Mária Ivanics in her review of my book published in *AO ASH* 54 (2001): 367–372, esp. pp. 369–370. Indeed, the fragment *içeriide esir olan Tatarlardan sultanı asitaneye göndürmek* should be translated: “to send the Tatar prince [sultan] imprisoned within

It was easier to write down the above promises than to fulfill them. Even the seemingly uncomplicated task of setting free Islam Giray was not executed. Nevertheless, the following years witnessed a Polish-Crimean rapprochement. After the calm year of 1631, when the Tatars participated in the Ottoman campaign against Persia, in April 1632 Sigismund III died after over forty-four years of reign. The election of his older son, Vladislaus, went uncontested, but the procedures took some time while there was a risk that the neighbors would benefit from the interregnum and invade Poland-Lithuania. A confrontation was most likely from the side of Sweden and Muscovy as Vladislaus did not resign from his claims to the thrones in Stockholm and Moscow, assuming the titles of the hereditary king of Sweden and of the tsar of Russia, elected during the Time of Troubles in 1610. The Swedish troops were busy fighting in Germany, but in the fall of 1632, Muscovy invaded Lithuania in the hope of reconquering the lands lost by the terms of the truce of 1619. It was clear that the result of the confrontation could be influenced by the stand(s) of Istanbul and Baghchasaray.

Fortunately for Poland-Lithuania, the East European politics of the Muslim courts in the years 1632–1634 was quasi-schizophrenic. In the late spring of 1632, Abaza Mehmed Pasha, the famous former rebel against the Porte, replaced Murtaza Pasha as the governor of Očakiv. During his first year in post, he duly cooperated with Hetman Koniecpolski and even executed the Polish-Ottoman demarcation, stipulated by the agreements of 1621–1624. Yet, at the same time he tolerated Kantemir's raid into Poland, and in October 1633 he personally crossed the Dniester and attacked the Polish forces, gathered by Koniecpolski near Kamieniec. After an indecisive battle, Abaza returned to Moldavia, to be soon accused by the Porte of insubordination and executed. The question, whether his action was performed with or without the sultan's consent, remains unresolved. It is likely that the Porte, or at least some of its members, tacitly authorized his attack but then, upon seeing his failure and the simultaneous Polish triumph over Muscovy, dissociated themselves from the risky action and disposed of the troublesome pasha.<sup>409</sup>

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[Poland] to the [imperial] threshold" and not "to send the Tatars imprisoned within [Poland] to the sultan's threshold."

<sup>409</sup> Cf. Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 137–138; somewhat amusingly, in a recent article focused on Abaza Mehmed Pasha, Gabriel Piterberg

The inconsistent Ottoman policy towards the Polish-Muscovian conflict was hesitantly followed by Djanibek Giray, who at first seemed to support Warsaw, then promised his assistance to the tsar, and finally reconciled with Poland. Unlike Kantemir and his Budjak Nogays, for whom Muscovy was too distant, the Crimean Tatars could choose between raiding Poland or Muscovy. Besides, though Djanibek owed his throne to Kantemir, he soon found himself in the shoes of his predecessor, growing uneasy with the ambitions of the Nogay leader. In the fall of 1632, long after Sigismund's death but still before Vladislaus' election, the khan issued an instrument of peace and sent to Poland through his envoy, Ibrahim Bey from the prominent Külük clan, whose members had supported the royal interests in Baghchasaray already in the 16th century.<sup>410</sup>

The instrument, referred to as '*ahdname* and simultaneously as *yarlıq*, was addressed to the king of Poland, without mentioning the addressee's name. In the *narratio*, it referred to the earlier correspondence between the Crimean vizier,<sup>411</sup> Mehmed Agha, and Hetman Koniecpolski, and the latter's promise to expel the Cossacks from the Dnieper, send the customary gifts, and maintain friendship with the khan. The Crimean document displayed familiarity with the political system of Poland-Lithuania, as it invoked the authorization, given to Koniecpolski by the king and the Diet (Tat. *sem* < Pol. *sejm*), to lead the negotiations. The khan concluded that "because our agha, Mehmed Agha, trusted your hetman, I accepted the peace [and] sent our Crimean troops, which were to set out in hostility to your country, to the Muscovian dominions [instead]." Thereafter, the instrument reiterated the conditions of peace: the payment of royal gifts due for the past five years, the expulsion of Cossacks from the Dnieper, the release of Islam Giray, and mutual assistance in troops and money against common enemies. Djanibek Giray still feared a possible return of Shahin Giray, so he obliged the Polish side not to give assistance to

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dated his execution to 1632 and thus deprived his protagonist of a chance to play a major role in East European politics, simultaneously narrowing the factographic base of his own study; cf. *idem*, "The Alleged Rebellion of Abaza Mehmed Paşa: Historiography and the Ottoman State in the Seventeenth Century," in: *Mutiny and Rebellion in the Ottoman Empire*. Edited by J. Hathaway (Madison, 2002): 13–24, esp. p. 15.

<sup>410</sup> On Ibrahim and the Külük clan, see Document 49, notes 6–7.

<sup>411</sup> The post of the vizier, also known as the head agha (*baş ağa*) or the khan's agha (*han ağası*), was introduced in the Crimean Khanate by Ghazi II Giray; see Halim Giray Sultan, *Gülbüni-i hânân*, p. 44.

the former qalga and to arrest him if he arrived in the Polish Ukraine. Apart from sending the customary gifts to the khan, the king was expected to send presents to the Giray family members, including the khan's mother and two wives, and to numerous Crimean dignitaries, mentioned by names or functions. The document was strengthened by a solemn oath, taken by Djanibek Giray on behalf of his qalga and nureddin, the leaders of the Shirin, Manghit, Arghin, and Sedjevüt clans, and the remaining nobles, officials, and subjects in the presence of Ibrahim Bey. The envoy was empowered to represent the khan and discuss any remaining matters.<sup>412</sup>

Ibrahim arrived at Cracow on 1 March 1633. King Vladislaus IV warmly received the news of the khan's friendship and encouraged the Tatars to repeat their raid of Muscovy, but the royal treasury was empty so the Crimean embassy was detained. Instead, the king sent his interpreter to appease the khan. In the following months Vladislaus organized a relief of Smolensk, besieged by Muscovian troops, so the next Crimean embassy found him in a military camp near the fortress, in November 1633. The khan impatiently demanded the release of Ibrahim Bey and the immediate payment of the royal gifts. At the same time, Djanibek Giray intensified his contacts with Moscow and in January 1634 even issued an instrument of peace, promising Tsar Michael Romanov military assistance against Vladislaus.<sup>413</sup> The khan's anger was yet soon mitigated by the news of the royal victory at Smolensk. Moreover, in February 1634 Ibrahim Bey was finally sent back to the Crimea along with a Polish envoy, Stefan Narajowski, who carried the royal gifts, though not in the amount expected by the Tatars.<sup>414</sup>

After the execution of Abaza Mehmed Pasha, the Polish-Ottoman relations improved as well. In the spring of 1634, Murtaza Pasha returned from the Persian front and resumed responsibilities on the Polish border as the commander-in-chief of Ottoman troops charged with the specific task to restore the peace. In August 1634, an agreement

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<sup>412</sup> See Document 49; the document was dated in the second decade of Rebi I 1042 A.H., i.e., between 26 September and 5 October 1632.

<sup>413</sup> The *şartname* of Djanibek Giray, issued in the first decade of Redjeb 1043 A.H. (1–10 January 1634), is preserved in RGADA, f. 123, op. 2, no. 41 (due to its bad state of preservation the present author was unable to consult it); it is published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, pp. 100–104; its Russian translation is published in *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*... Edited by F. Laškov, pp. 55–59.

<sup>414</sup> See Baranowski, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie w latach 1632–1648*, pp. 18–20; on Narajowski, cf. Document 50, n. 7.



was negotiated between Murtaza's plenipotentiary, Shahin Agha, and Hetman Koniecpolski, to be confirmed by Murtaza in September. It cleared some misunderstandings that had dated back to the Treaty of Hotin and specified that the Polish king was not obliged to pay tribute to the sultan, although he was expected to send "gifts" to the khan. The Tatars and Nogays were to be removed from Budjak, and no official posts were to be given there to Kantemir, his brother Aytemir, or other Nogay *mirzas*. Both Istanbul and Warsaw were to do their best to prevent the Tatar and Cossack raids, but it was agreed that a minor raid would not be regarded as a cause of war. The Ottoman authorities in Očakiv were ordered not to let the Tatars cross the Dnieper when the latter aimed to raid Poland. The remaining clauses regulated the Polish-Moldavian border conflicts, trade, and diplomatic exchange. In the last days of October, the new Polish-Ottoman peace was confirmed by a solemn *'ahdname*, issued by Sultan Murad IV in Istanbul.<sup>415</sup> A few days later, Djanibek Giray issued in Baghchasaray his own *'ahdname*, confirming the Crimean peace with Poland, and sent it through his envoy, Hasan Mirza.

The khan's instrument, whose *narratio* was mixed with *dispositio*, recalled the initial peace offer by Koniecpolski, the khan's decision to send his previous *'ahdname* through Ibrahim Bey, the accession of Vladislaus to the Polish throne, the embassy of Stefan Narajowski who brought the royal gifts, and the khan's decision to send a new envoy, Hasan Mirza, along with the current instrument. Djanibek stressed again that though the Tatars had initially planned to raid Poland, they had changed their mind persuaded by the Polish hetman and raided Muscovy instead. Invoking a recent firman, ordering reconciliation with Poland, which he obtained from Murad IV, the khan ascribed himself the merit for persuading the Porte to make peace with Poland through his earlier correspondence with the sultan and Murtaza Pasha. The Crimean instrument stipulated that the Tatars would maintain peace provided that the king sent each year the customary gifts to the khan and his officials. The merchants of both countries were to travel safely and no harm was to touch the royal domains. The khan announced that in fulfillment of the previous royal requests Kantemir,

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<sup>415</sup> Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 138–139 and 436–457 (Documents 43–45); the sultan's *'ahdname* was dated in the first decade of Djumada I 1044 A.H., i.e., between 23 October and 1 November 1634.

his brother Aytemir, his cousin Salman-shah, as well as other Nogays and Tatars were ordered to leave Akkerman (i.e., Budjak).<sup>416</sup> Having invoked this compliance with Warsaw's request, Djanibek recalled the earlier Polish promise that if the Nogays and Tatars were removed from Budjak, also the Cossacks would be removed from the Dnieper. The detainment of Narajowski in the Crimea was explained by the khan's desire to first communicate with the Porte and only then send back the royal envoy. Djanibek assured the king that he had never schemed any wrong towards the Polish envoy and he had earlier likewise tolerated the long detainment of Ibrahim Bey in Poland-Lithuania. The khan's last demand was quite unusual as it stipulated that the king should send "gift and treasure" (*pişkeş ve hazine*) to the Ottoman sultan. Shortly before, in the direct Polish-Ottoman negotiations, Koniecpolski managed to persuade Murtaza Pasha that the Polish king had no tributary obligations towards the Porte, thus removing the misunderstanding that had dated back to the Treaty of Hotin. The khan was either unaware of this compromise or pretended to defend the prestige of the Ottoman padishah more persistently than the Ottoman dignitaries had done.<sup>417</sup>

Like usually, the khan's instrument was followed by a letter of his qalga (and the future khan), Mehmed Giray, issued in the latter's residence at Ordu Saray and sent through a separate envoy, Mustafa Mirza.<sup>418</sup> Like the khan, the qalga promised to maintain the peace with Poland. The name of Islam Giray, the qalga's older brother, was no longer mentioned in the correspondence, because the Tatar prince had been finally set free from Polish captivity.

<sup>416</sup> In fact Kantemir, ordered to join the Ottoman campaign against Persia, ignored the sultan's will and remained in Budjak. Other Nogays followed Kantemir's example and refused to settle in the Crimea; see Berindei, "La Porte Ottomane face aux Cosaques Zaporogues," p. 304.

<sup>417</sup> See Document 50; the document was dated in the second decade of Djumada I 1044 A.H., i.e., 2–11 November 1634. On the term *pişkeş* and the issue of tribute paying in the Polish-Ottoman relations, cf. n. 280 above and Document 50, n. 23.

<sup>418</sup> AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 63, t. 24, no. 486; published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, pp. 118–119. Like the khan's instrument, the qalga's letter (referred to as a *yarlıq*) was dated in the second decade of Djumada I 1044 A.H., i.e., 2–11 November 1634. Ordu Saray is identified by Abrahamowicz with Aq Mesdjid Saray or Aq Mesdjid, a town situated near modern Simferopol, serving as the qalga's residence and destroyed by the Russian army in 1736; see Senai, *Historia chana Islam Gereja III*, p. 153, n. 99; cf. Jankowski, *A Historical-Etymological Dictionary*, pp. 184–186.

In the last months of his reign, the aging khan regarded Kantemir as a much greater danger than the distant Safavids, against whom the Tatars had to fight under Ottoman orders. Djanibek even considered to follow the steps of Shahin Giray and invite the Cossacks to jointly attack Kantemir. When invited by Murad IV to march against Persia, he refused giving his age as a pretext and in March 1635 was duly dismissed and exiled to Rhodes.<sup>419</sup>

If the Porte hoped that the new khan, Inayet Giray, a younger brother of Tokhtamish Giray who had remained under its protection since the latter's death (1608), would be more easily manageable, it proved to be wrong. Inayet openly refused to participate in the Persian campaign<sup>420</sup> and endeavored to strengthen his position on the Crimean throne. He appointed his two brothers—Hüsam and Sa'adet Girays, the last remaining sons of Ghazi II Giray—his qalga and nureddin, and in June 1635 sent a new letter of agreement to Vladislaus IV.

Interestingly, Inayet's instrument was much closer in content to Mehmed III Giray's *'ahdname* from 1624 than to Djanibek's instruments from 1632–1634. It began with a reference to the “pristine” times of Mengli and Devlet Girays, when the Polish kings used to send gifts loaded on their own carts as far as Baghchararay, not merely to the khans, but to their relatives and officials as well. After a further reference to the treaty concluded in the times of his father, Ghazi II Giray (i.e., the Treaty of Țuțora), Inayet listed the conditions of peace that were to be observed in the future by King Vladislaus: not invading Moldavia, Wallachia, and the sultan's lands around Akkerman and Kilia; restraining and expulsing the Cossacks from the Dnieper; paying the customary gifts to the khan and his family members, their prominent aghas, and the *qaraçı* beys. Furthermore, the king was asked to issue his letter of agreement and send it through his great envoy along with the gifts. At the end, the khan's instrument contained a warning that was missing in the earlier *'ahdnames*: if the king failed in his obligations, a hundred thousand of Tatars, assisted by another hundred thousand of Nogays, Circassians, Kabardinians, Kumyks, and others, were to raid the royal domains “in summer as well as in winter [...] with fire and sword with the assistance of God and our Prophet, and

<sup>419</sup> Cf. Baranowski, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie w latach 1632–1648*, pp. 38–39; *idem*, “Geneza sojuszu kozacko-tatarskiego z 1648 r.,” pp. 281–282; Berindei, “La Porte Ottomane face aux Cosaques Zaporogues,” p. 304; *Le khanat de Crimée*, p. 336.

<sup>420</sup> This campaign was to result in the temporary Ottoman conquest of Erevan, lost in the following year.

capture the commoners and the noble ones.” “Assuming that each Tatar would take one captive and one head of cattle—continued the khan, adding an interesting arithmetic calculation—, you should consider whether it would not exceed the value of the gifts that you are to send.” Nevertheless, in conclusion Inayet Giray repeated his intention to maintain the peace as an optimal measure.<sup>421</sup>

The aforementioned instrument was brought to Poland by Ghazi Agha, referred to as a great courier. The text of the document reveals that Ghazi Agha was to be followed by the great envoy, Rüstem Agha, but we do not know whether the latter made his way to Poland and whether he was provided with yet another instrument. Like usually, the khan’s instrument was followed by the letters of other Crimean dignitaries.<sup>422</sup> The Tatar embassy was received in Warsaw in October 1635 and sent back to the Crimea, although King Vladislaus refused to appoint a great envoy as it had been requested by the khan.<sup>423</sup>

Later in the year 1635, Inayet Giray began preparing an expedition against Kantemir. Like his predecessors, Shahin and Djanibek Girays, he invited the Cossacks to jointly attack the Nogays. After a year of preparations, in January 1637 the khan invaded Budjak. Seeing his forces outnumbered, Kantemir took refuge in Istanbul, while Oraq Mirza prostrated before the khan and asked for his pardon. The remaining Nogay commanders, including Aytemir and Salman-shah, were defeated in March 1637 and fell prisoner to the khan. Victorious Inayet Giray ordered a resettlement of the whole Budjak horde to the Crimea. While the khan returned home earlier, the qalga and nured-din escorted the Nogays to the Dnieper crossing near Očakiv. There, the Nogays surprised their guards, killed Hüsam and Sa‘adet Girays, and returned to Budjak. Fearing a Crimean revenge, in the summer of 1637 the Nogays approached Hetman Koniecpolski and asked for Polish protection. Oraq Mirza played a crucial role in these negotiations as earlier he had served in the Polish campaign against Muscovy.<sup>424</sup>

<sup>421</sup> See Document 51.

<sup>422</sup> The khan’s instrument is today preserved only in Polish translation; however, the letter of Nureddin Sa‘adet Giray is preserved in original. It was issued in Baghchasaray, dated in the second decade of Muharrem 1045 A.H., just like the khan’s instrument (the latter also contains a more precise date, i.e., 29 June 1635), and sent through a courier named Ghazi Bey; see AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 63, t. 8, no. 466.

<sup>423</sup> Baranowski, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie w latach 1632–1648*, pp. 41–46.

<sup>424</sup> See the letters of Krzysztof Dzierżek (the Polish envoy to the khan), Inayet Giray, Vasile Lupu (the hospodar of Moldavia), Mikołaj Zaćwilichowski (a Polish military commander), and Malinowski (the hetman’s envoy to the Nogays), addressed to

Meanwhile, Inayet Giray made his way to Istanbul in vain effort to explain his invasion of Budjak. In an unprecedented act, Sultan Murad IV ordered to strangle the khan and appointed Bahadır Giray in his place. Inayet's archenemy, Kantemir, did not live much longer as he was also executed by the Porte.<sup>425</sup>

### *The Cossack era 1637–1653*

The new khan, Bahadır Giray, persuaded the Nogays to return under his rule, so by October 1637 they broke their negotiations with Poland. Yet, two years later the khan was to violate his promise and execute the main Nogay leaders, including Oraq Mirza and probably Aytemir and Salman-shah as well. Only Azamet Mirza, Oraq's nephew, escaped the massacre and entered the Polish service.<sup>426</sup>

Bahadır Giray appointed his brothers, Islam Giray (the former prisoner in Poland) and Safa Giray, to the posts of qalga and nured-din. The khan notified of his accession not only Warsaw and Moscow, but also Vienna and Stockholm. In July 1637, Bahadır Giray sent to Poland his envoy, Qutlu-shah Bey, provided with an instrument of agreement. Qutlu-shah was accompanied by another envoy, Hüseyin Chavush, who carried a separate instrument of agreement issued by Qalga Islam Giray. On 24 October, the Crimean envoys were received by Hetman Koniecpolski in Bar, and then proceeded to the royal court in Warsaw. In analogy to Inayet Giray's document from 1635, Bahadır's instrument invoked the ancient friendship dating back to the times of Mengli and Devlet Girays, on one side, and

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Koniecpolski between January and July 1637 and relating the events in Budjak, as well as the letter of the Nogay commanders offering their submission to Poland, delivered to Koniecpolski on 19 August; published in *Korespondencja Stanisława Koniecpolskiego hetmana wielkiego koronnego 1632–1646*. Edited by A. Biedrzycka (Cracow, 2005), pp. 346–352, 369–370, 372–373, 395–397 and 401–402; cf. Baranowski, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie w latach 1632–1648*, pp. 48–55 and 65–75.

<sup>425</sup> Berindei, "La Porte Ottomane face aux Cosaques Zaporogues," pp. 305–306.

<sup>426</sup> On this massacre, see Koniecpolski's letter to Bishop Jakub Zadzik, dated 5 July 1639 and published in *Korespondencja Stanisława Koniecpolskiego*, p. 543. Baranowski erroneously treated this event as if it had occurred already in 1637; cf. *idem*, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie w latach 1632–1648*, pp. 76–79 (curiously, on p. 111 of his book Baranowski refers to Aytemir as still alive in 1639); on Azamet Mirza and his later career in Poland, cf. Miron Costin, *Latopis Ziemi Mołdawskiej i inne utwory historyczne*. Translated and annotated by I. Czamańska (Poznań, 1998), p. 170.

Sigismund Augustus, on the other. It also invoked the reconciliation between Ghazi II Giray and Sigismund III, reached at Țuțora through the mediation of Jan Zamoyski. The khan engaged not to invade the royal lands but in return he expected that the king would restrain his subjects, especially the Cossacks, from attacking Moldavia, Wallachia, Budjak as well as other provinces belonging to the Ottoman sultan or the Crimean khan. The customary royal gifts were to be sent each year to the khan and his retinue members, and the two sides were to provide security for traveling envoys and merchants. The qalga's instrument was worded similarly to the khan's one.<sup>427</sup>

Although Qutlu-shah arrived with a peaceful mission, he was detained almost two years since the royal treasury lacked money for the gifts. Simultaneously, the royal side tried to appease the Tatars by promptly sending back the remaining members of the embassy, including Hüseyin Chavush, who was provided with a royal instrument of agreement (*list przysiężny*) addressed to Qalga Islam Giray. The document, probably issued in late November 1637, expressed royal determination to maintain the peace, though Vladislaus IV openly admitted that he was unable to completely eradicate the Cossacks, as "even though our troops routed them, they would hide in rivers and waters and, having stolen through [into new places], they would [again] commit harm." The king attached some gifts to his letter, but stressed that they were granted out of his free will and not out of duty.<sup>428</sup>

The khan's reaction to the detainment of his envoy in Poland was mitigated by violent events in other areas. In June 1637, shortly after Bahadır's accession, the Don Cossacks conquered the Ottoman castle of Azov (Azaq). It was a heavy blow to the prestige of the Ottoman padi-shah, facilitated by the turmoil in Budjak and the Ottoman engagement in the war against Persia. In 1638, the khan unwillingly participated in the Ottoman expedition that failed to reconquer Azov. In the same

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<sup>427</sup> See Documents 52–53. On the Crimean embassy of 1637, see also *Korespondencja Stanisława Koniecpolskiego*, pp. 43–44 and 423, and Baranowski, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie w latach 1632–1648*, pp. 87–88 and 116 (Baranowski erroneously identifies the qalga's envoy who accompanied Qutlu-shah with Arslan Bey; in fact, Arslan Bey had arrived already in the summer with the notification of Islam Giray's promotion to the post of qalga. Qutlu-shah was accompanied by Hüseyin Chavush, whose name is invoked in the qalga's instrument).

<sup>428</sup> See Document 54; on Qutlu-shah's detainment in Poland, see Document 54, n. 1, and Document 55, n. 8.

year, Nureddin Qırım Giray, who had replaced Safa Giray after the latter's death, was sent to assist the Ottomans in their siege of Baghdad.<sup>429</sup> The Cossacks were well aware that they could not hold Azov for long. Therefore, they offered to submit the conquest to the Russian tsar, their official patron and suzerain. Yet, Moscow was unprepared for a war and assured both Istanbul and Baghchasaray that it had nothing to do with the Cossack action. In fact, in the following years Moscow lavished the Tatars with gifts, brought by numerous embassies, and even obtained a *şartname*, issued by Bahadır Giray in August 1640.<sup>430</sup>

The more effective was the Russian diplomacy, the more likely was a Tatar attack against Poland-Lithuania. In 1637, the Ukrainian Cossacks who had assisted Inayet Giray in his invasion of Budjak returned home with empty hands after Inayet's fall. Their dissatisfaction evolved into an anti-Polish rebellion, joined by Ukrainian peasants and mercilessly pacified by the Polish authorities. Many Cossacks left to the Don and joined their brethren in fighting and raiding their Muslim neighbors. Thus Istanbul and Baghchasaray had a reason to accuse the Polish king that his subjects participated in the Azov adventure.<sup>431</sup> The accusation provided the Tatars with a good excuse if they wished to raid Poland. The khan also resented that his envoy had been detained in Poland. When Qutlu-shah was finally released in 1639 and the khan received the royal gifts, he was in turn upset with their amount, and the royal envoy, Krzysztof Dzierżek, was detained in the Crimea for over one year.<sup>432</sup> During the first two months of 1640, Qalga Islam Giray, who had already known Poland quite well, led a devastating raid into the Polish Ukraine. Koniecpolski tried to pursue the invaders but his troops were too slow.<sup>433</sup>

The issue of the recent Tatar raid was raised by the Polish envoy to Istanbul, sent to the new sultan, Ibrahim. The new Ottoman *'ahdname*, issued in May 1640, repeated the clauses of the former treaties, including the one stipulating that "one should not permit the Polish Cos-

<sup>429</sup> *Le khanat de Crimée*, p. 340.

<sup>430</sup> See Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba Moskovskogo gosudarstva s Tatarami*, pp. 256–293; *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij...* Edited by F. Laškov, pp. 90–94; Baranowski, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie w latach 1632–1648*, pp. 98–99 and 120–122.

<sup>431</sup> On the participation of Ukrainian (i.e., Dnieper) Cossacks in military actions of the Don Cossacks, especially in the conquest of Azov, see Viktor Brexunenکو, *Stosunki ukrajins'koho kozactva z Donom u XVI—seredyni XVII st.* (Kiev, 1998), pp. 211–231.

<sup>432</sup> On Dzierżek's embassy, cf. below and Document 55, notes 10–11.

<sup>433</sup> Baranowski, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie w latach 1632–1648*, pp. 104–113.

sacks to form companionship and bring mutual aid to the Cossacks of Muscovy.” The royal document, issued in September, was even more precise, duly forbidding the royal subjects to join *Cosacis Moschoviticiis e Dona venientibus*.<sup>434</sup>

After the Polish-Ottoman peace had been renewed, the khan had no choice but to join in. In August 1640, Bahadır Giray issued his instrument of agreement and sent to Poland through a great envoy, Quvvat Bey. The document, referred to as *ahdname* and simultaneously as *yarlıq*, contained a long list of accusations. Referring to the recent Polish-Ottoman reconciliation, the khan commented with a grievance: “although his excellency, the [Ottoman] sovereign, is a great padishah, we are great, too; we also used to make peace with you, our brother.” Bahadır Giray complained that his previous envoy, Qutlu-shah Bey, had been detained in Poland for over two years while the khan’s repeated queries about his envoy’s whereabouts had been evasively turned down. “How could such a thing happen in an orderly state, especially to an envoy going with a brotherly purpose?”—asked the khan rhetorically. He hinted sarcastically that only the news of the Ottoman conquest of Baghdad prompted the king to send the gifts to the khan. Still, their amount was disappointing and Bahadır was scandalized by a remark of the royal envoy, Krzysztof Dzierżek, that the gifts had been given out of free will so the Tatars had no title to complain. The khan’s last grievance regarded the Cossacks, who continued to steal Tatar and Nogay cattle and raid the Black Sea shores of Ottoman Rumelia, in spite of repeated royal promises to restrain them.

Nevertheless, the khan reasserted his peaceful intentions, proven by the sharp measures that he had taken to prevent his subjects from raiding Poland: the removal of Tatars and Nogays from the vicinity of Akkerman and Očakiv to the Crimea, as it had been requested by the king. In return, Bahadır expected Vladislaus to restrain the Cossacks, so that they would not bring harm to any Muslim and so that “the people dwelling on the Black Sea shores may live in peace,” and to send each year the “customary gifts” amounting to 30,000 florins—one half in cash and one half in cloth and furs, apart from the smaller presents for the khan and his entourage.<sup>435</sup>

<sup>434</sup> Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 139–141 and 458–475 (Documents 46–47), esp. pp. 466 and 471–472.

<sup>435</sup> See Document 55, dated in Rebi II 1050 A.H., i.e., between 21 July and 18 August 1640; it was probably issued in the third decade of Rebi II like the instrument of nureddin (cf. n. 436 below).



It was the Crimean custom that the khan's instrument of peace was usually accompanied by letters sent by the qalga, nurreddin, other members of the Giray family, including the khan's mother and first wife, as well as the Tatar and Nogay dignitaries. Yet, in 1637 also the qalga issued a separate instrument of peace, and in 1640 a step further was made and both the qalga and the nureddin issued separate instruments, referred to as *'ahdnames* like the khan's instrument. The *'ahdname* of Nureddin Qırım Giray was almost identical in content with the khan's one, also issued in Baghchasaray, apparently on the same date.<sup>436</sup> Interestingly, it contained more Oghuz vocabulary and grammar elements than the khan's instrument.<sup>437</sup> The nureddin referred to his elder brother, the khan, repeating the conditions of the latter's agreement with the king and confirming them in his own name. The only notable difference was that the amount of the royal gifts was not mentioned and Qırım Giray's document had a shorter ending. The nurreddin appointed his own great envoy, Devlet Ghazi, to carry this document to Warsaw and travel along with the khan's great envoy, Quvvat Bey.

Also the qalga, Islam Giray, issued his *'ahdname* in a military camp near Perekop. It was dated a few days later and sent through the qalga's great envoy, Arslan Agha. The instrument was less "Ottomanized" in style than the documents of Bahadır and Qırım Girays, and contained more references to the past. Unlike the instruments of the khan and the nureddin, Islam Giray's document invoked the Genghisid tradition<sup>438</sup> and the ancient friendship between the Crimean and Polish-Lithuanian rulers dating back to the times of Hadji, Mengli, and Sahib Girays as well as Sigismund Augustus. The qalga explained his recent

<sup>436</sup> See Document 56; it was dated more precisely than the khan's instrument, in the third decade of Rebi II 1050 A.H., i.e., between 10 and 18 August 1640.

<sup>437</sup> Cf. the frequency of Kipchak and Oghuz alternatives such as *cibermek/göndürmek*, *taqı/dahi*, and the ablative endings—*din/-den*, on this issue, see also Chapter 1 in Part II; Oghuz elements are commonly regarded as the signs of Ottomanization of the Crimean chancery.

<sup>438</sup> Interestingly, the qalga refers to himself as the commander of the right wing (*oñ qolın*) of the Khanate's troops; in the edition of Vel'jaminov-Zernov and Faizxanov this fragment is mistakenly "corrected" by the addition of a redundant phrase *ve sol qolın* ("and of the left wing"); cf. *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, p. 260. According to the Genghisid tradition, the qalga commanded over the right wing of the troops while the khan was responsible for the whole army, commanding from the center; cf. Senai, *Historia chana Islam Gereja III*, pp. 151–152, n. 93. Hence, in the khan's *intitulatio* both wings should be mentioned, but in the qalga's *intitulatio* only the right wing.

raid of the Ukraine by the continuous Cossack raids of the Crimean as well as Ottoman lands and the inadequate value of the recently brought royal gifts. Like the khan, Islam Giray was scandalized by the remark of the royal envoy that “one should not measure a [freely given] tip.” Nevertheless, if the king restrained the Cossacks and sent proper gifts, the qalga would remit the past wrongs and forbid any future raids. Remarkably, Islam’s instrument contained a clause regarding the security of trade that was missing in the khan’s document, apparently by omission. In conclusion, the qalga encouraged the king to contact him in any matter and offered his mediation between the king and the khan.<sup>439</sup>

The Crimean envoys arrived at Warsaw in November 1640. Bahadır Giray’s request to send him the “customary gifts” amounting to 30,000 florins—in fact twice as much as the previously agreed sum—was received at the royal court with irritation. One positive result triggered by the request was a thorough search for ancient Ottoman and Crimean documents, conducted in the Crown archives in Cracow and Warsaw in order to demonstrate the envoys that the request of their lord was baseless. The task was masterly accomplished by Samuel Otwinowski, the best translator of Oriental languages in the Royal Chancery. In 1642, Otwinowski completed a manuscript, which contained the copies and translations of Ottoman and Crimean documents, dating back as far as the 15th century, and was dedicated to Chancellor Piotr Gembicki. Until that time, the Crimean envoys were detained in Poland.<sup>440</sup>

Bahadır Giray had no time to react to one more detainment of his envoy. In 1641, he participated in yet another failed Ottoman-Crimean siege of Azov. There, he contracted the plague and died in October 1641. In the following year, the Cossacks received an order from Moscow to abandon Azov, so they left the ruined fortress to the Ottomans.

In October 1641, the Porte appointed a new khan, Mehmed IV Giray, Bahadır’s younger brother and the former qalga of Djanibek Giray. In March 1642, Quvvat Bey was sent back to the Crimea along

<sup>439</sup> See Document 57, dated in the first decade of Djumada I 1050 A.H., i.e., between 19 and 28 August 1640.

<sup>440</sup> Baranowski, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie w latach 1632–1648*, pp. 115–118; *Korespondencja Stanisława Koniecpolskiego*, pp. 51–57. Otwinowski’s manuscript is preserved in Wrocław, Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich [hereafter, Bibl. Ossol.], ms. 3555.

with a royal envoy, Jerzy Ilicz, who carried gifts for the new khan in the amount regarded proper by the royal side. Mehmed IV Giray confirmed their receipt in a letter sent to King Vladislaus in November 1642, although he remarked that the gifts were of deficient value.<sup>441</sup> Two months earlier, the khan had also confirmed the peace with Muscovy by issuing an official *şartname*.<sup>442</sup>

Even if the new khan sincerely wished to keep peace, he had limited control over his subjects, who made their living by raiding neighboring lands. In the summer of 1643, a “private” Tatar raid devastated the estates of a Polish magnate, Jeremi Wiśniowiecki,<sup>443</sup> which extended on the eastern side of the Dnieper. Wiśniowiecki chased the invaders and defeated them already in the steppe.<sup>444</sup> Five months later, Tughay Bey, the commander of Perekop from the Arghın clan, led a major raid to the Polish Ukraine, but was defeated by Hetman Koniecpolski at Oxmativ (Pol. Ochmatów) on 30 January 1644.<sup>445</sup>

The news of the victory of Oxmativ, disseminated by numerous pamphlets in Poland and Christian Europe, served as a propagandic tool for those who dreamed of an anti-Crimean, or even anti-Ottoman crusade. In February 1644, the Polish-Lithuanian Senate decided to cease the payment of gifts to the khan.<sup>446</sup>

Neither the Porte nor the Crimean subjects were satisfied with the rule of Mehmed IV Giray. The former expected him to honor the

<sup>441</sup> AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 63, t. 51, no. 518; published in *Materiały dla historii Krymskiego xanstwa*, pp. 285–286; dated in Shaban 1052 A.H., i.e., between 25 October and 22 November 1642; see also the letter of the new qalga, Feth Giray, issued in Aq Mesdjid on 29 Shaban 1052 A.H. (i.e., 22 November 1642) and sent along with the khan’s letter: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 63, t. 50, no. 516; published in *Materiały dla historii Krymskiego xanstwa*, pp. 287–290. Both are referred to as “friendly letters” (*muhabbetnames*); besides, the khan’s letter is much shorter than a typical ‘*ahdname*’; hence, Baranowski’s assumption that both the khan and the qalga sent “letters of agreement” (the Polish term *list przymierny*, used by Baranowski, is equivalent to the Turkish term ‘*ahdname*’) is incorrect; cf. Baranowski, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie w latach 1632–1648*, pp. 118–119 and 123–124.

<sup>442</sup> For the khan’s instrument, dated in September (*sic*) 1052 A.H. and preserved only in Russian translation, see RGADA, f. 123, op. 2, no. 50; published in *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*.... Edited by F. Laškov, pp. 99–102.

<sup>443</sup> By the 17th century, the members of this ancient Ruthenian, Orthodox princely family had become Polonized Roman-Catholics, therefore I use here the Polish form Wiśniowiecki and not the Ruthenian [Ukrainian] one, Vyšnevec’kyj.

<sup>444</sup> Baranowski, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie w latach 1632–1648*, pp. 125–128.

<sup>445</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 131–143; on Tughay Bey, see Senai, *Historia chana Islam Gereja III*, pp. 162–163, n. 169.

<sup>446</sup> Baranowski, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie w latach 1632–1648*, p. 148.

peace with Poland, while the latter to lead successful campaigns that would provide Tatar warriors with spoils. In June 1644, the Porte summoned Islam Giray, the former qalga of Bahadır Giray and once prisoner in Poland, from his exile in Rhodes and appointed to the Crimean throne. He owed his accession to the diplomatic skills of his agha and future vizier, Sefer Ghazi.<sup>447</sup>

Islam III Giray appointed his brother, Qırım Giray,<sup>448</sup> the qalga, and his nephew, Ghazi Giray,<sup>449</sup> the nureddin. In order to gain popularity among his subjects, the new khan had to authorize a raid against either Poland-Lithuania or Muscovy. At first, it seemed more likely that the Tatars would invade Poland after Warsaw had detained a Crimean envoy, Mustafa Bey, who had arrived in the fall of 1644 with the notification of the khan's accession and his proposal to renew the peace.<sup>450</sup> Islam III Giray indeed renewed the peace with Moscow in December 1644 but, after the death of Michael Romanov in July 1645 and the accession of his son, Alexis, the khan was liberated from his oath. Besides, the notorious activity of the Don Cossacks convinced Istanbul to authorize a Tatar raid against Muscovy. In the winter of 1645–1646, Nureddin Ghazi Giray led a large raid to the north. The raid helped to consolidate the Crimean nobility after a domestic conflict, which had almost caused Sefer Ghazi's death and temporarily removed him from power.<sup>451</sup>

Poland-Lithuania was not attacked, but the enthusiasm after the battle of Oxmativ resulted in military plans aiming at no less than the conquest of the Crimea. Already in the fall of 1644, Hetman Stanisław

<sup>447</sup> On Sefer Ghazi and his role in the Crimean politics, see Senai, *Historia chana Islam Gereja III*, p. 144, n. 51.

<sup>448</sup> On Qırım Giray, the former nureddin of Bahadır Giray, see Senai, *Historia chana Islam Gereja III*, pp. 152–153, n. 95; he perished in June 1651, in the battle at Berestečko between the Crimean-Cossack and Polish forces.

<sup>449</sup> On Ghazi Giray, son of Mübarek Giray, see Senai, *Historia chana Islam Gereja III*, pp. 154, n. 107; his raid against Muscovy is erroneously dated there in 1644–1645 instead of 1645–1646.

<sup>450</sup> In his letter, sent through Mustafa Bey, Islam III Giray engaged to keep peace on the condition that he received the customary gifts, and urged Vladislaus IV to send a royal envoy in order to negotiate a new *'ahdname*; see the khan's original letter in AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 63, t. 41, no. 504, and its Polish translation in *ibidem*, k. 65, t. 144, no. 724; the letter is undated, but its date can be established by comparison with the qalga's letter, sent with the same embassy and dated in the third decade of Djumada II 1054 A.H., i.e., between 25 August and 2 September 1644; cf. AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 60, t. 69, no. 74.

<sup>451</sup> See Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba Moskovskogo gosudarstva s Tatarami*, pp. 342–353.

Konieczpolski authored a memorial, proposing to ally with Muscovy and attack the Tatars. While Russia would conquer and colonize the Crimean peninsula, Poland would annex the Tatar and Ottoman lands on the Black Sea shores, extending as far as the Danube.<sup>452</sup> An even greater enthusiasm affected Vladislaus IV. The king, whose ambitions had been nourished with grandiose plans since his childhood, dreamed of a great military adventure. Having failed to secure the thrones of Sweden and Muscovy, he now turned his attention to the south. In June 1645, the Ottomans invaded Venetian Crete, so Venice was desperately looking for allies. Inspired by a Venetian envoy, Giovanni Tiepolo, the Polish king developed the idea of an anti-Ottoman crusade, seing himself at its head. Soon the plan became widely known, especially as the Venetian diplomacy in Istanbul did not try to conceal it, hoping for a last-minute settlement with the Porte. To be sure, the Ottomans did not want a two-front war so they severely ordered the khan not to provoke Poland. Islam III Giray obeyed as he was equally afraid of a possible coalition between Moscow and Warsaw.<sup>453</sup>

In winter, during the Tatar raid against Muscovy, Polish forces were ordered to assist the Russians, albeit their action was not particularly successful. In February 1646, the worried khan sent another embassy to Poland and provided it with an *'ahdname* in the hope to restore the peace and renew the payment of the royal gifts. The Tatar envoy, Islam Agha, accompanied by the envoys of the qalga, nureddin, and other Crimean dignitaries, was received in Warsaw on 24 April.<sup>454</sup>

In the *'ahdname*, brought by Islam Agha, the khan complained that his earlier envoy, sent in the previous year and also furnished with an *'ahdname*, had been detained and then sent back empty-handed, without any gifts.<sup>455</sup> Islam III Giray invoked the ancient friendship that

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<sup>452</sup> *Korespondencja Stanisława Konieczpolskiego*, pp. 67 and 704–705 (in the earlier scholarship, the memorial was dated to 1645). On the ensuing Polish-Russian negotiations regarding an anti-Crimean alliance, see Boris Florja [Floria], “Plany wojny tureckiej Władysława IV a Rosja (1644–1646),” *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 36 (1991): 133–145.

<sup>453</sup> Cf. Kołodziejczyk, “The Ottoman northern policy as seen from the Venetian archives,” in: *CIÉPO Osmanlı Öncesi ve Osmanlı Araştırmaları Uluslararası Komitesi XIV. Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, 18–22 Eylül 2000, Çeşme. Edited by T. Baykara (Ankara, 2004): 417–426, esp. pp. 422 and 425.

<sup>454</sup> Baranowski, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie w latach 1632–1648*, pp. 160–166.

<sup>455</sup> We have no information about the khan’s embassy to the king from 1645. In a letter that reached Hetman Konieczpolski on 3 April 1645, Islam III Giray complained

had once enabled safe contacts and trade between the two countries. He admitted that the Porte urged him to maintain peace with Poland, yet this peace was conditioned by the timely payment of the royal gifts. Complaining on the recent raids of the Cossacks, the khan extolled his patience: “from the autumn months until the present time your Cossacks, serving as guards on the Dnieper river, and your other hunters and brigands, have come four or five times and driven away the Crimean cattle; moreover, they have taken away many Muslims captured as prisoners. What kind of peace, brotherhood, and friendship is that? If you wish to make peace, you should observe your oath and punish your villains.” In conclusion, Islam III Giray engaged in his name and in the name of the qalga, nureddin, other Giray princes, the Shirin and Manghit clans as well as all Tatar and Nogay commanders to maintain the peace on the condition that the king restrained the Cossacks and renewed the payment of the gifts.<sup>456</sup>

King Vladislaus rejected the offer, yet, in the following months his grandiose war plan was wrecked at the hands of his subjects. Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski, whose authority could help the king, died on 11 March 1646, even before the Crimean embassy reached Warsaw. The majority of Polish and Lithuanian nobles did not wish for a war and feared a confrontation with the Porte. In the fall of 1646, the Diet forced the king to publicly denounce his war plans and dissolve the troops that he had recruited for Venetian money. Still not discouraged, Vladislaus deliberately humiliated a Crimean envoy during the public audience in June 1647<sup>457</sup> and continued secret negotiations with the Cossacks, urging them to attack the Crimea and thus provoke a full-scale military response that would force the Diet to authorize war.

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on the detention of his first envoy, Mustafa Bey, sent to Poland in 1644 with the notification of his accession; see *Korespondencja Stanisława Koniecpolskiego*, pp. 673–674. It was rather unlikely that the khan would send a new solemn embassy before Mustafa Bey returned home. Perhaps in 1646 Islam III Giray still referred to his first embassy, yet the document brought by Mustafa Bey was not an *ahdname*; cf. n. 450 above.

<sup>456</sup> See Document 58.

<sup>457</sup> The Crimean envoy, Ali Bey, brought a letter from Islam III Giray, in which the khan complained that his earlier *ahdname*, sent through Islam Agha, had not been reciprocated by a Polish embassy and gifts; see AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 63, t. 56, no. 526. The envoy was received at the royal court on 17 March 1647 and, after a two-months' delay, was given a farewell audience on 20 June. The king not only refused to send gifts but also did not allow Ali Bey to kiss his hand; see Baranowski, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie w latach 1632–1648*, pp. 184–186.

Yet, also these plans were exposed by the opposition and entirely frustrated. Even the prospect of an anti-Tatar league with Moscow became stale after the Crimean-Muscovian rapprochement in 1647.<sup>458</sup>

The royal game proved disastrous for Poland-Lithuania. The Cossacks, who regarded themselves as noble warriors, long yearned for noble privileges that were repeatedly denied to them. Whenever they were needed against the Ottomans or Muscovy, their number was formally augmented and they were entered on the royal payroll (so-called register). Yet, after each war ended, they were again treated like peasants and reduced to serfdom. Besides, the Cossacks adhered to the Orthodox Church that was suppressed after the Union of Brest (1596), when the majority of the Orthodox hierarchs in Poland-Lithuania had acknowledged the pope's authority. Even though Vladislaus was more tolerant than his father and the Orthodox Church was relegalized to exist along with the Uniate Church, the Orthodox subjects of Poland-Lithuania felt like second-class citizens. These social and religious factors, combined with the recent disappointment after the fiasco of the royal plans, led to a great Cossack rebellion that erupted in the spring of 1648 under the leadership of Bohdan Xmel'nyč'kyj, the former participant of the secret negotiations with King Vladislaus. A talented politician, Xmel'nyč'kij initially presented his cause as the defence of royal authority against unruly lords and that earned him even more popular support in the Ukraine. Simultaneously, he secured the military assistance of the Crimean khan, who sent Tughay Bey, the once unlucky commander at Oxmativ, to help the Cossacks.

Vladislaus IV, who could perhaps appease the situation, died on 20 May 1648. Six days later, the Polish army was annihilated at Korsun' by Cossack-Tatar troops and both Polish hetmans, the grand and the field one, were sent as prisoners to the Crimea. After another Polish army, hastily mobilized in the summer, was routed at Pyljavci in September 1648, the Cossack-Tatar forces, commanded by Xmel'nyč'kij and Qalga Qırım Giray, besieged Lwów, whose inhabitants had to ransom their immunity. After Vladislaus' brother, John Casimir, was

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<sup>458</sup> On the fiasco of a Polish-Muscovian league, see Baranowski, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie w latach 1632–1648*, pp. 187–190; on the Muscovian-Crimean reconciliation in 1647, see Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba Moskovskogo gosudarstva s Tatarami*, pp. 397–400; the *šartname* of Islam III Giray, issued in September 1647 and confirming the peace with Muscovy, is preserved in RGADA, f. 123, op. 2, no. 54a; published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, pp. 383–393; its Russian translation is published in *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*.... Edited by F. Laškov, pp. 114–122.

elected to the Polish throne in November 1648, the hostilities were temporarily suspended but no agreement was reached.

In May 1649, Islam III Giray set out in person for a new campaign. In July, the allied Crimean-Cossack forces began the siege of a Polish fortified camp at Zbaraż. The relief expedition, commanded by the new king, almost ended with a disaster when also the royal forces were surrounded at Zboriv (Pol. Zborów) on 15 August. In the desperate situation, John Casimir addressed a peace proposal to Islam III Giray. The ensuing negotiations between the Polish chancellor, Jerzy Ossoliński, and the Crimean vizier, Sefer Ghazi, took place in a tent set up between the two armies. Xmel'nyč'kyj realised that the Poles hoped to isolate him and stir a Tatar-Cossack conflict, so he resolved to join the talks, albeit unwillingly. An agreement was reached on 18 August 1649, and on the following day both sides exchanged instruments of peace.<sup>459</sup>

The Polish instrument, delivered to the khan on 19 August by a Polish envoy, Andrzej Miaskowski, provided that the king would resume the payment of the customary gifts to the khan. The royal gifts were to be sent each year to Kamieniec and collected there by Tatar envoys. In return, the khan and his subjects were not to raid the royal domains. The second clause regarded the Cossacks, on whose behalf the khan had interceded. While the Cossacks were to return under the royal rule, John Casimir was to remit their rebellion and confirm their traditional liberties. The articles resulting from the direct Polish-Cossack negotiations were to be recorded in a separate document. The following clause regarded mutual assistance to be given by the king and the khan against their common enemies. Although the Tatars hinted during the negotiations that a common alliance might be directed against Muscovy, the "common enemy" was not defined by name in the document. A separate, vaguely formulated clause provided that the Tatars should do their best to cause the least possible damage on their way home through the royal lands. Finally, the Tatars and Cossacks were to lift the siege of neighboring Zbaraż and allow the Polish troops, who

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<sup>459</sup> Senai, *Historia chana Islam Gereja III*, pp. 128–132 and 187–190, notes 486, 490, 498, and 502; *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 2, pp. 192–193; on the negotiations, see also Ludwik Kubala, "Oblężenie Zbaraża i pokój pod Zborowem," in: *idem*, *Dziela*, vol. 2: *Szkice historyczne, serja I i II* (Lwów [L'viv], 1923), pp. 98–101 and 121–122; and Hrushevs'kyj [Hrushevsky], *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. 8: *The Cossack Age, 1625–1650*. Translated by M. D. Olynyk (Edmonton-Toronto, 2002), pp. 579–597.



had vigorously defended their camp for over one month, to join the royal army at Zboriv.<sup>460</sup>

The instrument of Islam III Giray consisted of merely two articles: the first one obliged the king and his ministers to display benevolence towards Bohdan Xmel'nyč'kyj and the Cossacks, whose number (i.e., register) was to be augmented to 40,000; the second article contained all the remaining provisions, obliging the king to send the customary gifts to the khan, not to interfere in the traditional Tatar pasturages on the rivers Ingulec', Ingul, and Chubartil (Ukr. Velykaja Vis'), extending to the north into the lands claimed as the Polish Ukraine,<sup>461</sup> to display friendship and provide military assistance to the khan, and not to commit any harm to the domains of the Ottoman sultan. In return, Islam III Giray merely engaged that neither he nor his subjects would raid the royal domains. No mention was even made of a Tatar military assistance to Poland. In addition, Islam III Giray openly warned John Casimir against any violation of the treaty.<sup>462</sup>

In sum, both the wording and the contents of the Polish and Crimean instruments were very different. Besides, neither the Polish nor the Crimean document mentioned some of the important issues. The most humiliating condition could not be entered in the formal treaty as it would be devastating for the king's public image: there was tacit consent that the Tatars could take along their slaves, already captured in the royal lands, and even keep on collecting them on their way home. The clause providing that the Tatars should cause "the least possible damage" while returning home, entered in the Polish instrument, served only as a face saving device. During the negotiations, the Tatars also insisted that they should obtain the gifts due for the past years. Hence, it was agreed that Islam III Giray would receive 200,000 thalers in the following way: 30,000 on the spot, another 30,000 on his way back to the Crimea, and the remaining 140,000 in the nearest future. As a guarantee of its timely payment, Zygmunt Denhoff, the *starosta* of Sokal', was to remain with the khan. Moreover, the khan was to receive an extra payment as ransom for lifting the siege of Zbaraž. In the following direct negotiations between the defenders

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<sup>460</sup> See Document 59.

<sup>461</sup> The Ingulec' is a right tributary of the Dnieper, the Ingul is a left tributary of the Boh, and the Velykaja Vis' is a left tributary of the Synjuxa, which in turn is a left tributary of the Boh; on their identification, cf. Document 60, n. 7.

<sup>462</sup> See Document 60.

of Zbaraż and the Tatars, held in the presence of royal commissioners on 22 August, its amount was agreed on as 40,000 thalers.<sup>463</sup>

A separate document, issued by John Casimir, addressed the Cossack demands. Xmel'nyc'kyj obtained less than he had wished for but the khan, satisfied in his own demands, forced the Cossack hetman to accept the deal. Notwithstanding Xmel'nyc'kyj's dismay, the royal document set foundations for an autonomous Orthodox Cossack state within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Apart from granting amnesty, confirming Xmel'nyc'kyj in his post, and augmenting the official number (i.e., register) of Cossacks to 40,000, the document established a Cossack Hetmanate, comprised of the three palatinates of Kiev, Černihiv, and Braclav, where only Orthodox nobles could hold offices. The Orthodox metropolitan of Kiev was to obtain a seat in the Polish-Lithuanian Senate and the Jesuits and Jews, equally hated by Orthodox Cossacks, were to leave the Hetmanate. The Cossack postulate to abolish the Union of Brest and restore all Greek-Catholic churches to the Orthodox clergy, was postponed to future negotiations.<sup>464</sup>

In fact, neither side intended to honor these conditions and soon the war broke out anew.<sup>465</sup> In June 1651, a bloody three-day confrontation at Berestečko brought a major defeat of the Crimean-Cossack coalition at the hands of the Polish troops commanded in person by King John Casimir. After the qalga, Qırım Giray, and Tughay Bey perished in the battle, the disheartened khan imprisoned Xmel'nyc'kyj and left the battlefield, enabling the Poles to surround and slaughter the abandoned Cossacks. Set free again, Xmel'nyc'kyj managed to reach a new agreement with the king in September 1651, but the Cossack register was

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<sup>463</sup> On these additional conditions, see Kubala, "Oblężenie Zbaraża i pokój pod Zborowem," pp. 100–101 and 108. Denhoff returned from the Crimea in March 1650; see his biography by Eugeniusz Latacz in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (hereafter, *PSB*), vol. 5 (Cracow, 1939–1946), pp. 118–119.

<sup>464</sup> Kubala, "Oblężenie Zbaraża i pokój pod Zborowem," p. 103.

<sup>465</sup> The invitation to a joint invasion of Muscovy, pronounced by the Tatars during the negotiations in Zboriv, was turned down by Warsaw which was satisfied with the existing peace with Moscow dating from 1634. Besides, such an invasion would be unthinkable without Cossack cooperation which was unlikely due to the mutual distrust between the royal court and Xmel'nyc'kyj; see Jan Sereďyka, "Nieudana próba włączenia w 1650 r. Kozaków Zaporoskich do antyrosyjskiego sojuszu polsko-tatarskiego," in: *Między Wschodem a Zachodem. Rzeczpospolita XVI–XVIII w. Studia ofiarowane Zbigniewowi Wójcikowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin* (Warsaw, 1993): 125–132.

diminished to 20,000 and the Cossack Hetmanate reduced to just one palatinate of Kiev. The fortune turned again in favor of the Crimean-Cossack allies, when in June 1652 a Polish army was massacred at Batoh. The Polish field hetman, Marcin Kalinowski, and numerous nobles (including Marek Sobieski, a brother of the future king) died in the battle or were taken prisoner and then executed.<sup>466</sup>

The victory of Batoh enabled the Crimean-Cossack army to invade Moldavia, whose ruler, Vasile Lupu, was forced to break with Poland and give away his daughter to marry Xmel'nyč'kyj's son. Yet, in 1653 a coalition was formed between Poland and Transylvania that pushed out the Tatars and Cossacks from Moldavia. In the hope to finally crush the Cossack rebellion, John Casimir led a large army to Podolia, but in November 1653 he was again—like in 1649—trapped by the Crimean-Cossack forces, commanded by Islam III Giray and Xmel'nyč'kyj. As neither side felt like fighting, negotiations began. In December 1653, Islam III Giray appointed Sefer Ghazi his head representative, while John Casimir appointed five commissioners: Stanisław Lanckoroński, the palatine of Ruthenia, Stanisław Witowski, the castellan of Sandomierz, Michał Czaratoryski, the castellan of Volhynia, Jerzy Lubomirski, the Crown grand marshal, and Stefan Koryciński,

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<sup>466</sup> Primary sources as well as modern historians differ in explaining the massacre of prisoners, unusual in scale even considering the seventeenth-century standards; one explanation blames the Cossacks as instigators and simultaneously ascribes them a pragmatic motive, unconnected with the wish to avenge Berestečko: by killing captives, the Cossacks deprived the Tatars of a booty that would otherwise discourage the latter from continuing the campaign. No wonder that—according to a Polish eyewitness—many rank and file Tatars tried to hide and rescue their captives by dressing them in Tatar clothes. Also the nureddin, Adil Giray, who commanded the Crimean army, initially opposed the massacre but was later persuaded by Xmel'nyč'kyj and some of the Tatar elders; see Tomasz Ciesielski, *Od Batohu do Żwańca. Wojna na Ukrainie, Podolu i o Mołdawię 1652–1653* (Zabrze, 2007), pp. 34–37. Polish sources and secondary literature confirm that the Tatars were commanded at Batoh by the nureddin, but do not provide his name; cf. Wojciech Długołęcki, *Batoh 1652* (Warsaw, 1995), pp. 117–118. After Qırım Giray's death at Berestečko, the post of qalga was given to Ghazi Giray, while the vacant post of nureddin was given to the latter's brother, Adil Giray; see Seyyid Muhammed Riza, *Es-seb'u's-seyyar fi ahbari muluki Tatar*, p. 162. In the scholarly literature, the chronicler's phrase *birader-i digeri* ("his other brother") has been mistaken as referring to Qırım Giray and not Ghazi Giray (*Le khanat de Crimée*, p. 364). Adil Giray could not be a brother of Qırım Giray, since the latter's father (and also the father of Islam III Giray), Selamet Giray, died in 1610, while the nureddin is described as young and inexperienced in the Polish sources. Besides, Adil Giray's *tuğra* proves unequivocally that he was a son of Mübarek Giray, hence Ghazi's brother and Islam Giray's nephew; cf. *Materiały dla historii Krymskiego xanstva*, p. 532.

the Crown chancellor.<sup>467</sup> On the Polish request, the Cossack delegates were not admitted to the negotiations so they were represented by the Tatar side. On 13 December, the delegates met at a distance of three bow shots from the Polish camp at Żwanec'. The atmosphere was so tense that they negotiated without dismounting their horses. Nevertheless, by 15 December an agreement was reached, which confirmed the conditions from Zboriv. The khan was to obtain 200,000 thalers plus 30,000 a year in the future, while two Polish nobles were to permanently reside in the Crimea as guarantors of the treaty. As to the Cossacks, their number was again to be augmented to 40,000. Both sides agreed not to write down the negotiated conditions so the Treaty of Żwaniec does not exist in a written form. Like in 1649, the Poles distributed extra presents, especially to Sefer Ghazi, in order to soften his stand during the negotiations, and tacitly agreed that the Tatars "collect" captives on their way home.<sup>468</sup>

### *The long Polish-Crimean alliance 1654–1666*

For Xmel'nyc'kyj, the patronizing attitude of the Tatars combined with the fact that his allies repeatedly ravaged the Ukraine and kidnapped Ruthenian peasants, was more and more intolerable. From the beginning of his uprising, the Cossack hetman had negotiated a possible submission to the tsar. After initial hesitations about breaking with Poland, Moscow accepted the proposal in 1653. The agreement was finalized on 18 January 1654, when the Cossacks gathered in Perejaslav to swear allegiance to Tsar Alexis in the presence of his representative.

Contemporary observers as well as modern historians have differed whether it was a union of two East Slavic nations or rather an annexation of the Ukraine to Russia. Whatever our conclusion might be, the act was of tremendous importance for the geopolitics of Eastern

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<sup>467</sup> For the khan's sealed credentials, appointing Sefer Ghazi and other unnamed Tatar plenipotentiaries, composed in Polish and addressed to the king, see AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 62, t. 19, no. 350 (dated at Husjatyn on 19 December, apparently by error; the date is corrected in the Archives manuscript catalogue to 12 December); the royal sealed full powers for the Polish commissioners is extant in *ibidem*, k. 62, t. 14, no. 345 (undated).

<sup>468</sup> On the Polish-Tatar negotiations in December 1653, see Ciesielski, *Od Batohu do Żwańca*, pp. 261–270, and Dariusz Milewski, *Rywalizacja polsko-kozacka o Mołdawię w dobie powstania Bohdana Chmielnickiego (1648–1653)* (Zabrze, 2011), p. 282.

Europe. Poland-Lithuania was soon to face a full-scale Muscovian-Cossack invasion and fight not only for Kiev, but also for Smolensk and then Vilnius and Lwów as well. For both Warsaw and Baghchararay, the disproportional rise of Russia presented an imminent danger.

In February 1654 a Polish envoy, Mariusz Jaskólski, departed to the Crimea taking the route through Moldavia. Having arrived at Baghchararay on 7 April, on the following day he was received by Sefer Ghazi Agha, and the day after by the khan. According to his instructions, Jaskólski asked for Crimean assistance against the Cossacks and Muscovy. During the negotiations, the Tatars raised an issue unheard since decades, namely the khan's intention to reconquer Kazan and Astrakhan with the help of Poland-Lithuania. This was the evidence that the Genghisid tradition and the contacts between the Crimean and Volgine Tatars were still alive.<sup>469</sup> To Warsaw, a direct Crimean attack against Russia was preferable to a joint invasion of Ukraine that could serve the Tatars as yet another pretext for pillaging the Commonwealth's provinces. During his stay in the Crimea, Jaskólski was shown a petition sent by the Tatars from Kazan and Astrakhan, who had asked Islam III Giray to deliver them from the tsar's rule. In order to further impress the Polish envoy, the Tatars made sure that he could also witness an embassy from the Kalmyks who reportedly proposed an alliance against Moscow, notwithstanding their former hostility towards the Crimea.<sup>470</sup> After a month of fruitful negotiations, Jaskólski was sent back in early May, in the company of a Crimean envoy, Süleyman Agha.<sup>471</sup>

<sup>469</sup> According to the contemporary Crimean chronicle by Hadji Mehmed Senai, it was Sefer Ghazi who inspired Khan Islam III Giray with the idea of reconquering Kazan and Astrakhan; see Senai, *Historia chana Islam Gereja III*, pp. 136 (Polish translation) and ٦١ (Turkish original).

<sup>470</sup> See Jaroslav Fedoruk, *Miżnarodna dyplomacija i polityka Ukrainy 1654–1657*, pt. 1: *1654 rik* (L'viv, 1996), pp. 42, 47–48, and 217.

<sup>471</sup> On Jaskólski's first embassy to Baghchararay, see Zbigniew Wójcik, "Feudalna Rzeczpospolita wobec umowy w Perejasławiu," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 61 (1954), no. 3, pp. 76–109, esp. pp. 97–100; Baranowski, "Tatarszczyzna wobec wojny polsko-szwedzkiej," pp. 460–461; Sławomir Augustowicz, "Dwa poselstwa Mariusza Stanisława Jaskólskiego na Krym w 1654 roku," in: *Staropolski ogląd świata. Rzeczpospolita między okcydentalizacją a orientalizacją*, vol. 1: *Przestrzeń kontaktów*. Edited by F. Wolański and R. Kołodziej (Toruń, 2009): 46–60, esp. pp. 47–53; see also a copy of the envoy's letter from Baghchararay, dated 2 May 1654, in Bibl. Kór., ms. 991, fol. 483a–484b. An alternative date of Jaskólski's arrival at Baghchararay, namely 9 April, is proposed by Fedoruk on the basis of another, published version of the envoy's letter, which stated that he had arrived on Thursday and not Tuesday after

In his letter to John Casimir, brought by Süleyman Agha, Islam III Giray invoked the recent reconciliation at Žvanec,<sup>472</sup> confirmed his friendly intentions towards Poland and assured that Crimean and Nogay troops, strengthened by the troops stationed in Budjak, could immediately attack the Cossacks if the latter refused to break with Moscow. In reference to a recent Muscovian embassy that had invited him to join a planned invasion of Poland, the khan assured that he had declined the offer, because he regarded the plan to erase a state like Poland from the world as shameless and contrary to the will of God, who had created earth, heaven, and all creatures.<sup>473</sup>

Notwithstanding its diplomatic rhetoric, the above statement disclosed a genuine worry concerning the rise of Russia. In his last letter to John Casimir, written in June 1654, shortly before his death, Islam III Giray was again to ask rhetorically: “we do not know where Moscow has drawn so much strength and power from that it has not remained in its natural [i.e., harmless] state.”<sup>474</sup>

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Easter; see Ambroży Grabowski (ed.), *Ojczyście spominki*, vol. 1 (Cracow, 1845), p. 131; cf. Fedoruk, *Miżnarodna dyplomacija i polityka Ukrajiny*, pp. 36–37. Yet, that would imply that the khan’s letter, brought by Jaskólski to Poland, was issued even before his arrival at Baghchasaray (cf. n. 473 below). Süleyman Agha was probably identical with the Crimean envoy, who traveled to Istanbul between December 1653 and April 1654 with the khan’s notification to the Porte of the Treaty of Żwaniec; see Fedoruk, *op. cit.*, pp. 102–103 and 111–112.

<sup>472</sup> Referred to in the letter as the reconciliation at Kamieniec; in fact the negotiations took place between Žvanec’ and nearby Kamieniec.

<sup>473</sup> *Yeri göki ve bu cümle mahlukatı yoqdan var eden Haq Ta’ala Hazretlerinden havf etmeyüb Lēh memleketi gibi bir yurtı ortalıqdan qaldırırım deyü bu qadar mağrurluq ile bizden ‘asker taleb etdügünden...*; Bibl. Czart., ms. 609, no. 1, p. 35; for a Polish translation by Abdullah Zihni Soysal, see *idem*, *Jarłyki krymskie*, pp. 46–48; the letter was probably antedated, as it is dated in the second decade of Djumada I 1064 A.H. (between 30 March and 8 April 1654), i.e., even before Jaskólski’s first audience with the khan. Baranowski refers to this letter as a “letter of agreement” (Pol. *list przymierzy*), yet, such qualification is ungrounded; cf. *idem*, “Tatarszczyzna wobec wojny polsko-szwedzkiej,” pp. 461 and 463.

<sup>474</sup> *Mosqov bu qadar güci ve quvveti ne yerden buldı bilmeziz kendi halinde durmayub*; see AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 62, t. 116, no. 450; published in *Materiały dla historii Krymskiego xanstwa*, s. 856; for a poor Polish translation by Zihni Soysal, see *idem*, *Jarłyki krymskie*, p. 39; the letter is undated but it was probably issued in mid-June 1654, since it recalls the past embassy of Jaskólski and refers to a recent departure of Tatar troops, headed by the qalga, against Muscovy, providing its date: 27 Redjeb, i.e., 13 June [1654]. On the Weltanschauung of the Crimean elite in regard to the geopolitical balance of power, cf. Kołodziejczyk [Kołodziejčik], “Krymskoe xanstvo kak faktor stabilizacii na geopolitičeskoj karte Vostočnoj Evropy,” in: *Ukraina i sosednie gosudarstva v XVII veke. Materialy meždunarodnoj konferencii*. Edited by T. Jakovleva (St. Petersburg, 2004): 83–89, esp. pp. 85 and 88.

Süleyman Agha arrived at Warsaw on 24 June 1654 and was received by the king on 27 June, during the Diet that was held in the Royal Castle. In the following weeks, the Tatar envoy negotiated the project of a treaty directed against Russia with Polish dignitaries. The project was presented to the Diet on 18 July. Two days later, Süleyman Agha swore to observe the new agreement on behalf of the khan, while John Casimir along with the present senators and officials took analogous oaths in the presence of the Crimean envoy. The procedure was to be completed by the oath of Islam III Giray taken in the presence of a future royal envoy.<sup>475</sup>

The instrument, negotiated and sworn in Warsaw, stipulated mutual cooperation against Muscovy and Crimean assistance in quelling the Cossack rebellion against Poland. Other clauses regarded mutual security and dispatch of the customary gifts to the khan. Besides, Warsaw aimed to restore the Polish-Crimean-Ottoman condominium in Moldavia and Wallachia, reminiscent of the agreement of Țuțora (1595), with the participation of yet another actor, George Rákóczi II of Transylvania, who had assisted the Poles in expelling the Cossacks from Moldavia in 1653.<sup>476</sup> Along with the treaty instrument, preserved in a copy, also the texts of the oaths, sworn by John Casimir and the Commonwealth dignitaries in the presence of Süleyman Agha, are extant in the Polish archives. Apart from the usual religious invocations, they contain open engagements to jointly attack Muscovy.<sup>477</sup>

In order to witness the oath of Islam III Giray, Mariusz Jaskólski was again sent to the Crimea along with Süleyman Agha. Yet, the peacemaking procedure was unexpectedly disturbed by the khan's death in late June 1654.<sup>478</sup> When the news reached Warsaw in August, Jaskólski was already on his way, so he was urged to continue his trip and sent a new instruction, ordering him to persuade the Tatars that

<sup>475</sup> See Wójcik, "Feudalna Rzeczpospolita wobec umowy w Perejaśławiu," pp. 100–103; Baranowski, "Tatarszczyzna wobec wojny polsko-szwedzkiej," p. 462; Fedoruk, *Miżnarodna dyplomatiya i polityka Ukrainy*, pp. 56–59; Augusiewicz, "Rokowania w sprawie przymierza polsko-tatarskiego w roku 1654," *Zeszyty Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Olsztynie*, vol. 13: *Prace historyczne*, no. 2 (1998): 69–87, esp. pp. 81–82.

<sup>476</sup> See Document 61.

<sup>477</sup> See Documents 62 and 63.

<sup>478</sup> The Crimean-Ottoman chronicler, Seyyid Muhammed Riza, places the khan's death in the first decade of Shaban 1064 A.H., i.e., between 17 and 26 June 1654; see *idem*, *Es-seb'u's-seyyar fi ahbari muluki Tatar*, p. 167; cf. Smirnov, *Krymskoe xanstvo*, p. 561.

the royal oath was still binding and make sure that the treaty be confirmed by Islam III Giray's successor.<sup>479</sup> The time was pressing as a huge Muscovian army had been penetrating deep into Lithuania since June 1654, besieging and capturing numerous fortresses, including Smolensk that would capitulate on 29 September.

After Islam III Giray's death, Mehmed IV Giray was appointed to the throne for the second time and sent from Istanbul to Baghchasaray. In spite of Xmel'nyc'kij's diplomatic efforts to restore the Tatar-Cossack alliance, the new khan decided to continue his brother's policy. On 22 November 1654, he took a solemn oath in Jaskólski's presence and promised to respect the new treaty with Warsaw. When the envoy insisted, following his instruction, that the treaty should be also confirmed by Tatar dignitaries, he heard from the khan and the vizier that it was unnecessary because, unlike the Polish king, the khan was an absolute ruler.<sup>480</sup> Jaskólski then received the khan's solemn *'ahdname* which reiterated the treaty conditions.

In his instrument, Mehmed IV Giray invoked the negotiations commenced during the reign of his older brother, the embassies of Süleyman Agha and Mariusz Jaskólski, and his own consent to endorse the previously reached agreement. Apart from the usual stipulations referring to mutual friendship, the delivery of royal gifts, and security of trade, the instrument obliged John Casimir to forgive the Cossacks, should they regret their rebellion and return under his rule. The offensive character of the anti-Muscovian alliance was reflected by a clause, stipulating that:

if [...] by the grace and favor of His Excellency, God (may He be exalted!), it ever falls to our lot that we conquer Astrakhan, Kazan, Terek [i.e., Northeastern Caucasus], Tura [i.e., Siberia], or any [other] Muslim provinces, or [any provinces] inhabited by Tatars or Nogays, neither you, our brother, nor any of the Polish lords should interfere, as [these conquests] will belong to us.

<sup>479</sup> Wójcik, "Feudalna Rzeczpospolita wobec umowy w Perejaśławiu," pp. 104–106.

<sup>480</sup> An analogous scene occurred 31 years earlier, when Mehmed III Giray demonstrated his centralizing policy by not allowing his retinue members to swear upon the treaty with Moscow; cf. n. 395 above. On Jaskólski's second embassy to Baghchasaray, see Wójcik, "Feudalna Rzeczpospolita wobec umowy w Perejaśławiu," pp. 106–108; Baranowski, "Tatarszczyzna wobec wojny polsko-szwedzkiej," pp. 463–465; Fedoruk, *Miżnarodna dyplomatiya i polityka Ukrainy*, pp. 135–141 and 146–158; Augusiewicz, "Dwa poselstwa Mariusza Stanisława Jaskólskiego na Krym w 1654 roku," pp. 55–60; see also the envoy's diary in AGAD, Libri Legationum, no. 33, fol. 41b–45a.



Though hardly realistic, these aspirations reflected the living memory of the tradition of the Golden Horde, still present in the Crimea in the mid-17th century. The above fragment also revealed the composite character of the Girays' political legitimism, based on the historical claims to the Genghisid heritage, strengthened by religious and ethno-social motives: Mehmed IV Giray thus claimed the rule over all the Muslims once conquered by the tsars and over all the Tatar and Nogay inhabitants of the East European and West Asian steppes. The rising role of the Nogays, migrating to the west under the Kalmyk pressure, in the internal making of the Crimean Khanate was best reflected by the fact that the khan made his engagement not merely on behalf of his Tatar subjects, but also on behalf of the *mirzas* from the Great Nogay and Little Nogay hordes, as well as five Nogay clans, for the first time mentioned by name in a Crimean instrument of peace addressed to a Polish king: the Oraq-oghlu, Sheydaq-oghlu, Mamay-oghlu, Or-Membet-Bey-oghlu, and Toquz Chubar.<sup>481</sup>

In January 1655, the Crimean and Polish allies met in the Ukraine and defeated a Cossack-Muscovian army at Oxmativ. In the spring of 1655, when a Russian embassy arrived at Baghchasaray in vain effort to restore the peace, Sefer Ghazi refused to acknowledge the tsar's claim to Little Russia (i.e., the Ukraine), expressed in the latter's new *intitulatio*, and argued that the Cossacks had remained 800 years [*sic*] under the Polish rule and then seven years under the Crimean one, hence the tsar's pretensions were baseless.<sup>482</sup> Yet, the Crimean military intervention did not bring a breakthrough in the war. By the summer of 1655, Xmel'nyc'kij had controlled most of the Ukraine while the Muscovian troops, assisted by the Cossacks, had conquered almost the whole Grand Duchy of Lithuania, including Minsk and Vilnius. At that moment, in July 1655, Charles X Gustavus of Sweden invaded Poland-Lithuania, claiming the Polish crown from his Catholic cousin, John Casimir. Witnessing massive defection of his subjects to the victor's camp, John Casimir left Poland to find refuge in Habsburg Silesia.

The military confrontation of the years 1655–1660 came to be known as the Second Northern War, and in the Polish historiography

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<sup>481</sup> See Document 64; on the five aforementioned Nogay clans, see Document 64, notes 12–16; on the Great and Little Nogay hordes, cf. n. 284 above and Document 58, n. 10.

<sup>482</sup> See Sanin, *Otnošenija Rossii i Ukrainy s Krymskim xanstvom v seredine XVII veka*, pp. 94–96.

as the “Deluge.”<sup>483</sup> For some time, Mehmed IV Giray remained John Casimir’s sole ally, more trustworthy than most of the king’s subjects. In May and August 1655, the khan twice assured of his loyalty through his envoy, Dedesh Agha, who was to play a major role in the future Crimean-Polish relations. In November, the Tatars besieged Xmel’nyč’kij and forced him to suspend hostilities with Poland, at least for the time being. Tatar presence in the Ukraine facilitated the defense of the last strongholds loyal to John Casimir, with Kamieniec and Lwów at their head. Original as well as fake *yarliqs*, inciting resistance against foreign occupation, circulated among the nobles who had remained loyal to John Casimir. In order to sow terror among the Swedish troops and make them believe that Tatar reinforcements had come, the royal troops as well as irregular guerillas adopted a war cry *hałła hałła* (Allah, Allah).<sup>484</sup>

The reinforcements came indeed in 1656, when John Casimir returned to Poland and started a campaign to regain his kingdom. A Crimean auxiliary corps, commanded by the khan’s former treasurer, Subhan Ghazi Agha, participated in the Polish-Swedish battle over Warsaw (28–30 July 1656) and in the following campaign against Ducal Prussia, whose duke, Frederick William Hohenzollern (also the elector of Brandenburg), had broken his vassal allegiance to John Casimir and sided with Charles X Gustavus. In the battle at Prostki (8 October 1656), fought between the Polish-Tatar and Swedish-Brandenburg forces, the Tatars took prisoner Prince Bogusław Radziwiłł, a powerful Lithuanian magnate and the leading supporter of Charles X Gustavus, who was nevertheless set free upon the promise of ransom.<sup>485</sup>

Polish-Tatar military cooperation was sometimes disturbed by the fact that the Tatars barely discerned between friend or foe while pillaging the lands through which they marched. The Crimean invasion of Ducal Prussia left deep traces in the local memory and was remembered until the 20th century, but the Tatars were equally “well” remembered in Podlachia, a Polish province through which they returned to the Crimea after their campaign. To be sure, their behavior was not

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<sup>483</sup> For an English monograph on this war, see Robert Frost, *After the Deluge. Poland-Lithuania and the Second Northern War 1655–1660* (Cambridge, 1993).

<sup>484</sup> Baranowski, “Tatarszczyzna wobec wojny polsko-szwedzkiej,” pp. 465–473 and 478.

<sup>485</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 479–481.

so unusual if compared to the standards of early modern European warfare.

In November 1656 the tsar, alarmed by the rise of Sweden, granted armistice to John Casimir that allowed the latter to focus on his struggle with Charles X Gustavus. When it seemed that the heaviest crisis was over, an unprecedented agreement was reached on 6 December in Radnót (today Iernut in Romania) between Charles X Gustavus and George Rákóczi II. The signatories envisioned a partition of Poland-Lithuania and invited Frederick William, Bohdan Xmel'nyč'kyj, and Bogusław Radziwiłł to take their share, too. The prince of Transylvania, who hosted the conference, invaded Poland in the following year, but after initial successes he was besieged by the Polish troops in Podolia and forced to capitulate on 22 July 1657. The Tatars, commanded by the khan, did not honor the deal and on 31 July attacked the retreating Transylvanian army between Terebovlja (Pol. Trembowla) and Vyšnivec' (Pol. Wiśniowiec). Several thousands of Transylvanian troops were enslaved, including János Kemény, left in command by Rákóczi, who had managed to return home with a small retinue.<sup>486</sup>

By the time of Rákóczi's rout, the Polish king and the Crimean khan had become the members of an exotic coalition, which also consisted of the Habsburg emperor, Danish king, and... Ottoman sultan. While Denmark entered the Second Northern War to settle its age-old accounts with Sweden, the Habsburgs could not tolerate the rise of their Protestant archenemy from the times of the Thirty Years' War

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<sup>486</sup> See the letters by Sefer Ghazi Agha to the Polish chancellor, Stefan Koryciński, and by Mehmed IV Giray to Tsar Alexis, reporting the Tatar victory over Rákóczi; the first one is published in Polish translation in Zihni Soysal, *Jarłyki krymskie*, p. 64, the second one, dated in Zilhijje 1067 A.H. (10 September-8 October 1657), in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskogo xanstva*, pp. 519-522 (in Arabic script), and in Sagit Faizov (ed.), *Pis'ma xanov Islam-Gireja III i Muxammed-Gireja IV k carju Alekseju Mixajloviču i korolju Janu Kazimiru. 1654-1658. Krymskotatarskaja diplomatika v političeskom kontekste postperejaslavsckogo vremeni* (Moscow, 2003), pp. 123-135 (Latin transcription and Russian translation). On the rout of the Transylvanian army, sometimes compared with the defeat of Mohács in Hungarian historiography, and the fate of the captives, see Mária Ivanics, "Enslavement, slave labour and the treatment of captives in the Crimean Khanate," in: *Ransom Slavery along the Ottoman Borders (Early Fifteenth-Early Eighteenth Centuries)*. Edited by G. Dávid and P. Fodor (Leiden, 2007): 193-219, esp. pp. 204-206; *eadem*, "Rabszerzés és rabkiváltás a Krími Kán-ságban a 16-17. században," *Századok* 141 (2007): 1483-1514; Sándor Gebei, "Odna diplomatičeskaja illjuzija: sud'ba sojuza Transil'vanskogo knjažestva i Zaporožskogo Vojska (1657-1658 gg.)," in: *350-letie unii hadziackiej (1658-2008)*. Edited by T. Chynczewska-Hennel and M. Nagielski (Warsaw, 2008): 507-530, esp. pp. 509-519.

at the cost of an implosion of their Catholic neighbor. The Ottoman motives were less straightforward. Since the outbreak of Xmel'nyč'kyj's uprising, the Porte passively observed the East European war theatre, tolerating the Crimean support for the Cossacks. Unlike in the 16th century, Poland was no longer regarded an Ottoman ally as both Sigismund III and Vladislaus IV had sided with the Habsburgs during the Thirty Years' War. Another reason for the Porte's passivity was its involvement in the war with Venice. Besides, the fierce struggle for the custody over the minor sultan, Mehmed IV (r. 1648–1687), resulted in frequent changes in the post of the grand vizier and prevented any consistent policy. Only in 1656, with the accession of Mehmed Köprülü to the post of the grand vizier, the Porte resumed an active northern policy. The absorption of the Ukraine to Muscovy, perceived as an imminent danger in Baghchararay, was probably less relevant from Istanbul's perspective than the rise of the unruly Transylvanian vassal who could upset the political equilibrium in the Balkans. Evliya Çelebi, the famous Ottoman traveler and memoirist, recorded a sultan's firman, addressed in 1657 to his uncle, Melek Ahmed Pasha, the then governor of Očakiv, ordering him to enter Poland at the head of his provincial troops and fight Rákóczi in alliance with the Poles and the Crimean Tatars. Melek Ahmed promptly set out from his seat in Silistra, but upon reaching the border fortress of Hotin, he stopped his troops and adopted a wait-and-see policy. Only a group of Turkish volunteers, including Evliya, entered Poland and joined a Crimean detachment, commanded by Nureddin Adil Giray, the once commander at Batoh. Evliya recorded his participation in the rout of Rákóczi's army and the warm reception of Muslim allies by the Polish nobility and soldiers.<sup>487</sup>

In the spring of 1658, Sebastian Machowski, a Polish cavalry officer, was sent to the Porte with the official acknowledgment of gratitude for

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<sup>487</sup> Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 5 (Istanbul, 1315 A.H./1897 A.D.), pp. 103–105 and 125–150; for a Russian translation of these fragments, cf. *idem* [Evliya Çelebi], *Kniga putešestvija (Izvlačeniya iz sočineniya tureckogo putešestvennika XVII veka)*. Edited by A. Tveritina, vypusk 1: *Zemli Moldavii i Ukrainy* (Moscow, 1961), pp. 27–30 and 51–77; see also Kołodziejczyk, “Stosunki polsko-tureckie w połowie XVII wieku,” in: *Rzeczypospolita w latach Potopu*. Edited by J. Muszyńska and J. Wijaczka (Kielce, 1996): 41–48, esp. pp. 46–48. On Adil Giray, cf. n. 466 above; for his letter to the tsar, attached to the khan's letter, in which Mehmed IV Giray boasted his victory over Rákóczi (cf. n. 486 above), see *Materiały dla historii Krymskiego chanstwa*, pp. 522–523. Unfortunately, the nureddin did not provide any details about his own activity in Poland.

the Crimean-Ottoman rescue.<sup>488</sup> In the same year, the Ottoman and Crimean troops commanded by the grand vizier and the khan ravaged Transylvania aiming to depose the Porte's unruly vassal. Rákóczi offered fierce resistance, but was finally defeated and killed in 1660, while his principality was reduced in both autonomy and size, with the province of Várad (Rom. Oradea) being transferred under direct Ottoman rule.

The membership of the Crimean Khanate in the international coalition during the Second Northern War was sealed by solemn embassies sent from Baghchasaray to Vienna and Copenhagen. In April 1658, a numerous Tatar embassy arrived at Frankfurt in order to congratulate Leopold on his imperial accession. A following embassy arrived in October at Vienna with the khan's notification of his raid against Rákóczi.<sup>489</sup> Another embassy was sent in May 1658 to Copenhagen. It traveled through Poland and was headed by Meydan Ghazi, an experienced Crimean diplomat.<sup>490</sup> In his letter to Frederick III, Mehmed IV Giray invoked the dramatic situation of "his brother," John Casimir, surrounded by Muscovian, Swedish and Transylvanian enemies (*qardaşımız Lèh qıralı Yan Qazimire etrafında olan Mosqov ve İşved ve Erdel tüşman olub*), and encouraged the Danish king to attack not only Sweden, but also Muscovy. Interestingly, the khan also asked the king not to send his fleet to the Mediterranean in assistance to the Venetians, who were still fighting over Crete against the Ottomans.<sup>491</sup>

<sup>488</sup> See the replies to this embassy by Sultan Mehmed IV and Grand Vizier Mehmed Köprülü, issued in late June 1658; Abrahamowicz, *Katalog dokumentów tureckich*, pp. 340–343.

<sup>489</sup> Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Türkei I, 130 [= old Turcica, Fasc. 64], Conv. B (April–June 1658), fol. 52a–61b, 122a–122b; Conv. D (October–December 1658), fol. 12a–12b and 94a–94b (Sefer Ghazi's letter brought to Frankfurt in April, misplaced among the correspondence from December)—all letters are preserved solely in Italian translations. Only the second embassy, headed by Ali Agha in October, is recorded in Ivanics, "Posol'stva krymskix tatar pri Venskom dvore v 1598–1682 gg.," p. 236.

<sup>490</sup> On Meydan Ghazi's embassies to Vienna in 1655, 1656, and 1660, see Ivanics, "Posol'stva krymskix tatar pri Venskom dvore v 1598–1682 gg.," p. 236; in his first embassy to Vienna, he traveled through Poland provided with the khan's credentials addressed to the Polish king; see Bibl. Kón., ms. 991, fol. 498b. Also Meydan Ghazi's embassy to Denmark was formally announced to the Polish king and chancellor by Mehmed IV Giray and his vizier, Sefer Ghazi Agha; see Baranowski, "Tatarszczyzna wobec wojny polsko-szwedzkiej," p. 485.

<sup>491</sup> Josef Matuz, *Krimtatarische Urkunden im Reichsarchiv zu Kopenhagen. Mit historisch-diplomatischen und sprachlichen Untersuchungen* (Freiburg, 1976), pp. 125–132 and facsimiles I–II.

Frederick III not only did not attack Muscovy, but was defeated by Charles X Gustavus. Yet, the Swedish triumph caused a rising concern in Europe. Also the Dutch, with their powerful fleet, joined the anti-Swedish coalition. Retreating on all fronts, the Swedes accepted French mediation and the Second Northern War came to an end. According to the Treaty of Oliva (Pol. Oliwa), signed on 3 May 1660, Poland-Lithuania resigned from a greater part of Livonia that anyway had been occupied by the Swedes since 1621. The Polish Vasas also resigned from their claims to the Swedish throne, although John Casimir was allowed to keep his Swedish royal title for life. In return, the Swedish troops evacuated all the remaining territories of Poland-Lithuania. A side effect of the Swedish-Polish war was the sovereignty of Hohenzollern Prussia, a former Polish tributary, acknowledged by John Casimir already in 1657.

The Polish-Lithuanian war with Russia, suspended in 1656, was resumed in 1658. On 16 September 1658, the Commonwealth attained a spectacular diplomatic success as the Cossacks returned under the royal suzerainty. The Cossack Ukraine, labeled as the Duchy of Ruthenia, was to become the third, equal member of the Commonwealth, along with Poland and Lithuania. The Orthodox bishops were to obtain seats in the Senate, and the Cossacks, whose number was to be augmented to 60,000, were to receive extensive autonomy, with an elected hetman and the prospects of nobilitation for their elders. The agreement, reached at Hadjač, even provided for the opening of two universities with a mixed Orthodox-Catholic faculty, and free navigation on the Black Sea. The driving force, favoring reconciliation with Poland on the Cossack side, were the rich members of the Cossack elite, dismayed with the tsar's patronage and still dreaming of the status of Polish nobles. Their leader was Ivan Vyhovs'kyj, elected to the hetmanate after Xmel'nyc'kyj's death in August 1657.

The tsar had no intention to resign from his recent acquisition and hoped to incite pro-Muscovian Cossacks to rebel against Vyhovs'kyj. When new Russian troops entered the Ukraine, they were faced by a Cossack-Polish coalition, assisted by substantial Tatar reinforcements. On 8 July 1659, a joint Tatar-Cossack army, commanded by Mehmed IV Giray and Vyhovs'kyj, additionally reinforced by Polish soldiers, obtained an impressive victory at Konotop. Although the Tatars then raided Muscovy reaching as far as Tula, the coalition failed to remove the Russian garrisons from the Ukraine. It soon turned out that the compromise attained at Hadjač encountered strong opposition among

rank and file Cossacks and peasants. In September 1659, Vyhovs'kyj resigned from his post and the Ukraine entered a period of civil war and foreign intervention, labeled by future historians as the "Ruin."<sup>492</sup>

Jurij Xmel'nyc'kyj, elected the new Cossack hetman due to the popularity of his father, initially confirmed his allegiance to Poland but then renewed the agreement with Moscow. In 1660, the conclusion of peace with Sweden enabled a large Polish-Tatar offensive in the Ukraine that resulted in a renewed allegiance of the Cossack hetman and the capitulation of the Russian army, whose commander, Vasilij Šeremetev, was to spend twenty years in Crimean captivity. In 1661, Jurij Xmel'nyc'kyj and Mehmed IV Giray campaigned against Muscovy in the absence of Polish troops, which even led to suspicions in Warsaw that the khan wished to subdue the Ukraine for his own.<sup>493</sup> In 1663, John Casimir led a major expedition against Muscovy that lasted till the beginning of 1664. Crimean reinforcements again took part in the campaign, commanded by two Giray princes and Dedesh Agha. Although some Polish-Lithuanian forays reached the vicinity of Moscow, the campaign did not bring any lasting result. To make things worse, a conflict erupted in Poland between the royal court and Jerzy Lubomirski, the Crown marshal and field hetman, and evolved into a bloody civil war in the years 1665–1666. In 1665, John Casimir notified his Tatar allies that he had to withdraw his best troops from the Ukraine in order to fight the rebel. Lubomirski even tried to win Tatar support for his case, but Mehmed IV Giray remained loyal to the king.<sup>494</sup>

### *The conflict over the Ukraine (1666–1671)*

With the lapse of time, both Warsaw and Moscow came to realize that neither of them was able to control the whole of Ukraine. Since 1663, the country was in fact divided along the Dnieper into the west-

<sup>492</sup> On the political events in the Ukraine in the years 1658–1659 and the subsequent period of the "Ruin," see two recent monographs by Tetjana Jakovleva, *Rujina het'manščyny. Vid perejaslavs'koji rady-2 do Andrusivs'koji uhody (1659–1667 rr.)* (Kiev, 2003), and Piotr Kroll, *Od ugody hadziackiej do Cudnowa. Kozaczyzna między Rzeczpospolitą a Moskwą w latach 1658–1660* (Warsaw, 2008).

<sup>493</sup> See Wójcik, "Rywalizacja polsko-tatarska o Ukrainę na przełomie lat 1660–1661," *Przegląd Historyczny* 45 (1954): 623–634; *idem*, *Traktat andruszowski 1667 roku i jego geneza*, pp. 71–72.

<sup>494</sup> Wójcik, *Traktat andruszowski 1667 roku i jego geneza*, pp. 214–215.

ern part, controlled by Poland, and the eastern part, controlled by the Russians, who also garrisoned Kiev. Each part was ruled by a separate Cossack hetman, approved by the king and the tsar respectively. Preliminary Polish-Russian negotiations, initiated already in 1662, were resumed in 1664, after the failure of John Casimir's Muscovian campaign. The factor that rushed the royal court to hasten the negotiations with Moscow was the deposal of Mehmed IV Giray, the loyal Polish ally since 1654. Tensions between the khan and the Ottoman grand vizier, Ahmed Köprülü, dated from 1663, when Mehmed IV Giray refused to join the Ottoman campaign in Hungary. The khan excused himself by the need to defend the Crimea against the Kalmyks and sent his son in his stead. Even though the Tatars participated in the Ottoman conquest of Érsekújvár (Slovakian Nové Zámky, Tur. Uyvar) and raided Habsburg Moravia and Silesia, the khan's refusal to arrive in person was not forgotten. In March 1666, Mehmed IV Giray was deposed and summoned to Istanbul, but he chose to take refuge in Daghestan, where he was to die as a dervish in 1674. The new khan, Adil Giray, descended from the Choban Girays, a side branch of the dynasty, considered illegitimate by other family members and extremely unpopular among the Tatars, from the Shirins down to the rank and file. The choice was not accidental: the alienation faced by the new khan, who had spent most of his life in the Ottoman domains, guaranteed his obedience towards the grand vizier, whom he owed the throne.<sup>495</sup>

Initially, Adil Giray assured John Casimir of his friendship and, in June 1666, sent Dedesh Agha to Warsaw. On 3 September, the experienced Tatar diplomat, highly respected in Poland, swore on behalf of his lord to maintain the anti-Muscovian alliance, just as the khan's predecessors, Islam and Mehmed Girays, had done.<sup>496</sup> Yet, Adil Giray was soon approached by Petro Dorošenko, the Cossack hetman of the "Polish" western Ukraine, who aimed to restore the Ukrainian unity and independence. Disenchanted with both Moscow and Warsaw,

<sup>495</sup> Smirnov, *Krymskoe xanstvo*, pp. 571–580; Halim Giray Sultan, *Gülün-i hânân*, pp. 67–68, 73–74, 226–227; on the Choban Girays, cf. n. 388 above.

<sup>496</sup> Wójcik, *Traktat andruszowski 1667 roku i jego geneza*, pp. 221–222; Dedesh Agha brought to Warsaw several letters of the khan, the Crimean vizier, and the nureddin, all dated in Baghchasaray on 18 June 1666 and addressed to the king and the Crown chancellor; the envoy delivered the letters at a solemn audience on 11 August; see Bibl. Czart., ms. 160 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 603–611; for the text of his oath, see Document 65.



Dorošenko developed a plan to base his rule on the cooperation with Baghchasaray and Istanbul.

On 19 December 1666, a regiment of Polish troops commanded by Colonel Sebastian Machowski (the former envoy to Istanbul) was unexpectedly attacked and destroyed at Brajliv (Pol. Braiłów or Brahiłów) by a Cossack-Tatar army. Machowski and a number of Polish officers were taken prisoner by the Tatar commander, Nureddin Devlet Giray.<sup>497</sup> After the shocking news reached Warsaw, John Casimir ordered the Polish-Lithuanian commissioners, who had been negotiating a settlement with Moscow, to immediately reach an agreement before their Russian partners could learn of the Polish defeat. On 30 January 1667, an armistice was signed in the border village of Andrusovo, ending the war that had begun in 1654. The armistice was to last till 1680 and was subject to prolongation. It confirmed the division of the Ukraine along the Dnieper (Kiev was to be restored to Poland by 1669) and the cession of eastern Lithuanian territories, along with Smolensk, conquered by the tsar in 1654. Both Warsaw and Moscow knew that their reconciliation must provoke negative reactions in Baghchasaray and Istanbul. Nevertheless, the agreement stipulated that the king and the tsar should formally invite the khan and the sultan to join the peace, and only if the offer was rejected, to form a military alliance against the Muslim neighbors.<sup>498</sup>

In the following months, Warsaw and Baghchasaray blamed each other for the rupture of their alliance. Admittedly, the Tatars were first to attack in December 1666, but they had been aware of the Polish-Russian negotiations long before the signing of the Truce of Andrusovo.<sup>499</sup> As the diplomatic exchange proved futile, a Tatar-

<sup>497</sup> See Wiesław Majewski, "Podhajce—letnia i jesienna kampania 1667 r.," *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości*, vol. 6, pt. 1 (1960): 47–99, esp. p. 50. The identity of the Tatar commander, usually unnamed in the Polish historiography, can be established on the basis of the letter of the Polish vice-chancellor, Jędrzej Olszowski, to the Crimean vizier, Islam Agha; see Wójcik, "Mediacja tatarska między Polską a Turcją w roku 1672," *Przegląd Historyczny* 53 (1962): 32–50, esp. p. 35; see also the khan's letter to the king dated in Redjeb 1078 A.H. (17 December 1667–15 January 1668), referring to the past events and announcing Machowski's release; see AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 64, t. 3, nos. 531–532. On Devlet Giray, the khan's nephew and nureddin, cf. Josef Matuz, "Eine Beschreibung des Khanats der Krim aus dem Jahre 1669," *Acta Orientalia (Havniae)* 28 (1964): 129–151, esp. p. 133.

<sup>498</sup> Wójcik, *Traktat andruszowski 1667 roku i jego geneza*, pp. 249–257.

<sup>499</sup> For a discussion of this issue, see Wójcik, *Między traktatem andruszowskim a wojną turecką. Stosunki polsko-rosyjskie 1667–1672* (Warsaw, 1968), pp. 13–18 and 44–46.

Cossack foray commanded by Batır-shah Mirza, who had wintered in the Ukraine, set out in May 1667 to raid Volhynia.<sup>500</sup> In October 1667, a large Cossack-Tatar army, commanded by Hetman Petro Dorošenko and the khan's brother, Qalga Qırım Giray, besieged a much weaker Polish army at Pidhajci (Pol. Podhajce). The Polish defence, organized by the Crown field hetman (and future king), Jan Sobieski, proved successful and forced the besiegers to negotiations. In result, two separate agreements were reached, like at Zboriv in 1649: a Polish-Crimean (16 October) and a Polish-Cossack one (19 October).<sup>501</sup>

The Polish-Crimean instrument of peace was prepared in one common version in Polish. It commenced with a hypocritical preamble declaring that: "His Majesty, [...] Qalga Qırım Giray, has entered the domains of His Royal Majesty [...] with no other intention but to confirm and renew [...] the ancient treaties with His Royal Majesty." Having invoked the old friendship reigning in the times of Islam III and Mehmed IV Girays, the document provided for mutual remission of past wrongs and declared that any future conflicts should be solved by the means of diplomacy. Colonel Machowski and other Polish soldiers, taken prisoner in December 1666, were to be set free; in return, the Tatars imprisoned on various occasions in Poland were to return to the Crimea. While the Tatars declared military assistance against royal enemies, in return they were promised the customary gifts in annual installments. As the dispatch of the first installment was subject to confirmation by the Polish-Lithuanian Diet, two Polish officers<sup>502</sup> were to remain in the Crimea as guarantees of the gifts' delivery. In the meantime, the Tatars were not to enter the Ukraine without royal permission. The Crimean side also promised to restrain the raids of the Nogays, even those who did not acknowledge the khan's authority, like many members of the clans Oraq-oghlu and Or-Membet-oghlu, and many inhabitants of Budjak. Although the Cossack issues were to be further discussed in direct Polish-Cossack negotiations, the Polish-Crimean instrument stipulated that the Cossacks should be granted amnesty when they return under the royal suzerainty. Finally, the Tatars engaged that they would not commit any harm on their way home; nonetheless, like in the years 1649 and 1653, they were tacitly

<sup>500</sup> Majewski, "Podhajce," pp. 61 and 67–68.

<sup>501</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 89–93; Wójcik, *Jan Sobieski 1629–1696* (Warsaw, 1983), pp. 139–144.

<sup>502</sup> These were Lieutenant [*porucznik*] Mikołaj Złotnicki and Standard-bearer [*chorąży*] Adam Łychowski; cf Document 69, n. 1.

authorized to take along the captives whom they already held. For understandable reasons, the Polish authorities did not want to enter the latter provision into the treaty, but Sobieski issued a separate safe-conduct, ordering local military commanders to let the Tatars pass undisturbed along with their human cargo.<sup>503</sup>

The mutually accepted text was endorsed by the Polish hetman on behalf of King John Casimir and the whole Commonwealth, and by the qalga on behalf of Khan Adil Giray, his successor not mentioned by name, and the whole Crimea. One copy, corroborated by Sobieski and eight Polish officers, was delivered to the Crimean negotiators.<sup>504</sup> Another copy, corroborated with seals by Qırım Giray, two other Giray princes, and seven Crimean dignitaries, is today preserved in the Polish archives.<sup>505</sup> In addition to the exchange of corroborated instruments, the agreement was confirmed by solemn oaths taken by the Crimean and Polish negotiators. The texts of the oaths were recorded and authenticated by Sobieski with his signature. While the oath of the Crimean negotiators merely referred to the text of the written instrument, the Polish negotiators, apparently on Crimean request, made two additional engagements: they promised that if the Commonwealth were to convert its armistice with Muscovy into a permanent peace, the khan would be notified in advance so that his representative could attend the negotiations; besides, they engaged that the Polish troops would not enter the Ukraine before the Diet endorsed the dispatch of gifts to the khan.<sup>506</sup> The reconciliation reached at Pidhajci was promptly confirmed by the khan in a letter brought to Warsaw by a Tatar envoy, Abid Agha, early in the year 1668.<sup>507</sup>

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<sup>503</sup> See his order, dated 18 October 1667, forbidding to disturb the Tatars on their way home and confirming their right to take along their captives; published in *Acta Historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, vol. 2: *Acta Joannis Sobieski*. Edited by F. Kluczycki, vol. 1, pt. 1 (Cracow, 1880), p. 290.

<sup>504</sup> For the names of the Polish signatories, see Document 66, n. 1; the Polish instrument, whose original was taken to the Crimea, is not preserved.

<sup>505</sup> See Document 66.

<sup>506</sup> For the authenticated texts of the oaths, brought by Sobieski to Warsaw and submitted at the Senate meeting on 13 March 1668, see Documents 67 and 68.

<sup>507</sup> See Adil Giray's letter to the king, dated in Redjeb 1078 A.H. (17 December 1667–15 January 1668), announcing the release of Colonel Machowski and other Polish prisoners from the Crimean captivity, and referring to the earlier departure of Dedesh Agha, who had been sent in order to collect the promised royal gifts; see AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 64, t. 3, nos. 531–532.

In spite of the official reconciliation, the Polish statesmen did not trust the Tatars and Cossacks. Two months after Pidhajci, on 14 December 1667, a supplement to the Truce of Andrusovo was signed in Moscow, providing for Polish-Russian military cooperation against the rebel Cossacks and joint defense of both Polish and Russian parts of the Ukraine against the Tatars and Turks. Not unexpectedly, the treaty pushed Hetman Dorošenko even further towards seeking Muslim protection.<sup>508</sup>

The Diet convened in Warsaw, which was to confirm the agreement of Pidhajci, was interrupted on 7 March 1668 due to an internal strife between the court and the malcontents. John Casimir, disheartened by the recent civil war and constant opposition, decided to abdicate though he postponed this act until September. Fearing that the breaking of the Diet and internal chaos could provoke a new Tatar raid, the Commonwealth's authorities reassured Dedesh Agha, who constantly traveled between Baghchasaray and Warsaw, of their peaceful intentions. Even though Dedesh returned to the Crimea without the promised royal gifts, both sides continued the release of captured prisoners. Moreover, on 15 April 1668, Adil Giray solemnly swore to observe the peace in the presence of the Polish guarantees from Pidhajci, still detained as residents in the Crimea until the payment of the royal gifts.<sup>509</sup>

The khan also issued an instrument, in which he recalled the past friendship from the times of Islam III Giray and Mehmed IV Giray, and invoked his oath confirming the articles from Pidhajci. He specifically promised to release the captives taken in the previous raids of the nureddin, Devlet Giray (December 1666), and Batır-shah Mirza (May–June 1667), and to forbid the sale of Polish soldiers and noblemen, along with their families, as slaves to the Ottoman lands.<sup>510</sup> In regard to the Cossacks, Adil Giray envisioned that they would reassert their allegiance towards the king and remain under joint Polish-Crimean patronage. In return, they were not to be harassed by the

<sup>508</sup> Cf. Wójcik, *Między traktatem andruszowskim a wojną turecką*, pp. 105–107 and 124–125.

<sup>509</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 180–181; see also the letter, referring to the khan's oath and dated 17 April 1668, sent to Sobieski by the Polish residents in the Crimea, Mikołaj Złotnicki and Adam Łychowski; published in *Acta Historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, vol. 2: *Acta Joannis Sobieski*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 356–358.

<sup>510</sup> It is worth noting that commoners were not mentioned.

Polish troops. Yet, if the Cossacks rioted again, the Tatars would assist the king in routing the rebels.<sup>511</sup>

The years 1667–1672 brought a genuine rapprochement between Warsaw and Moscow. Both courts felt endangered by a possible Ottoman-Crimean expansion in the Ukraine. While the Commonwealth was slowly recovering after the previous calamities, Russia was weakened by the religious conflict over the Church reform and the great Don Cossack uprising, led by Stepan Razin. Moreover, Afanasij Ordin-Naščokin, the influential Russian statesman of the time, argued for a peace with Poland-Lithuania in order to focus on the struggle against Sweden for the access to the Baltic Sea. All these considerations resulted in a more or less loyal cooperation vis-à-vis Baghchasaray. When the Crimean envoy, Abid Agha, arrived at Warsaw early in the year 1668, he was further dispatched to Moscow in order to negotiate a tripartite treaty.<sup>512</sup>

A lasting peace with both Warsaw and Moscow was contrary to the Crimean tradition as it deprived the Tatars of prospective spoils from raiding the territories of their northern neighbors. Nevertheless, fearing isolation, Adil Giray claimed that general peace was also his desire. In the spring of 1670, Crimean envoys in Moscow, Sefer Agha and Shahtemir Atalıq, issued an instrument of peace on behalf of the khan. Invoking the recent Crimean-Polish pacification at Pidhajci, negotiated between Qalga Qırım Giray and Grand Marshal Sobieski (*büyük marşalqa Sabıqa*), and the recent Polish-Muscovian treaty of 1667, the envoys expressed the desire of their lord, the khan, to become “like a third brother” (*üçüncü qarındaş gibi*) of the two “great padishahs:” the king and the tsar.<sup>513</sup> The Crimean-Muscovian treaty was confirmed by a solemn instrument of peace, issued by Tsar Alexis in Moscow on 7 May 1670. In analogy to the Tatar instrument, the Russian document stipulated that Adil Giray would become a third friend and close

<sup>511</sup> See Document 69.

<sup>512</sup> Cf. Wójcik, *Między traktatem andruszowskim a wojną turecką*, pp. 20–21 and 180–185. Formally, the dispatch of Abid Agha to Moscow occurred on the request of the khan, who had asked the Polish king to press the tsar to send the customary gifts to Baghchasaray; see the above quoted letter of Adil Giray to John Casimir; AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 64, t. 3, nos. 531–532. Yet, Warsaw’s obvious intention was to display its good relations with Moscow rather than help the khan to pressure the tsar.

<sup>513</sup> See RGADA, f. 123, op. 2, no. 59; published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, pp. 584–592; its Russian translation is published in *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*... Edited by F. Laškov, pp. 163–169. The instrument, composed in Crimean Tatar, is referred to by the term *zapis*, a loanword from Russian.

neighbor of the two remaining monarchs.<sup>514</sup> Alexis duly sent a copy of his document to Warsaw, where it was translated into Polish in July 1670.<sup>515</sup>

Neither the rapprochement between Warsaw and Moscow nor their tripartite treaty with Baghchasaray deterred Petro Dorošenko from seeking a way to unite the whole Ukraine under his rule. Already in 1667, Dorošenko secured the protection of the *kaymakam*, Kara Mustafa Pasha, who substituted for the grand vizier, Ahmed Köprülü, then fighting in Crete. In August 1667, Sultan Mehmed IV renewed the peace with Poland and issued a new *'ahdname*, but in a separate letter he warned the Polish king against attacking the Cossacks, who had asked for Ottoman protection.<sup>516</sup> In 1668, Dorošenko crossed the Dnieper and killed Ivan Brjuxovec'kyj, the hetman of the "Russian" Ukraine, although he failed to secure his conquest against the Russian troops. On 1 June 1669, Mehmed IV issued a formal diploma (*berat*), investing Dorošenko with the whole of Ukraine as the Ottoman vassal, equal in status to the rulers of Moldavia and Wallachia.<sup>517</sup> The news of Dorošenko's having become an Ottoman vassal served as a convenient pretext for Russian diplomats who in the fall of 1669 refused to restore Kiev to Poland, as had been stipulated by the Truce of Andrusovo, arguing that they could not allow the city's capture by the Muslims.<sup>518</sup>

To be sure, the Commonwealth did not acknowledge the Porte's claim to protect the Cossacks. In September 1670, Warsaw invested

<sup>514</sup> *i vam bratu našemu Adil Gireevu carevu veličestvu byti s oboimi nami velikimi gosudari v opčej sosedstvennoj družbe, jako tret'emu drugu i bližajšemu sosedu*; cf. a Russian copy of the document, issued on 27 April 1718 according to the Byzantine calendar, published in *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*... Edited by F. Laškov, pp. 156–163, esp. p. 157.

<sup>515</sup> Cf. Wójcik, *Między traktatem andruszowskim a wojną turecką*, p. 242; a copy of the tsar's document along with the Russian translation of the oath taken by the Crimean envoys in Moscow in confirmation of their instrument (*zapis*), are preserved in the Polish archives along with their contemporary Polish translations; see AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 60, t. 32, nos. 34–35. For the texts in Russian, published after the copies held in Moscow, see *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*... Edited by F. Laškov, pp. 156–163 and 168–169.

<sup>516</sup> For the sultan's letter regarding the Cossacks, followed by a similarly worded letter by Kara Mustafa, cf. Abrahamowicz, *Katalog dokumentów tureckich*, pp. 351–352 and 355. The *'ahdname* of 1667 is published in Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 476–489.

<sup>517</sup> Cf. Kołodziejczyk, "Tertium non datur? Turec'ka al'ternatyva v zovnišnij polityci kozac'koji deržavy," in: *Hadjac'ka unija 1658 roku* (Kiev, 2008): 67–80, esp. pp. 72–74.

<sup>518</sup> Wójcik, *Między traktatem andruszowskim a wojną turecką*, pp. 206 and 209.

Myxajlo Xanenko as the new Cossack hetman and announced Dorošenko's deposal, though it was easier said than done. Somewhat unexpectedly, the new Polish protégé was acknowledged by Adil Giray, who did not want to risk an open conflict with both Warsaw and Moscow. Besides, the khan was frustrated by Dorošenko's communicating with the Porte over his head. This independent move cost Adil Giray his throne. In May 1671, the Porte replaced him with Selim Giray, a son of the former khan, Bahadır Giray.<sup>519</sup> A few months later, when Sobieski entered the Ukraine at the head of the Polish troops in order to support Xanenko, he faced a new Cossack-Tatar coalition between Dorošenko and Selim Giray. The Porte, liberated from other military concerns after the conclusion of the Cretan war in 1669, ordered the governor of Očakiv, Khalil Pasha, to assist Dorošenko and resolved to start in the following year an invasion of Poland-Lithuania on a full scale.<sup>520</sup>

### Conclusion

Not unlike in Renaissance Italy, the alliances in early modern Eastern Europe typically followed a "checkboard pattern," to use the term coined by Garrett Mattingly.<sup>521</sup> In the long period between 1523 and

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<sup>519</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 252–253; cf. Matuz, "Eine Beschreibung des Khanats der Krim aus dem Jahre 1669," pp. 133–134. In this context, it seems that Wójcik overestimates the role of the Crimean-Muscovian treaty of 1670 in determining Warsaw's isolation in its approaching confrontation with the Porte; cf. *ibidem*, p. 245. When the Ottoman-Crimean army invaded Poland in 1672 and the tsar chose to abstain from the conflict, he could not base his decision on the treaty of 1670 because the latter's signatory, Adil Giray, was no longer in power.

<sup>520</sup> Cf. Kołodziejczyk, *Podole pod panowaniem tureckim. Ejalet Kamieniecki 1672–1699* (Warsaw, 1994), pp. 51–52; on the Ukrainian campaign of 1671, see Marek Wagner, *Wojna polsko-turecka w latach 1672–1676*, vol. 1 (Zabrze, 2009), pp. 77–84.

<sup>521</sup> Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (New York, 1988), p. 69. In his now classical book, published for the first time in 1955, Mattingly claimed that this pattern had first developed in Italy, emancipated from religious and moral constraints due to the prolonged secular struggle between the two heads of Western Christendom. Also a Polish scholar, Władysław Pociecha, credited the Italian wife of Sigismund I, Bona Sforza, for the emancipation of Polish foreign policy from the Habsburg and papal influence; cf. *idem*, *Królowa Bona (1494–1557). Czasy i ludzie odrodzenia*, vol. 2 (Poznań, 1949), p. 210. To the present author, the claim that realpolitik was invented in Western Europe and only later aped in the rest of the world seems ungrounded and merely reflecting Western biases. Many documents, also edited and discussed in the present volume, prove that the Lithuanian rulers conducted a pragmatic realpolitik already in the 14th and 15th centuries.

1671, the Crimean Khanate often played a decisive role in the confrontation between Poland-Lithuania and Muscovy by supporting one or the other side.

Predictably, the party, whom the Tatars supported, tended to praise them as valuable allies, while the opposite side branded them as “greedy barbarians.” These notions and prejudices found their way to the national historiographies and are still detectable today. The weaker was Poland-Lithuania in its competition with Muscovy, the more often the Tatars came to its rescue, earning the praise of Polish contemporary statesmen as well as modern historians. No wonder that the general assessment of the Crimean Khanate has been more favorable in the Polish historiography than in the Russian one. In the 15th and 16th centuries, the khans alternatively supported one Slavic neighbor against the other. But with the rise of Muscovy at the cost of the Volgine and Siberian khanates, and especially during the mid-17th century crisis that almost erased Poland-Lithuania from the map, the Crimean Khanate turned into “the trusted ally in the struggle against Muscovy”—to quote a 20th-century Polish historian.<sup>522</sup>

In a recent reassessment of the sixteenth-century Crimean foreign policy, Aleksandr Filjuškin invokes the aphorism coined by the great Russian historian, Sergej Solov’ev: “the Crimean auction” (*krymskij aukcion*). The term refers to situations when the Crimean military support had to be “purchased” with the gifts, sent from Vilnius and Moscow, and the khan chose whom to support by simply measuring the material value of the received gifts. Nevertheless, Filjuškin admits that the khan’s decision depended not merely on the gifts’ value, but on the notion of the balance of power as well.<sup>523</sup> Also the Russian historians who studied the seventeenth-century Crimean policy and were hardly favorable in their opinions on the Tatars admitted that political motives had been no less important than short term material gains in motivating Baghchasaray’s decisions.<sup>524</sup>

Among the rank and file Tatars, economic concerns certainly dominated in motivating their raids against the Slavic neighbors, but for the

<sup>522</sup> Wójcik, *Traktat andruszowski 1667 roku i jego geneza*, p. 63.

<sup>523</sup> Filjuškin, “Proekty rusko-krymskogo voennogo sojuza,” p. 309; on the term *krymskij aukcion*, see Sergej Solov’ev, *Istorija Rossii s drevnejšix vremen*, vol. 6, in: *idem, Sočinenija v vosemnadcati knigax*, book 3 (Moscow, 1989), p. 580.

<sup>524</sup> Cf. Novosel’skij, *Bor’ba Moskovskogo gosudarstva s Tatarami*, p. 9, and Sanin, *Otnošenija Rossii i Ukrainy s Krymskim xanstvom v seredine XVII veka*, p. 50.



Crimean elite members other concerns—apart from spoils, gifts, and proverbial bribes—mattered, too. They gained experience and broadened geographic horizons far beyond the triangle of Istanbul-Moscow-Warsaw by joining Ottoman campaigns in Iran and Hungary, or by participating in embassies to Vienna, Copenhagen, and Stockholm. Along with the advent of Sweden, another factor, namely the massive westward migration of the Nogays and Kalmyks complicated the East European politics in the 17th century. When united with the Crimean Tatars and obeying the khan, the Nogay cavalymen could seriously strengthen the Khanate's military power. But when in riot or aspiring to a separate statehood, as was the case in the times of Kantemir, they constituted a formidable challenge to the khan's domestic and foreign policy. Unlike the Nogays, the Kalmyks never recognized the khan's suzerainty and caused constant fear among the Crimean population.

Many examples demonstrate the efforts of the Crimean khans to prevent a rise of one dominant power in their surroundings. In the 1560s, the Tatars, alarmed by Ivan IV's conquests on the Volga, contributed towards the failure of his Baltic plans by *de facto* participating in the First Northern War. Half-a-century later, Baghchasaray was in turn concerned with the Polish domination of Eastern Europe. In consequence, in 1614 the khan came to terms with the new Muscovian dynasty—the Romanovs, and in the following years the Tatars helped the Ottomans to evict the Poles from Moldavia. When in 1640s, the Polish court developed another expansionist plan that was dangerous to the Crimea, it was met with a terrible response in 1648, when Islam III Giray supported the great Cossack rebellion. Having placed Poland-Lithuania on the verge of disaster, the Crimean court then realized that it opened the pathway to an uncontrollable rise of Russia, especially after the Cossacks acknowledged the tsar's suzerainty in 1654. The Tatars then reversed their policy and faced Russia and Sweden in the Second Northern War, loyally fighting alongside the Poles and Danes.

The Crimean political impact was also apparent precisely when it was absent. Two heavy blows to the Muslim prestige in the region, the fall of Kazan to the Russians in 1552 and the fall of Azov to the Cossacks in 1637, had been preceded, and perhaps enabled, by political crises in the Crimea that culminated in the deposals and killings of Sahib Giray (1551) and Inayet Giray (1637), respectively. In a seemingly paradox, both deposals and killings were instigated by the Ottoman Porte.

On their part, also the khans knew how to effectively frustrate the plans of their Muslim brethren, the Ottoman sultans, when these plans endangered the Khanate's sovereignty. The Ottoman expedition against Russia in 1569, though proclaimed in the name of Islam and formally aimed to deliver the Volgine Tatars from the tsar's yoke, was less than enthusiastically supported (if not openly sabotaged) by Devlet Giray, who feared that a strong Ottoman presence in the region would hamper his own freedom of action. Other similar conflicts were to come, with the most notorious one under the walls of Vienna in 1683.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### IN THE SHADE OF ISTANBUL AND MOSCOW (1671–1783)

##### *The Crimean role in the Ottoman-Polish war of 1672–1676 and in the following reconciliation*

The Ottoman direct engagement in the Ukraine led predictably to a limitation of the Crimean zone of political influence. Even a khan like Adil Giray, regarded as the creature of the Köprülüs and detested in the Crimean society, tried to prevent the Porte's meddling in his affairs and ultimately paid with his throne for this insubordination. His successor, Selim Giray, who was to rule with interruptions until 1704 (1671–78, 1684–91, 1692–99, 1702–04), turned out to be the Porte's most loyal ally during its military confrontation with Christian Europe, but also he knew to struggle for the Crimean proper interests.

In August 1672, the key Polish fortress of Kamieniec Podolski surrendered after a short siege. The Ottoman army, headed by Sultan Mehmed IV and commanded by Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü, was assisted by nearly all major vassals: the rulers of Wallachia and Moldavia, the Crimean khan, Selim Giray, and the Cossack hetman, Petro Dorošenko. The Ottomans were also joined by the Lipka Tatars,<sup>525</sup> who had settled in Lithuania in the 15th century and recently rioted against the Commonwealth, frustrated by the rise of anti-Muslim prejudices, symptomatic for the Counter-Reformation.

After the fall of Kamieniec, the khan and an Ottoman commander, Kaplan Mustafa Pasha, proceeded as far as Lwów and forced the city to ransom its freedom while minor Tatar detachments raided the countryside. Nevertheless, the major Ottoman army slowed down its march, satisfied with the conquest and ready for negotiations. On 18 October 1672, an agreement was reached at Bučač (Pol. Buczacz), stipulating that the Polish king would become an Ottoman vassal by paying a yearly tribute to the sultan. The palatinate of Podolia, cen-

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<sup>525</sup> On the term, cf. n. 15 above. The Lipkas usually claimed descent from the followers of Tokhtamish. The truth was more complicated as many of them arrived later and descended from other hordes.

tered in Kamieniec, was converted into a regular Ottoman province (*eyalet*), and the Cossack Ukraine was to remain under the Ottoman suzerainty, retaining its autonomy. Dorošenko's position was secured by a clause, entered into the treaty, which forbade his pro-Polish rival, Xanenko, an entry to the Ukraine. The former governor of Očakiv, Khalil Pasha, who had earlier supported Dorošenko, became the first Ottoman *beylerbeyi* of Podolia. On 23 October, Sultan Mehmed IV confirmed the conditions of the Bučač agreement by issuing a solemn '*ahdname* in a military camp near Žvanec'.<sup>526</sup>

The Polish king was surely humiliated, but the Crimean khan did not fare much better. The southeastern provinces of the Commonwealth, which had long constituted a "reservoir" of spoils and slaves for the Tatar warriors, became the appendages of the Ottoman Empire, protected now by the sultan against Tatar raids. The Cossacks, who had enjoyed the Crimean protection since 1648, now entered direct relations with the Porte and shifted their allegiance from Baghchasaray to Istanbul. The devaluation of the prestige of the Crimean khan, whose ancestors had once independently negotiated sophisticated instruments of peace with the Polish kings, is best illustrated by the instrument, issued by Selim Giray on 23 October 1672 in the military camp near Žvanec—the very same date and place as those of the sultan's instrument—and delivered to the hands of the Polish commissioners who negotiated the peace with the Porte. The khan merely engaged that he would restrain his subjects from raiding the Polish Kingdom on the condition that he received the annual gifts, augmented by a recently promised supplement amounting to a thousand golden florins. If the khan failed to restrain his troops, he was not to demand the gifts due for the year when such unauthorized raid occurred. Curiously, the *de facto* lowered status of the khan was compensated by his megalomaniac claim to rule over Siberia and the Bashkirs, reflected in the instrument's *intitulatio*.<sup>527</sup>

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<sup>526</sup> On the campaign and pacification of 1672, see Kołodziejczyk, *Podole pod panowaniem tureckim*, pp. 56–66; Mehmet İnbaşı, *Ukrayna'da Osmanlılar. Kamanice Seferi ve Organizasyonu (1672)* (Istanbul, 2004), pp. 135–182; Wagner, *Wojna polsko-turecka w latach 1672–1676*, pp. 228–292; on the Ottoman conquest and administration of Podolia, see Kołodziejczyk (ed.), *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia (ca. 1681)*. Deftter-i Mufasssal-i Eyalet-i Kamanice (Cambridge, Mass., 2004), 2 pts.; the Polish and Ottoman instruments of the Treaty of Buczacz and the sultan's '*ahdname* issued at Žvanec' are published in *idem, Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 494–514.

<sup>527</sup> See Document 70.

Selim Giray was perfectly aware that the strengthening of the Ottoman position in the Ukraine would limit the Crimean sovereignty. Although he previously authorized the Tatars to raid Poland-Lithuania, he feared its total collapse and repeatedly offered his mediation before, during, and after the fall of Kamieniec. In October 1672, the khan and his vizier, Subhan Ghazi Agha, actively participated in the Ottoman-Polish pacification.<sup>528</sup>

In 1673, the Polish-Ottoman war was resumed after the Diet had rejected the humiliating Treaty of Buczacz. On 11 November, the Polish-Lithuanian army commanded by Hetman Sobieski defeated the Ottomans at Hotin. Selim Giray, who maintained regular diplomatic contacts with Warsaw,<sup>529</sup> excused himself from the campaign by the necessity to defend the Crimea against the pro-Muscovian Kalmyks and the Zaporozhian Cossacks, who had refused to acknowledge the Ottoman suzerainty.

In 1674, the newly elected king John III Sobieski, who owed his throne to the victory of Hotin, addressed the khan with new peace proposals. Sobieski understood very well Selim Giray's concerns regarding the rise of Muscovy and the parallel loss of the Khanate's autonomy versus the Porte. A year later, the king instructed his envoys whom he sent to the Crimea to persuade the khan that "the stronger the [Polish-Lithuanian] Commonwealth is, the stronger respect the Crimea will enjoy from the side of the Porte."<sup>530</sup>

The chances of a successful Tatar mediation between Istanbul and Warsaw increased when in 1674 the Russians invaded the Ottoman Ukraine and the Porte had to defend Dorošenko against a new enemy. Yet, the Ottomans were unwilling to restore Podolia to Poland, so the Ottoman-Polish hostilities continued along with the Ottoman-Russian ones. After another year of campaigning, in October 1676 an armistice was reached in a military camp near Żuravno (Pol. Żurawno),

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<sup>528</sup> On the Crimean efforts of mediation in 1672, cf. Wójcik, "Mediacja tatarska między Polską a Turcją w roku 1672," pp. 39–47; Wagner, *Wojna polsko-turecka w latach 1672–1676*, pp. 225–226, 255, 289–290; Michał Sikorski, *Wyprowa Sobieskiego na czambuły tatarskie 1672* (Zabrze, 2007), pp. 170, 202–203.

<sup>529</sup> Wagner, *Wojna polsko-turecka w latach 1672–1676*, p. 320.

<sup>530</sup> *czyli Rzeczpospolita mocniejsza, tem Krym w większym u Porty respektie*; quoted in Janusz Woliński, "Pośrednictwo tatarskie w wojnie polsko-tureckiej 1674–1675," in: *idem, Z dziejów wojny i polityki w dobie Jana Sobieskiego* (Warsaw, 1960): 139–159, esp. p. 157.

where the Polish-Lithuanian troops, commanded by King John III, were besieged by an Ottoman-Crimean army, commanded by an Ottoman *serasker*, Sheytan Ibrahim Pasha, and Selim Giray. The khan not only participated in the campaign and negotiations, but his name honorably preceded the names of Ottoman dignitaries listed in the *narratio* of the peace instruments exchanged at Żuravno: the Polish one, issued in Latin by the Commonwealth's commissioners, and the Ottoman one, issued in Turkish by Sheytan Ibrahim Pasha.<sup>531</sup> Like in 1672, no separate treaty was negotiated between Poland-Lithuania and the Crimean Khanate.

The Truce of Żurawno officially relieved the Polish king from the tributary dependance, stipulated by the Treaty of Buczacz, but confirmed the Ottomans in their possession of Podolia and Ukraine. The Porte had still to fight for the latter against Russia, especially since Dorošenko, disenchanted with weak Ottoman and domestic support, abdicated from the hetmanate and defected to the tsar in September 1676. The new Ottoman grand vizier, Kara Mustafa Pasha, replaced Dorošenko with Jurij Xmel'nyč'kyj, Bohdan's son and the former hetman, released on that occasion from the Istanbul prison of Yedikule.<sup>532</sup> In 1677, the Ottoman-Crimean army, again commanded by Ibrahim Pasha and Selim Giray, failed to install Xmel'nyč'kyj on the hetman's seat in Čyhyryn, which was valiantly defended by the Russians and pro-Muscovian Cossacks. Only in 1678, the Russian garrison evacuated the ruined Cossack capital and by 1681 an Ottoman-Russian peace was reached that divided the Ukraine along the Dnieper.

Selim Giray paid with his throne for the unsuccessful Čyhyryn campaign of 1677 and was replaced with his cousin, Murad Giray. Before the new khan left Istanbul to ascend the throne in the Crimea, he was asked for mediation by Jan Gniński, the Polish ambassador and Sobieski's trusted confidant, who had arrived at the Porte in order to confirm the Truce of Żurawno. The Polish king, who had begun his career as an ardent pro-French factionist, secretly hoped to enter an

<sup>531</sup> The Polish and Ottoman instruments of the Truce of Żurawno are published in Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 515–527.

<sup>532</sup> See Kara Mustafa's letter dated 26 Zilkade 1087 A.H. (30 January 1677), ordering the *kaymakam*, Osman Pasha, to find the "giaour, being the former Cossack hetman" and if alive, to send him immediately to Edirne; published in Franz Babinger (ed.), *Das Archiv des Bosniaken Osman Pascha. Nach den Beständen der Badischen Landesbibliothek zu Karlsruhe* (Berlin, 1931), p. 47.

alliance with Louis XIV, directed against Brandenburg-Prussia, and less formally against Vienna. In order to attain this, he needed a lasting peace with Istanbul that would also secure him from the side of Russia. He hoped that through the French mediation he would regain at least a part of Podolia in order to appease the domestic opposition. All these expectations were dashed by a frank statement of the khan, expressed during his meeting with Gniński on 26 February 1678: “whether you are sore or you bow, it is equal to us, as the Porte cares neither about your friendship nor your anger.”<sup>533</sup>

The *ahdname*, issued by Sultan Mehmed IV in April 1678, in fact merely confirmed the Treaty of Buczacz with a few notable exceptions such as the abolishment of tribute and the concession of two Ukrainian fortresses, Bila Cerkva and Pavoloč, to Poland. Sobieski unwillingly accepted the peace, but his disillusion with Paris and Istanbul was to result in his future rapprochement with Vienna and his crucial decision to assist the Habsburgs in 1683.

### *In the shade of the great war 1683–1699*

The uncompromising stand of the Porte, recalled in the above quoted dialogue between Murad Giray and the Polish envoy, well reflected the megalomania of the then grand vizier, Kara Mustafa Pasha, that was soon to irritate the khan, too. In 1683, Murad Giray participated in the Hungarian campaign of Kara Mustafa. When the grand vizier decided to besiege Vienna ignoring the warnings of his advisers, the khan openly sabotaged his orders. In result, he was replaced by Hadji Giray, who had gained fame during the battle of Vienna by rescuing the Holy Standard of the Prophet.<sup>534</sup> Yet, after his return to the

<sup>533</sup> *Lubo się gniewacie, lubo się kłaniacie, nam to jedno, o przyjaźń waszą, jako i o gniew Porta nie dba*; see Franciszek Pułaski (ed.), *Źródła do poselstwa Jana Gnińskiego wojewody chełmińskiego do Turcyi w latach 1677–1678* (Warsaw, 1907), p. 78; cf. Wójcik, *Rzeczpospolita wobec Turcji i Rosji 1674–1679. Studium z dziejów polskiej polityki zagranicznej* (Wrocław etc., 1976), pp. 123–125.

<sup>534</sup> The conflict between Murad Giray and Kara Mustafa Pasha is described in numerous sources, including an almost contemporary Crimean chronicle, whose author, Mehmed Giray, openly criticised the Ottoman haughtiness; see Markus Köhbach, “Der *Tārih-i Mehemmed Giray*—eine osmanische Quelle zur Belagerung Wiens durch die Türken im Jahre 1683,” in: *Studia Austro-Polonica 3 = Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 672 // Prace Historyczne*, no. 75 (1983): 137–164; cf. a Polish translation of the relevant fragment in Abrahamowicz (ed.), *Kara Mustafa pod*

Crimea, the new khan soon faced a noble rebellion and in 1684 was in turn replaced by Selim Giray.

The creation of the Holy League in the aftermath of the Christian victory at Vienna completely changed the geopolitical situation of the Crimean Khanate, now endangered in its very existence. Interestingly, initially the Polish king secretly offered Selim Giray peace, and even international warranty of the Khanate's independence, to be sworn by the League members, on the sole condition that the Tatars would remain neutral. The offer was submitted through Tomasz Golczewski, sent to the Crimea in 1685. The king tried to play on Tatar noble ambitions and the envoy was instructed to wish Selim Giray that "the slaves [i.e., Ottoman viziers] should no longer rule over the free, bold, and ancient [Tatar] nation" and that the khan should reign as a sovereign Muslim monarch "just as the padishah of Bukhara, the king of Persia, the king of India, and some Arab emirs, do."<sup>535</sup> Repeatedly urged by his Habsburg allies to invite the tsar to the League, Sobieski hoped that it would not be necessary if the khan remained neutral. The king preferred a rapprochement with Baghchasaray, or even an exotic alliance with Isfahan,<sup>536</sup> to an alliance with Moscow as he knew that the latter would imply the Commonwealth's final resignation from the lands lost to Russia by 1667.

Although Selim Giray did not openly reject the offer, he procrastinated his answer, and the Polish king finally made up his mind to conclude a lasting peace with the tsar. After the latter joined the League (albeit informally) in 1686, the political situation of the Khanate became dramatic. Even if unrealistic and nourished by war enthusiasm, some projects drawn in Warsaw and Moscow did not augur well to the Tatars. While some Poles expressed their hope that the Russians would invade the Crimea, "put all the Tatars, like chicken, into a sack, and eat them, so that their name be no longer heard in the world," the Russian government contemplated a forced resettlement of the

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*Wiedniem. Źródła muzułmańskie do dziejów wyprawy wiedeńskiej 1683 roku* (Cracow, 1973), pp. 309–316.

<sup>535</sup> See Czesław Chowaniec, "Sobieski wobec Tatarszczyzny 1683–85," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 42 (1928): 52–66, esp. pp. 60–61.

<sup>536</sup> On Sobieski's efforts to invite the Persian shah to join the anti-Ottoman alliance, see Chowaniec, "Z dziejów polityki Jana III na Bliskim Wschodzie 1683–1686," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 40 (1926): 151–160.



Tatars to Anatolia.<sup>537</sup> In order to survive, the Khanate had to loyally fight at the side of the Porte and entrust its fate to the Ottoman might, still drawing on the impressive human and economic resources. In 1687 and 1689, two major Russian offensives against the Crimea, commanded by Vasilij Golicyn, ended in failure. The defenders were backed by extreme ecological conditions and their own decision to set the steppe on fire, which made it impassable for the horse-driven Russian artillery.<sup>538</sup> Interestingly, the failed expeditions against the Crimea prompted the Russian government to suspend its expansion on the Amur river and reach an agreement with China in 1689.<sup>539</sup>

The Tatars proved invaluable as Ottoman allies in provisioning the Ottoman garrison of Kamieniec Podolski and defending Moldavia and Hungary against the Polish and Habsburg troops.<sup>540</sup> Yet, supporting Ottoman armies in distant Hungary was hardly popular in the society that faced an imminent threat from Russia. Unwilling to join the Ottoman troops in Hungary and struck by the death of his most beloved son, Selim Giray abdicated in the spring of 1691. His successors, Sa'adet Giray (1691) and Safa Giray (1691–1692), disappointed both the Porte and the Crimean subjects. In result, Selim Giray returned to the throne, having performed in the meantime a pilgrimage to Mecca that earned him an honorary title of the Hadji (Tur. *Haci* or *el-Hacc*).<sup>541</sup>

<sup>537</sup> See Vladimir Artamonov [W. Artamonow], "Rosja, Rzeczpospolita i Krym w latach 1686–1699," in: *Studia i materiały z czasów Jana III Sobieskiego*. Edited by K. Matwijowski (Wrocław, 1992): 19–46, esp. pp. 29 and 32.

<sup>538</sup> For a recent English language narrative of Golicyn's two expeditions, see Brian Davies, *Warfare, State and Society on the Black Sea Steppe, 1500–1700* (London-New York, 2007), pp. 178–182. The author seems to have largely overestimated the number of Russian combatants (180,000 in the first campaign!).

<sup>539</sup> See Artamonov, "Rosja, Rzeczpospolita i Krym w latach 1686–1699," p. 21. Another link between the Crimea and China was the personage of A. Ruslanov, a baptized Crimean Tatar turned Russian diplomat in the service of the Yakutsk governor, who in turn deserted to Peking and spent over two decades in the Manchu dynasty's service. By presenting the Russian tsar as a Crimean tributary, Ruslanov weakened Russia's prestige and position in the Russian-Chinese negotiations that took place in the 1670s; see Vladimir Mjasnikov [Miasnikov], *The Ch'ing Empire and the Russian State in the 17th Century* (Moscow, 1985), pp. 86 and 159–160.

<sup>540</sup> In some years, the Crimean troops were divided in the following way: the khan remained in the Crimea to defend it against a possible Russian invasion, the qalga assisted the Ottoman troops in Hungary, and the nureddin fought against the Poles in Podolia and Moldavia; see Wagner, "Tatarskie elity władzy w latach 1684–1699," in: *idem, W cieniu szukamy jasności i chwały. Studia z dziejów panowania Jana III Sobieskiego (1684–1696)* (Siedlce, 2002): 97–109, esp. p. 101.

<sup>541</sup> Smirnov, *Krymskoe xanstvo*, pp. 630–632 and 638–645.

The year 1691 also brought the last major Polish offensive in Moldavia, led in person by the ageing king. After its failure, the Polish court contemplated a rapprochement with Paris, who offered its mediation in reaching a separatist peace with the Porte. A Polish-Ottoman reconciliation was also favored in Baghchasaray as it would remove the threat of a joint Polish-Russian attack from the north.<sup>542</sup> In the spring of 1692, Khan Safa Giray sent to Poland his envoy, Dervish Ghazi Mirza, whose father, Subhan Ghazi Agha, had once commanded the Crimean auxiliary corps in the Polish war against Sweden and had participated as the Crimean vizier in the Polish-Ottoman pacification of 1672. Having arrived in June 1692, Dervish Ghazi was received by Grand Hetman Stanisław Jabłonowski and then by the king and the Senate. The envoy offered his patron's assistance in persuading the Porte to restore to the Commonwealth the territories lost in 1672 (Podolia and the right-bank Ukraine). Despite the interest arisen by the offer, Warsaw decided to postpone the answer and detain the envoy, fearing that the embassy merely aimed to stir conflicts between Warsaw and Vienna on the one side, and Warsaw and Moscow on the other.<sup>543</sup>

<sup>542</sup> Probably not by accident, precisely in that period direct contacts were established between Baghchasaray and Paris; in the French archives one encounters a "friendly letter" (*muhabbetname*) sent to the French king through an envoy named Abdusselam from the qalga, Tokhtamış Giray, referred to on the impressed seal as *Toqtamış Gërey Sultan bin Safa Gërey Sultan* (thus Tokhtamış must have been a younger brother of Khan Safa Giray; their father was also named Safa but had never become the khan, hence was titled merely as *sultan*; I was unable to find any other reference in regard to Tokhtamış's short time qalgaship; the authors of *Le khanat de Crimée* maintain that Safa Giray's qalga was Dervish Giray, a son of Selim Giray). The letter does not contain any political clauses but invokes the embassy sent previously by "our elder brother, his excellency the khan" (*Qırım hanı ağaçamız hazretleri*) and asks the French king to maintain longterm friendship and brotherhood with the Crimea (*uzun uzaq dost ve qardaş olmaq üzere*) and to show due respect to the Crimean envoy; see Paris, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Correspondance politique, Turquie supplément, vol. 27, fols. 109a–109b (a note in French by the Archives' clerk attributes the letter to the *khan de Crimée* [sic] *Toktamich Guéraï Soultan* and provides the Christian year 1692).

<sup>543</sup> See the undated letter of Safa Giray, announcing the dispatch of Dervish Mirza to Poland, in AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 60, t. 25, no. 28. On this embassy, cf. Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja 1683–1792*, pp. 20–21, and Kazimierz Piwarski, "Sprawa pośrednictwa tatarskiego w wojnie polsko-tureckiej (1692–1693)," in: *Studia Historica. W 35-lecie pracy naukowej Henryka Łowmiańskiego* (Warsaw, 1958): 351–372, esp. pp. 357–362. Earlier in the same year, secret negotiations regarding a separatist peace were also led between Baghchasaray and Moscow; among the reasons of their failure were the Crimean refusal to resign from the Russian gifts and the Ottoman recent decision to restore the Holy Sites in Jerusalem to the Catholics, aimed at

After Selim Giray returned to the throne, in the spring of 1693 he sent a new envoy named Jokas in order to confirm that the Crimean offer of mediation was still valid.<sup>544</sup> On 5 July 1693, both Crimean envoys solemnly declared that the khan intended to persuade the Porte to restore Podolia and Ukraine to Poland and offered his military assistance against the Commonwealth's enemies.<sup>545</sup> In the fall of 1693, the Crimean envoys were sent back to the khan along with a Polish envoy, Stanisław Rzewuski. Having reached Selim Giray, who was wintering in Edirne along with the Ottoman grand vizier, the Polish envoy insisted that apart from restoring the lands captured in 1672, the Porte should also cede northern Moldavia to Poland. No agreement was reached and the war was to last five more years.<sup>546</sup>

The Russian conquest of Azov (1696) and the Habsburg victory of Zenta (1697) finally convinced the Porte to seek a peace. The Treaty of Karlowitz (1699), negotiated separately between the Ottoman plenipotentiaries and the representatives of the four Christian powers, provided that Poland-Lithuania as well as Russia<sup>547</sup> were no longer obliged to send gifts to the khan, while the Crimean and Budjak Tatars were strongly prohibited to raid the territories of their Christian neighbors. The crucial article of the Polish-Ottoman treaty provided for the restoration of Podolia and right-bank Ukraine. In return, the Poles had to evacuate their acquisitions in northern Moldavia.<sup>548</sup>

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winning French diplomatic support; cf. Artamonov, "Rosja, Rzeczpospolita i Krym," pp. 38–39.

<sup>544</sup> Jokas had traveled to Poland as an interpreter and envoy already in the years 1684–1685; see Chowaniec, "Sobieski wobec Tatarszczyzny 1683–85," pp. 55–58; Wagner, "Tatarskie elity władzy," p. 106; in the Arabic script he is referred to as Yoqaş; see n. 545 below.

<sup>545</sup> The document, issued in Warsaw in the residence of the Crown chancellor, is composed in Polish and invokes the declaration of Dervish Ghazi Mirza made in the name of Safa Giray, and the more recent declaration, made by Jokas in Polish during his audience with the king. It is corroborated in Arabic script (written in one hand, probably by either Dervish or Jokas, or an embassy scribe): *şevketlü Safa Gërey Han hazretleri tarafından ve cümle Qırım begleri tarafından elçilik ile gelen bende-i Derviş Mirza*, and: *şevketlü el-Haci Selim Gërey Han 'ali-şan tarafından elçilik ile gelen bende-i Yoqaş*; see AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 64, t. 5, no. 536.

<sup>546</sup> See Piwarski, "Sprawa pośrednictwa tatarskiego," pp. 371–372.

<sup>547</sup> Russia initially hoped for better treaty conditions and concluded at Karlowitz merely a two-year truce, which was converted into a lasting peace in 1700. Hence, her formal obligation to pay tribute ceased a year later. In fact, both Warsaw and Moscow had stopped sending gifts to the khans already earlier, when they had entered the war with the Porte in 1683 and 1686 respectively.

<sup>548</sup> The Polish and Ottoman instruments of the "Polish section" of the Treaty of Karlowitz are published in Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 581–598; see especially the articles 4–6 regarding the Tatar issues.

*The Commonwealth and the Crimea during the Great Northern War*

Selim Giray abdicated after the Karlowitz Treaty, asking the Porte to appoint his oldest son, Devlet Giray, in his stead. The new khan's reign began with a raid against Poland, headed by his younger brother, Nureddin Ghazi Giray. The Porte promptly reacted, ordering the khan to restore the captured booty and announcing that it would no longer tolerate Tatar raiding of their northern neighbors. When in 1702 the Tatars raided Russia, Devlet II Giray paid with his throne and the aged Selim Giray was reinstalled for the fourth and last time.<sup>549</sup>

After the new Polish king and the elector of Saxony, Augustus II, allied with Tsar Peter I of Russia and entered a war against Sweden, the Swedish troops invaded Poland and Saxony forcing Augustus to abdicate in 1706 (although he soon cancelled his decision). Already since 1704, the Polish throne had been claimed by a Swedish creature, Stanisław Leszczyński, and the Polish nobility was divided into two factions: a majority supporting Augustus and a minority supporting Stanisław. In 1709, Charles XII of Sweden led his army against Russia, assisted by Leszczyński and Ivan Mazepa, the Ukrainian hetman who hoped to restore the Cossack autonomy with the Swedish support. The Crimean khan, Devlet II Giray, who had been restored to the throne in 1708, wanted to join the campaign, but the cautious policy of the Porte prevented him from doing so.<sup>550</sup> Only after Charles XII and his allies, defeated at Poltava, found shelter in the Ottoman fortress of Bender, the Tatars and Ottomans were dragged into a war with Russia. In 1711 Mazepa's successor, Hetman Pylyp Orlyk, entered a formal alliance with Devlet II Giray and accepted the Crimean patronage over the Ukraine, invoking the seventeenth-century tradition of the Cossack-Tatar alliance.<sup>551</sup> Later in the same year, Peter the Great

<sup>549</sup> Podhorodecki, *Chanał krymski i jego stosunki z Polską*, p. 234; *Le khanat de Crimée*, p. 346.

<sup>550</sup> A new political factor, which pushed the Tatars towards a war with Russia, was the French Jesuit mission, active in Baghchasaray since 1706 and closely cooperating with the French embassy in Istanbul; see Józef Gierowski, "Krym w polityce Wersalu w latach 1704–1709," in: *Węgry-Polska w Europie Środkowej. Historia-Literatura. Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Profesora Wacława Felczaka*. Edited by A. Cetnarowicz, Cs. Kiss and I. Kovács (Cracow, 1997): 86–92; cf. Gilles Veinstein, "Missionnaires jésuites et agents français en Crimée au début du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* 10 (1969): 414–458, esp. p. 424.

<sup>551</sup> Orest Subtelny, "The Ukrainian-Crimean Treaty of 1711," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3/4 (1979–1980) = *Eucharisterion: Essays presented to Omeljan Pritsak on his Sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students*, pt. 2: 808–817.

invaded Ottoman Moldavia but was trapped by Ottoman-Crimean troops in his camp on the Prut river. The Ottomans missed the opportunity to entirely humiliate the opponent and dictated quite docile conditions of a new peace, satisfied with the promise that the tsar would restore Azov to the Porte and evacuate his troops from Poland and the right-bank Ukraine.

The position of Khan Devlet II Giray was closely related to the current state of affairs between Istanbul and St. Petersburg. In 1711, after the news of the missed opportunity caused a scandal in Istanbul, the khan instigated the fall of Baltacı Mehmed Pasha, the Ottoman grand vizier responsible for the Prut Treaty. But in 1713, when the Porte resolved to confirm the peace with Russia, Devlet II Giray, known for his anti-Russian attitude, was promptly replaced on the Crimean throne by his younger brother, Kaplan Giray.<sup>552</sup>

The Ottoman-Russian reconciliation did not automatically result in a normalization between Istanbul and Warsaw, because the Ottomans continued to support Leszczyński and regarded Augustus II as a Russian puppet. Besides, Istanbul and Baghchasaray revived the idea of a joint protectorate over Ukraine, reminiscent of the times of Petro Dorošenko. In December 1711 and March 1712, Sultan Ahmed III issued two successive privileges for Pylyp Orlyk who was to remain an Ottoman vassal. It took many months until finally in 1714 the great embassy of Stanisław Chomentowski [*alias* Chomętowski] persuaded the Porte to respect the Karlowitz Treaty and reminded that it was Augustus II, and not Stanisław Leszczyński, who had ratified it in 1699, hence the former should be regarded as the legitimate Polish monarch.<sup>553</sup>

An analogous task of normalizing the Polish relations with the Crimea was entrusted to Wojciech Szornel, a special envoy to Kaplan Giray sent by the Polish grand hetman, Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski. Szornel was received by the khan in July 1713 in a military camp in Budjak near Qavshan (Rom. Căușeni; Ukr. Kaușany). The Polish envoy

<sup>552</sup> Smirnov, *Krymskoe xanstvo pod verxovenstvom Otomanskoj porty v XVIII v. do prisoedinenija ego k Rossii* (Moscow, 2005), pp. 17–22; *Le khanat de Crimée*, p. 347.

<sup>553</sup> On the place of Poland-Lithuania in the Ottoman-Russian negotiations of 1711–1713 and the Polish-Ottoman pacification of 1714, see Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 159–162 and 641–643. On the Ottoman privileges for Pylyp Orlyk from the years 1711–1712, see Omeljan Pritsak [Prickak], “Odyn čy dva dohovory Pylypa Orlyka z Tureččynoju na počatku druhoho desjatlittja visimnadcjatoho stolittja?,” *Ukrajins'kyj Arxeohrafičnyj Ščoričnyk* (new series) 1 (1992): 307–320.

assured Kaplan Giray that the king and the Commonwealth wished to observe the Treaty of Karlowitz. He stressed Augustus II's legitimate position of the monarch elected by the nobility and not appointed by a foreign ruler. When the khan mentioned the king's previous abdication, Szornel retorted that it was not confirmed by the Diet. Both sides agreed that Augustus II should dispatch a formal embassy to Kaplan Giray. Before his return to Poland, Szornel diplomatically refused to see Stanisław Leszczyński and his Polish supporters, who dwelled in nearby Bender under the Ottoman protection. The envoy persuasively argued that he did not wish to make a false impression that his patron (i.e., Sieniawski) maintained secret contacts with the pretender.<sup>554</sup> Diplomatic correspondence continued until 1714, when the khan followed the Porte's example by acknowledging Augustus II on the throne and relinquishing any claims to the Ukraine.<sup>555</sup>

In the following years, the Tatars assisted the Ottomans in their distant wars against Venice and Austria, while Poland-Lithuania *de facto* acknowledged the patronage of Peter the Great, whom Augustus II owed his restoration on the throne. Both Baghchasaray and Warsaw stopped playing independent roles in international politics. A Crimean envoy, Kantemir Mirza, sent in 1718 to notify the accession of a new khan, Sa'adet IV Giray, was shocked by the omnipresence of Russian troops in Poland-Lithuania and offered the Tatar neighborly assistance to "cure the disease."<sup>556</sup> Yet, his own patron soon encountered domestic troubles and was forced to abdicate by 1724.

<sup>554</sup> See the relation of Wojciech Szornel, the esquire carver of Mazyr (*stolnik mozyrski*), sent in embassy to Kaplan Giray from the side of Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, the Crown grand hetman and the castellan of Cracow; dated in Lwów 22 August 1713; AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 64, t. 13, no. 544.

<sup>555</sup> AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 64, t. 15–22, nos. 548–556; Bibl. Czart., ms. 613, pp. 245–256; on the efforts of Augustus II to loosen the Russian patronage with the help of Paris, Istanbul and Baghchasaray, and on the mission of the khan's envoy, Sefer-shah Bey, that resulted in the formal pacification between Augustus II and Kaplan Giray, see Józef Gierowski, *Traktat przyjaźni Polski z Francją w 1714 r. Studium z dziejów dyplomacji* (Warsaw, 1965), esp. pp. 138–160, Andrzej Link-Lenczowski, "Wokół kryzysu wschodniego z lat 1711–1713. Tureccy i tatarscy dyplomaci w Rzeczypospolitej," in: *Miedzy Zachodem a Wschodem. Studia ku czci profesora Jacka Staszewskiego*, vol. 2. Edited by J. Dumanowski and others (Toruń, 2003): 355–367, esp. pp. 365–366; cf. also n. 80 in Part II.

<sup>556</sup> Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja 1683–1792*, p. 87; Podhorodecki, *Chananat krymski i jego stosunki z Polską*, p. 245.

*The War of the Polish Succession (1733–1738), the Russo-Ottoman War (1736–1739), and the last Polish-Crimean treaty of 1742*

When it seemed that the career of Stanisław Leszczyński was definitely over, in 1725 he experienced a smile of fortune as his daughter, Maria, married King Louis XV of France. In the following years, the French diplomacy worked to secure the support of European courts, including those in Istanbul and Baghchasaray, for the candidacy of Stanisław to the Polish throne after the death of Augustus II.<sup>557</sup> When the Wettin died in 1733, Stanisław was smoothly elected by the majority of Polish nobles. Unlike in 1704, when he acted as a Swedish puppet, his second election was entirely legal. Yet, St. Petersburg and Vienna would not tolerate a pro-French ruler in Poland and the Russian troops entered Warsaw installing Augustus II's son, Augustus III Wettin, on the throne. Stanisław's last stronghold, Danzig, was taken in 1734 by a Russian field marshal, Burkhard Christoph von Münnich. In Western Europe the War of the Polish Succession (as it came to be known) between the Habsburgs and the Bourbons would continue until 1738, but in Eastern Europe it was resolved in favor of Russia and Austria already in 1734.

The Porte could not passively watch the rise of the Russian might that endangered its own position. Nevertheless, the Ottomans were hesitant to enter a new war as long as their troops were campaigning in Persia. Also Cardinal Fleury, who directed the French foreign policy in that period, was reluctant to fully engage in Eastern Europe as that would require sending French troops and entering a formal French-Ottoman alliance. Nevertheless, the atmosphere along the Ottoman and Crimean northern borders was tense. In 1734 the Crimean khan, Kaplan Giray, gathered his troops in Budjak and approached the Polish border, but despite the requests of Stanisław's emissaries he refused to enter Poland without an order from Istanbul. Only in 1735, after the fall of Danzig, the Tatars raided Kabarda and Daghestan in the effort to stop Russian southern expansion.<sup>558</sup> This move provoked a Russian reply that evolved into the Russo-Ottoman war.

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<sup>557</sup> On the activity of French diplomats at the courts of Mengli II Giray (1724–1730) and Kaplan Giray (third reign 1730–1736), see Gilles Veinstein, "Les Tatars de Crimée et la seconde élection de Stanislas Leszczyński," *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* 11 (1970): 24–92.

<sup>558</sup> Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja 1683–1792*, p. 104; *Le khanat de Crimée*, p. 349.

In March 1736, the Russians besieged Azov and in June invaded the Crimea after having forced the defenses of Perekop. On 28 June (17 June according to the Old Style), the army commanded by Münnich successfully stormed Baghchasaray, setting on fire the khan's palace, including the Crimean archives. The library of the French Jesuits, who left the city before the Russian assault having sheltered their books in the cellar, was drowned in wine by drunken soldiers who opened all the barrels, unable to drink their content.<sup>559</sup> Then, somewhat unexpectedly, Münnich commanded his troops to evacuate the Crimea in order to shorten the lines of supply. After Azov and Qılburun (Kinburn) capitulated in July, a full-scale campaign was resumed only the following year. In July 1737, Münnich conquered Očakiv while Field Marshal Lacy invaded the Crimea, defeated Khan Feth II Giray (who had replaced Kaplan Giray in the summer of 1736 after the fall of Baghchasaray) near Qarasu Bazar and burned the town itself. Earlier that year, Austria entered the war, formally to support Russia but in fact jealous of easy Russian conquests. After a failed peace congress in Nemyriv (August–October 1737), the hostilities resumed in 1738. Yet, this time the Russians were far less successful: Lacy entered the Crimea only to withdraw shortly afterwards for the lack of water and fodder, while Münnich was pushed back from the Dniester by the Ottoman commander (*serasker*) of Bender, Veli Pasha. The latter was assisted by a Crimean prince, Safa Giray, who commanded the Tatar troops in Budjak. Due to infectious diseases that decimated Russian garrisons in

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<sup>559</sup> Solov'ev, *Istoriya Rossii s drevnejšix vremen*, vol. 20, in: *idem*, *Sočinenija v vosemnadcati knigax*, book 10 (Moscow, 1993), p. 398; cf. the English translation by R. Hantula: Soloviev, *History of Russia*, vol. 35: *The Rule of Empress Anna* (Gulf Breeze, 1982), p. 12. The loss of the Jesuit library was especially regretted by Captain Manstein, who prepared a description of Baghchasaray on Münnich's order; see Moscow, Arxiv vnešnej politiki Rossijskoj imperii, f. 123, op. 1, no. 1 "Opisanie domu Xana Krymskago i stoličnago evo goroda Baxčisaraj kapitanom Manštejnom po vzjatju fel'dmaršalom Grafom Minixom onago poluostrova," fol. 3b. Manstein's relation is published in *Otečestvennyja zapiski, izdavaemyja Pavlom Svin'iny*, pt. 19 (St. Petersburg, 1824): 75–84, esp. p. 84, but it is censored and the fragment regarding the drunken soldiers is missing altogether; the fragment *iz kotoryx bol'saja čast' sgorela, ili v vinnom pogrebe povredilas'*; *poneže onye Ezuity, pri otdalenii svoem, knigi dlja soxranenija postavili v takovyj pogreb*, reads in the original manuscript version: *iz kotoryx bol'saja čast' sgorela, ili v vine potopla i povredilasja; poneže onye Jezuity, pri otdalenii svoem, knigi dlja soxranenija postavili v pogreb, v kotoroj naši kozaki vošed i napivšis', p'jany ostalnoe vino vypustili, i tem pomeniutye knigi potrapili*.



the recently conquered fortresses of Očakiv and Qilburun, even these fortresses had to be evacuated.<sup>560</sup>

Only in 1739, the Russians obtained a decisive victory: Münnich chose a route through the territory of neutral Poland, invaded northern Moldavia, defeated Veli Pasha at Stavučany, and conquered Hotin on 30 August.<sup>561</sup> The Russian appetite had yet to be restrained after Austria, having suffered a major defeat, unexpectedly conceded to a peace and even agreed to restore Belgrade to the Porte. Fearing isolation and a pending war with Sweden, St. Petersburg was forced to join the negotiations. The Treaty of Belgrade, signed in September 1739, only granted Azov to Russia on the condition that the fortress remained demolished. Both sides also agreed that Kabarda, which had constituted the bone of contention at the outset of the war, should remain independent and neutral.

The Russo-Ottoman solemn pacification, following the Treaty of Belgrade, consisted of the parallel embassies of Aleksandr Rumjancev to Constantinople and Mehmed Emin Pasha to St. Petersburg (1740–1741), and the border demarcation effected by 23 October 1742.<sup>562</sup> The newly demarcated border was almost identical with the post-Karlowitz one, already delimited in 1705. Significantly, though it ran between the Cossack and Tatar lands and the territory to its south belonged—at least in theory—to the Crimean Khanate, the Muslim side was represented by Ottoman, and not Crimean commissioners.<sup>563</sup> The khan was

<sup>560</sup> Joseph von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 7 (Pest, 1831), pp. 513–515; Solov'ev, *Istorija Rossii s drevnejšix vremen*, vol. 20, pp. 428–432; cf. the English translation by R. Hantula, vol. 35, pp. 46–50.

<sup>561</sup> See Johann Wilhelm Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, vol. 5 (Gotha, 1857), p. 797; Nicolae Iorga [Jorga], *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 4 (Gotha, 1911), pp. 440–441; Solov'ev, *Istorija Rossii s drevnejšix vremen*, vol. 20, pp. 442–443; cf. the English translation by R. Hantula, vol. 35, pp. 62–63.

<sup>562</sup> See Rumjana Mixneva, *Rossija i Osmanskaja imperija v meždunarodnyx otnošenijax v seredine XVIII veka (1739–1756)* (Moscow, 1985), pp. 38–70 and 91–92.

<sup>563</sup> Cf. the Russian instrument demarcating the border section running from the Dnieper towards the Mius river in the place where it empties into the Sea of Azov, dated 12 October 1742 (Old Style) and published as “Instrument razgraničeniya zemel' meždu Rossieju i Portuju v 1742 godu,” in: *Zapiski Odesskago Obščestva istorii i drevnostej*, vol. 2 (Odessa, 1848–1850): 834–835; it is corroborated by the Russian general, Vasilij Repnin, and the Ottoman *qapıcı başı*, Hadji Ibrahim. The same commissioners demarcated the border running between the Don and Kuban rivers through the lands inhabited by the Cossacks and Nogays, being respectively the Russian and Crimean subjects; the border running between the Dnieper and the Boh was demar-

simply ordered by the Porte to observe the new peace and restrain his subjects from any transgressions.<sup>564</sup>

Although Poland-Lithuania did not participate in the recent war and its relations with the Porte were regulated by the Treaty of Karlowitz, Münnich's unrestrained use of the Polish territory during his Hotin campaign had infuriated the Muslim side and provoked a few Tatar raids into Poland. Therefore, Augustus III decided to send missions to both Istanbul and Baghcharay in order to appease the situation. The Polish envoy to Baghcharay, Józef Łopuski, had been appointed already in 1739 with the task to protest against the Tatar raids and the khan's meddling in Polish domestic affairs. As the war was over before he departed, in 1740 he obtained a new instruction, ordering him to reassure the khan of Warsaw's peaceful intentions and to stay away from any political intrigues. His departure was once more delayed because

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cated already by November 1740; cf. Mixneva, *Rossija i Osmanskaja imperija*, pp. 59 and 91–92. Paradoxically, the shared Ottoman-Crimean sovereignty over the northern Black Sea steppe could be also used by the khans to their benefit. The more the khan resembled a regular Ottoman functionary and not a separate ruler, the easier the Porte accepted his patronage over the lands previously disputed between Istanbul and Baghcharay. Hence, in the 18th century the khan could formally include Budjak and Kuban in his *intitulatio* and command Crimean-Ottoman campaigns from his Budjak military headquarters in Qavshan (Rom. Căușeni; Ukr. Kaušany), in coordination with the Ottoman governors of Hotin, Bender, and Očakiv. Charles de Peyssonnel, the French consul in the Crimea since 1753, maintained in his report sent to Paris in 1755 that since the Treaty of Belgrade the Crimean Khanate had bordered on Poland as far as Jahorlyk on the Dniester and then the khan's lands extended further southwest towards the Danube, bordering on Moldavia, Wallachia, and Ottoman Bulgaria; see *idem*, "Mémoire sur l'état civil, politique et militaire de la Petite-Tartarie, envoyé en 1755 aux Ministres du Roi," edited along with his other writings under the common title: *Traité sur le commerce de la Mer Noire* (Paris, 1787), vol. 2: 222–338, esp. pp. 224–225. The Polish section of the border, running from the confluence of the rivers Synjuxa and Boh towards Jahorlyk on the Dniester, was demarcated in 1703, after the Treaty of Karlowitz, and only reconfirmed after the Treaty of Belgrade. Like in the case of the border with Russia, the Muslim side was represented in the negotiations by Ottoman, and not Crimean commissioners, hence the border established in 1703 is commonly regarded in historiography as the Polish-Ottoman and not the Polish-Crimean one; cf. Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 626–640; Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja 1683–1792*, pp. 146–149. Yet, as we see, the matter was more complicated.

<sup>564</sup> The patronizing attitude of both Istanbul and St. Petersburg towards the Crimean khan is reflected in the reports of the Russian resident in Constantinople, Aleksej Vešnjakov; in reply to a Russian complaint concerning some border problems, the Ottoman grand vizier promised to look into the matter and order the khan to minutely fulfill his decision (*eželi takovoe est', to on vezir' konečno xanu prikažet, i ukaz dast točno potomu vse ispolnjat'*); see Moscow, Arxiv vnešnej politiki Rossijskoj imperii, f. 89, op. 1, 1742 (year number), no. 6, pt. 2, fol. 488b.

the Polish court had been distracted by the outbreak of the Prussian-Austrian war. In January 1742, Łopuski obtained a new, much more detailed instruction, supplemented by yet another instruction issued in May. The envoy was to explain that the Russian march through Poland in 1739 had occurred against the will of the Polish authorities. As Münnich had left the Ottoman guns, captured at Stawużany and in Hotin, on the Polish shore of the Dniester, Łopuski was to persuade the khan to patiently wait until the Russians resolve to send the guns back to Hotin. Warsaw apparently feared an Ottoman-Tatar raid that would reclaim the captured guns without asking for either Polish or Russian permission. Finally, Łopuski's instruction contained a protest against the recent border raids and a demand that the Tatars set free all the Christian captives, especially the Polish ones.<sup>565</sup>

Since the death of Mengli II Giray, whose clever tactics of cutting the enemy's lines of supply had saved the Crimea from a third Russian invasion in 1738, the Crimean throne was occupied by Selamet II Giray (r. 1740–1743), the late khan's younger brother and former qalga. The new ambitious ruler undertook a painstaking reconstruction of the Palace of Baghchasaray, aiming to restore the former splendor of the Girays' capital.<sup>566</sup> Probably in this context we should regard the unusual move that he took to reciprocate Łopuski's embassy. Instead of merely promising to respect the Karlowitz Treaty, concluded forty-three years earlier between the Polish king and the khan's Ottoman suzerain, in a "friendly letter" (*muhabbetname*) addressed to Warsaw, Selamet II Giray issued his proper instrument of peace, referred to as *yarlıq* and consisting of seven articles. The document, dated 6 December 1742, recalled Łopuski's arrival in early November and the khan's wish to reciprocate the royal salutations according to the old, friendly usage. The instrument stressed the khan's authority not only over the Crimea, but also over Budjak and Kuban along with their Nogay and Circassian dwellers. To be sure, the Treaty of Karlowitz could not be ignored and was duly invoked in the first article. The second article assured security to Polish merchants in the khan's domains, especially in Budjak, situated on the route between Istanbul and Lwów. The third article guaranteed freedom of travel and the right to reside in the

<sup>565</sup> Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja 1683–1792*, pp. 142, 146 and 149–152.

<sup>566</sup> Cf. Hajvoronskij [Aleksiej Gajvoronskij], *Sozvezdie Geraev. Kratkie biografii krymskix xanov* (Simferopol, 2003), pp. 76–77; Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars*, p. 51.

Crimea to Christian missionaries.<sup>567</sup> The fourth article regarded a private claim that in fact should have been addressed to the sultan rather than the khan: during the recent war Veli Pasha, the Ottoman commander-in-chief on the Bender front, confiscated the effects of a Polish merchant, who had died in the Anatolian town of Amasya; the effects were loaded on a ship anchored in Akkerman and destined for Poland. On the request of the Polish envoy, the khan promised to intervene at the Porte so that the confiscated effects be released and sent to the merchant's heirs. The fifth article provided that the border area along the lower Boh should be patrolled and colonized with settlers in order to prevent vagabond Cossacks and Nogays from taking shelter there and plundering the peaceful subjects of the two rulers. The sixth article established the rules of friendly communication between the two sides. Finally, the seventh article referred to the past war: the khan admitted that a number of Ottoman and Crimean troops had entered Poland in revenge for its consent to let Münnich march through its territory, but he explained these moves by the necessities of war. In regard to the Ottoman guns and munitions, captured in Hotin and left in Poland by the Russian army, the khan invoked his earlier proposal to redeem them at their real value. At the same moment, he categorically rejected the idea that these guns and munitions could be donated by the Russians to the Polish king, either as a gift or war indemnity. The khan added that this matter should be regulated between Istanbul and St. Petersburg and declared his readiness to honor their solution.<sup>568</sup>

### *Last peaceful years 1742–1767*

In the following years St. Petersburg and Istanbul aimed to maintain peace, involved in other war theatres, respectively the European and Persian ones. Governments in Warsaw and Baghchasaray, dispossessed of proper political initiative in the course of the past events, remained

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<sup>567</sup> Already in the 17th century, Catholic missionaries provided religious services for their coreligionists who lived in the Crimea (including many Polish captives). They also endeavored to convert local Armenians and Greeks, whereas the conversion of Muslims was strictly forbidden by the Islamic law. From Łopuski's report, we learn that the khan authorized both the Latin and Greek Fathers to dwell in his domains, although the latter term probably referred to Greek-Catholic rather than Orthodox missionaries; see Document 71, n. 20.

<sup>568</sup> See Document 71.

paralyzed by domestic conflicts. The desire to maintain peaceful reciprocal relations was confirmed by the exchange of embassies between the khans Arslan and Halim Girays (reigns 1748–1756 and 1756–1758 respectively), and King Augustus III.<sup>569</sup> As in these years the Polish grand hetmans, first Józef Potocki (1735–1751) and then Jan Klemens Branicki (1752–1771), almost traditionally headed the opposition, they also maintained diplomatic relations with foreign courts, including Istanbul and Baghcharay, independently from the royal court.<sup>570</sup> In analogy, the dissatisfied Giray princes and Crimean nobles maintained contacts with Polish dignitaries and even found refuge in Poland-Lithuania despite the protests of the khans.

The European Diplomatic Revolution of 1756 that resulted in the Seven Years' War caused a shock in Istanbul and Baghcharay as their traditional ally, France, allied with their ancient enemies, Austria and Russia. It was Frederick II of Prussia who now tried to benefit from the Porte's confusion and win its support in his desperate fight against the prevailing forces of almost the whole continental Europe.<sup>571</sup> In Baghcharay, the Prussian agent Paul Boscamp tried to persuade Khan Qırım Giray (r. 1758–1764) to attack Austria or Russia. Yet, in that period St. Petersburg did its best to evade any conflict with the Muslim neighbors and even discouraged the Nogays from rebelling against the khan. Also the French diplomacy, which still enjoyed considerable respect at the Muslim courts, tried to appease their conflicts with Russia in order to leave the latter a free hand to confront Prussia.<sup>572</sup>

<sup>569</sup> See AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 64, t. 32–36, nos. 568–574.

<sup>570</sup> Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja 1683–1792*, pp. 167–170. On the Polish internal chaos as perceived by the Ottomans, cf. my article, "The Ottoman Diplomats on Eighteenth-Century Poland: Contempt or Discouragement?," *Oriente Moderno* XVIII n. s. (LXXIX), 1 (1999) = *The Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century*. Edited by K. Fleet (Naples, 1999): 97–100.

<sup>571</sup> On his overtures towards the Porte, see Kemal Beydilli, *Büyük Friedrich ve Osmanlılar: XVIII. yüzyılda Osmanlı-Prusya münasebetleri* (Istanbul, 1985).

<sup>572</sup> Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja 1683–1792*, pp. 170–171; Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, "St. Petersburg and the Steppe Peoples. Diplomatic Correspondences of the 18th Century from the Arxiv Vnešnej Politiki Rossijskoj Imperii in Moscow," in: *Proceedings of the 38th Permanent International Altaistic Conference (PIAC)*, Kawasaki, Japan: August 7–12, 1995. Edited by G. Stary (Wiesbaden, 1996): 219–236, esp. pp. 224–225 and 232–233; *eadem*, "Na granice vse kak obyčno: diplomatičeskaja perepiska meždu Rossiej i Krymskimi tatarami po dokumentam Arxiva vnešnej politiki Rossijskoj imperii (seredina XVIII v.)," in: *Altaica. Sbornik statej i materialov*, vol. 3 (Moscow, 1999): 33–43, esp. pp. 41–42.

In 1763, a serious conflict arose between Baghchasaray and Warsaw after some Tatar merchants had been robbed in Poland. Qırım Giray gathered troops in Qavshan and warned to invade Poland, but the conflict was settled through the mediation of the French and Moldavian diplomats, and the Polish authorities agreed to pay an indemnation to the khan. In order to prevent similar conflicts in the future, a special court was established in Braclav, analogous to a similar court in Žvanec' that settled border conflicts between the Polish and Ottoman subjects.<sup>573</sup>

The death of Augustus III in October 1763 opened a new political crisis in Poland. Upon learning of the Polish interregnum, Qırım Giray was ready to saddle his horse and enter Poland in order to support the anti-Russian opposition, but was prevented from doing so by the Porte.<sup>574</sup> As it could be expected, in 1764 the Russian troops introduced to the Polish throne a fitting candidate, Stanisław Poniatowski, a former lover of Empress Catherine II, who adopted the royal name of Stanislaus Augustus. Istanbul first refused to acknowledge his election and a Polish envoy, sent from the new king with the notification of his accession, was detained on the border, but finally the Porte resolved to maintain peace with Russia. Qırım Giray paid with his throne for his overly open anti-Russian stand and was replaced by his nephew, Selim III Giray. Yet, the new khan turned out to be equally anti-Russian and

<sup>573</sup> Tadeusz Kowalski and Józef Dutkiewicz, "Jarlyk tatarski z r. 1177 H. (=1763 D.)," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 2 (1919–1924): 213–219; Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja 1683–1792*, pp. 171–172. The activity of a similar border commission, established by the Russian authorities in the fortress of St. Anne in order to settle conflicts between the Russian and Ottoman subjects, including the Crimean Tatars, is reflected in the documents from the years 1712–1743, preserved in Arxiv vnešnej politiki Rossijskoj imperii, f. 22, op. 1 "Pograničnaja s Turciej kommissija v Retranžamente (krepost' sv. Anny)."

<sup>574</sup> See the report of Aleksandr Nikiforov, the Russian consul in Baghchasaray, dated 27 November 1763 (16 November according to the Old Style) and partly based on the eyewitness relation of Regina Pilsztynowa, a Polish female ophtalmologist who enjoyed easy access to the khan's palace as she cured the women from his harem; Arxiv vnešnej politiki Rossijskoj imperii, f. 89, op. 8, no. 1144, fol. 25a–32b; on the unusual life and career of Pilsztynowa, cf. my article "Die Frau, die mit Männern handelte. Eine Polin am Bosphorus," in: *Frauen, Bilder und Gelehrte. Studien zu Gesellschaft und Künsten im Osmanischen Reich / Arts, Women and Scholars. Studies in Ottoman Society and Culture. Festschrift Hans Georg Majer*. Edited by S. Prätors (Istanbul, 2002), vol. 1: 159–165; the events from her life after 1760 have remained obscure until the present day; cf. her biography by Barbara Grosfeld in *PSB*, vol. 32 (Wrocław etc., 1981), pp. 30–32. In February 2009, during a research in Moscow, I was lucky to find the aforementioned relation, describing the whereabouts of her arrival and sojourn in Baghchasaray in 1763.

even ordered to close the Russian consulate that had functioned in the Crimea since 1763.<sup>575</sup> Nevertheless, for the time being Baghchasaray had to accept the *status quo* in Poland although it maintained close contacts with the leaders of the anti-royal opposition from the Potocki and Branicki families.<sup>576</sup>

*From the Confederation of Bar to the first partition of Poland  
(1768–1772); the Russo-Ottoman War (1768–1774) and the  
Crimean bitter independence*

In spite of the French-Russian alliance during the Seven Years' War, Paris observed the Russian expansion with rising concern. In 1767 Baron François de Tott, a son of a Hungarian émigré, was sent to the Crimea as the new French consul with the task to help the French envoy in Istanbul to incite the anti-Russian opposition among the Turks and the Tatars. Simultaneously, a conspiracy developed in Poland directed against both King Stanislaus Augustus and the Russian domination. Notwithstanding their strongly proclaimed Catholicism, the conspirators did not conceal their hope for Muslim assistance and assembled close to the Ottoman border, sending emissaries to Istanbul and Baghchasaray. In February 1768, a confederation was formally proclaimed in the Podolian town of Bar under the leadership of Michał Krasiński. In reply, the Polish troops loyal to the king along with the Russian troops garrisoning in Poland were ordered to quell the rebellion.<sup>577</sup>

<sup>575</sup> Smirnov, *Krymskoe xanstvo pod verxovenstvom Otomanskoj porty v XVIII v.*, pp. 80–93; Hajvoronskyj, *Sozvezdie Geraev*, pp. 84–87; Svitlana Andrejeva, “Žurnaly podorožej do Krymu Oleksandra Nikiforova 1744 r. ta 1763 r. jak džerelo do vyvčennja istoriji Pivdnja Ukrainy,” in: *Naukovi Zapysky. Zbirnyk prac' molodyx včenyx ta aspi-rantiv*, vol. 10 (Kiev, 2005): 385–397, esp. p. 394.

<sup>576</sup> Cf. the letter of Selim III Giray to Franciszek Salezy Potocki, the palatine of Kiev, from April 1765, in which the khan invokes the ancient friendship between the Girays and the Potocki family and asks the addressee to observe the Karlowitz Treaty; *Otčet Imperatorskoj Publičnoj Biblioteki za 1904 god* (St. Petersburg, 1911), pp. 123–126; see also the letter of Maqsud Giray to Jan Klemens Branicki, the Crown grand hetman, from June or July 1767, notifying the new khan's accession (after the short second reign of Arslan Giray) and arrival at Qavshan; published in Władysław Zimnicki, “Jarlyk Maksud ben Selamet Girej Chana z r. 1767,” *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 8 (1931–1932): 161–166.

<sup>577</sup> Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja 1683–1792*, pp. 198–200; Fisher, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea 1772–1783* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 29–31.

Khan Maqsud Giray hesitated and looked at the Porte that was divided into war and peace factions. In the spring of 1768, he replied to Krasin'ski's letter brought by an emissary, Stefan Makowiecki, in which the confederates asked for Tatar assistance. The khan advised them to begin the struggle, assuring them of his sympathy and promising to forward their request to Istanbul. Yet, at the same time, he urged the addressees to unite and beware of treason as gossip of their internal quarrels had already reached the Crimea. The khan's worries were well grounded as the contents of his letter were immediately made known to the Russians and its copy is today preserved in Moscow.<sup>578</sup>

In the summer of 1768, a detachment of Cossacks in Russian service chased some confederates to the border town of Balta and massacred its inhabitants, including the sultan's and the khan's subjects.<sup>579</sup> This move prompted the Porte to demand the withdrawal of Russian troops from Poland and to declare war on Russia in October 1768. Having resolved on the war, the Ottomans reinstalled Qırım Giray, once removed for his anti-Russian stand, to the Crimean throne. Praised by Baron de Tott for his energy, open-mindedness, and taste in Molière and Hungarian wine, the khan gathered the Crimean and Ottoman troops in Qavshan, got in touch with the Polish confederates, and invaded the Russian Ukraine in January 1769, but quickly had to withdraw due to the extremely harsh winter. Unfortunately for the allies' war plans, he died soon after and was replaced by his inexperienced nephew, Devlet IV Giray.<sup>580</sup>

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<sup>578</sup> See Arxiv vnešnej politiki Rossijskoj imperii, f. 123, op. 3, no. 15; the extant Russian translation was made from a Polish translation, acquired by the Russians in Mohyliv on 28 April 1768 (the date is apparently given according to the Old Style) and made from the Arabic-script original.

<sup>579</sup> Balta was situated on the border river Kodyma and consisted of the northern part under the Polish administration, initially known as Józefgród, and the southern part under the shared Ottoman-Crimean jurisdiction; on the shared Ottoman-Crimean suzerainty over the lands between the Dniester and the Boh, cf. n. 563 above.

<sup>580</sup> *Mémoires du Baron de Tott sur les Turcs et les Tartares* (Amsterdam, 1784), pt. 2, pp. 170–181, 202–239, 271–272, and 287–295; cf. the Polish translation: *Opisy Turków y Tatarów przez barona de Tott*, vol. 2 (Warsaw, 1791), pp. 151–161, 179–212, 240–241, and 255–261. The author's somewhat idealized image of Qırım Giray must be yet taken with a grain of salt as he intentionally contrasted his favorite patron with his later Turkish superiors, presented as dull Orientals in a typically "Orientalist" fashion. De Tott's statement that the khan was poisoned lacks convincing evidence; cf. Smirnov, *Krymskoe xanstvo pod verxovenstvom Otomanskoj porty v XVIII v.*, pp. 100–103.



The campaign of 1769 ended in failure. Instead of delivering Poland from the Russian domination, the Ottomans faced the Russian invasion of northern Moldavia and the fall of Hotin.<sup>581</sup> The Porte replaced Devlet IV Giray with Kaplan II Giray, who loyally assisted the Ottoman troops in the following year's campaign, but his personal courage did not prevent Muslim defeats on the Larga and Cahul (Kagul) rivers in the summer of 1770, which enabled the Russian occupation of Moldavia and Budjak. At the same time, the Russian Baltic fleet entered the Mediterranean and defeated the Ottoman navy at Çeşme. Reacting to gossip on the khan's consent to enter negotiations with Russia, the Ottomans replaced him with Selim III Giray, who had already reigned between 1764 and 1767. Yet, replacing one khan with another did not help to alter the desperate military situation of the Crimea, now separated from the main Ottoman army by the Russian troops stationing in Budjak and exposed to a direct Russian invasion.<sup>582</sup>

Apart from their military victories in 1770, the Russians were also successful in stirring up a domestic conflict between the khan and his Nogay subjects. The Nogay presence in Kuban and the northern Black Sea steppes had been strengthened in the 17th century by numerous waves of immigrants from the Volga, the last one having arrived in 1696. The newcomers were hardly integrated within the Khanate's society and their feeling of belonging to a larger Muslim community was weakened by their numerous conflicts over the rights to pasturelands with the Tatars and earlier Nogay immigrants. In the 18th century, the Nogays frequently rioted against the khans, asking for Russian assistance. St. Petersburg knew how to benefit from Nogay unrest in the years of Russo-Ottoman wars, but after the Treaty of Belgrade it rather discouraged the Nogays from disobeying the khan.<sup>583</sup> With the outbreak of the new war, St. Petersburg's Nogay policy changed once more and the prospects looked promising. Already in January 1769, a Russian emissary returned from Yedisán, reporting the Nogays' unwillingness to fight against Russia and their open conflict with

<sup>581</sup> Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja 1683–1792*, pp. 214–224.

<sup>582</sup> For a recent approach towards the Russo-Turkish War of 1768–1774, see Virginia Aksan, *An Ottoman statesman in War and Peace. Ahmed Resmi Efendi 1700–1783* (Leiden, 1995), pp. 115–169. The author follows the Ottoman sources by referring to the battles of Larga and Kagul as the battles of Fałça and Kartal respectively; the last term refers to a lake and plain on the Danube crossing opposite Isaccea.

<sup>583</sup> See Bi-Arslan Koçekaev, *Nogajsko-russkie otnošenija v XV–XVIII vv.* (Alma-Ata, 1988), pp. 130–160; Kellner-Heinkele, "Na granice vse kak obyčno," p. 41.

Khan Qırım Giray, who had imprisoned ten Nogay *mirzas* in order to enforce the obedience of their followers.<sup>584</sup> In 1770, numerous Nogays led by a powerful leader, Djan Mambet Bey, declared independence from Baghchasaray and joined the Russian troops fighting against the Ottomans and the Crimeans.<sup>585</sup>

St. Petersburg soon disenchanted its new allies as it entered into direct negotiations with Baghchasaray, offering to honor the integrity of the khan's domains in return for his breaking with the Porte. The proposal was initially rejected by both Kaplan II Giray and his successor, Selim III Giray, but the latter capitulated in July 1771, after the Russians had forced the defences of Perekop, captured Ottoman Caffa and entered Baghchasaray. Although offered to continue his reign as an "independent" ruler (the Russians even invoked the Genghisid tradition in order to incite the Tatars to break with the Porte), Selim III Giray preferred to abandon the throne and left for Istanbul.<sup>586</sup> The Crimean beys then elected Sahib Giray, who was ready to accept the Russian conditions. A few months later, the Ottomans gathered all the Giray princes present at the Porte and appointed Maqsud Giray as an "anti-khan." Yet, the latter was soon to resign unable to enter the Crimea and disenchanted with the Ottoman mistrust and inadequate support.<sup>587</sup>

<sup>584</sup> See Arxiv vnešnej politiki Rossijskoj imperii, f. 123, op. 4, no. 36: a copy of the report dated 19 January 1769 (Old Style), sent to St. Petersburg by the governor-general of Kiev, Fedor Voejkov.

<sup>585</sup> Cf. Fisher, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea*, pp. 32–37. Djan Mambet Bey is commonly referred to as the leader of the Yedisian Nogays, but in his documents he adopted the official title of "the head commander and general of the Three Hordes" (*üç ordunın baş zabıtı mirmiran*); see the original credential letter given to a Nogay plenipotentiary (*murahhas ve elçi*), Temür Shah Mirza, appointed to negotiate with the Russians, dated 2 June 1772 (1 Rebi I 1186 A.H.) and corroborated by Djan Mambet and eighteen other Nogay dignitaries; Arxiv vnešnej politiki Rossijskoj imperii, f. 123, op. 2, no. 80, folder 7, fols. 8b–8a. The folder also contains three credential letters issued separately for the plenipotentiaries of the Djemboyluk, Yedichkul, and Budjak hordes, corroborated by their respective leaders. Contrary to Kočekaev's statement that these documents were composed in the Nogay language (cf. *idem*, *Nogajsko-russkie otnošenija*, p. 183, n. 70), their language can be described as pure Ottoman Turkish, although the scribes recorded Nogay names in their original sounding. For instance, Djan Mambet's name was recorded by the scribe in its Nogay sounding (جان ممبت), whereas his seal had its Ottomanized version engraved, namely Djan Mehmed (جان محمد).

<sup>586</sup> Fisher, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea*, pp. 37–44.

<sup>587</sup> Cf. *Le khanat de Crimée*, pp. 355–357.

In the following months, Catherine II skillfully played a comedy in order to persuade the European public opinion that her troops invaded the Crimea on the request of its inhabitants, in order to deliver them from the Ottoman yoke. In November 1771, Sahib II Giray and the Tatar people received a Russian charter, “restoring” their ancient independence. At the same time, a Crimean delegation, headed by the khan’s younger brother and qalga, Shahin Giray, arrived at St. Petersburg and was sumptuously received. A mutual infatuation then arose between the young prince and the empress, which was to largely influence future events.<sup>588</sup> On 12 November 1772, a formal treaty was reached in the Crimean town of Qarasu Bazar, the traditional seat of the Shirin beys, between Khan Sahib II Giray and the Russian plenipotentiary, General-major Evdokim Ščerbinin. On the latter’s insistence, the document was also corroborated by a number of Crimean and Nogay leaders, whose presence was to secure that the agreement would be honored. The Crimean Khanate was to remain independent but simultaneously allied with Russia, whose empress guaranteed its sovereignty and the freedom of election of its future khans. Apart from the Crimean peninsula, including the former Ottoman province of Caffa, the khans were to rule over Kuban and the steppe to the north of Perekop, inhabited by the Nogays. Yet, no mention was made about Budjak and other territories extending to the west from the Dnieper that had formerly belonged to the khans. Moreover, Russia was to garrison the Crimean strongholds of Kerch and Yenikale and the khan resigned from any claims to Kabarda.<sup>589</sup>

On 18 November 1772 (22 Shaban 1186 A.H.), Sahib II Giray issued a Declaration of Independence, also countersigned and sealed by the leading Tatar and Nogay notables. It was composed in Russian and French versions, apparently both dictated by his Russian patrons. In the French version, having announced that the Tatars and Nogays had regained their ancient liberty (*ayant par la providence divine recouvré*

<sup>588</sup> See Fisher, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea*, pp. 44–46, invoking Catherine’s praiseful lines on the Tatar prince in her letter sent to Voltaire.

<sup>589</sup> On the treaty’s contents, cf. Fisher, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea*, pp. 49–51; Elena Družinina, *Kjučuk-Kajnardžijskij mir 1774 goda (ego podgotovka i zaključenie)* (Moscow, 1955), pp. 204–206; Kočekaev, *Nogajsko-russkie otnošenija*, pp. 183–184. All these authors date its conclusion according to the Old Style, namely on 1 November.

*leur ancienne liberté et indépendance et s'étant formés en un État indépendant de toute domination étrangère et soumis à son propre gouvernement*), the khan declared:

Nous, conjointement avec tous les princes de Schirin et autres princes de Crimée, avec la noblesse et le clergé, et au nom de tout le peuple de Crimée et des chefs, peuples et familles des Nogais, et généralement de tous ceux qui participent à l'heureux changement actuel du sort des Tatares, déclarons solennellement par les présentes devant le monde entier et nommément devant la Sublime Porte, que [...] nous maintiendrons à perpétuité l'indépendance la quelle appartient en propre aux peuples Tartares, comme en ayant joui de toute ancienneté et ne l'ayant perdue que dans ces derniers tem[p]s; comme aussi, que nous entretiendrons parmi nous l'ordre qui convient à un État libre et bien réglé, ainsi que le plus propre à nous mériter la confiance des puissances voisines.<sup>590</sup>

The last sentence, although pronounced in the khan's name, in fact contained a direct warning of his Russian patrons that if the Tatars misbehaved, Russia would not be obliged to tolerate their independence. This issue was to reappear soon, but for the time-being, in 1774, Istanbul and St. Petersburg, exhausted by the war, concluded the Treaty of Küçük Kaynardja. The treaty confirmed the independence of the Crimean Khanate, although the Ottoman sultan retained religious suzerainty over its Muslim inhabitants, embodied by his title of the caliph that was formally acknowledged by Russia. The Porte also retained the fortress of Očakiv, while the khan regained his authority over the lands extending between the Boh and the Dniester (although not over Budjak). On the other hand, Russia secured its recent strategic conquests: the access to the Strait of Kerch with the right to garrison Kerch and Yenikale, and the access to the Dnieper mouth with the right to garrison Qılburun. The Polish issue, which had been the immediate cause of the war, was not even mentioned in the treaty. The Confederation of Bar had been suppressed by 1772, when Poland-Lithuania suffered the first partition and lost territories inhabited by four and a half million people, to be divided between Russia, Austria, and Prussia.

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<sup>590</sup> For both the Russian and the French copies, see Arxiv vnešnej politiki Rossijskoj imperii, f. 123, op. 3, no. 6.

*The end of the Crimean Khanate (1783) and the demise  
of Poland-Lithuania (1795)*

Although despised by many of his subjects for his weak stand against Russia, Sahib II Giray shared with his critics a concealed hatred towards the Russian patronage. Shortly after the peace had been announced, the khan arrested the Russian resident in the Crimea and asked the Porte to restore its suzerainty over the Khanate. Yet, having severed his relations with St. Petersburg, the khan failed to gain the confidence of Istanbul. His reign was then easily challenged by his cousin and the former khan, Devlet IV Giray, who had earlier inspired an anti-Russian revolt among the Kuban Nogays. After Devlet IV Giray landed in the Crimea, Sahib II Giray abdicated and left for Istanbul in 1775.

For the time being, St. Petersburg acknowledged Devlet IV Giray's accession, but in 1777 the Russian troops invaded the peninsula and introduced to the throne Shahin Giray, the empress' favorite and former guest. A radical program of reforms, shaped on the Russian model and enthusiastically introduced by the new khan, provoked an outright rebellion among his subjects. The Porte did not wish to start a new war with Russia, but under the pressure of the street opinion, instigated by Crimean refugees, it appointed Selim III Giray to become the khan for the third time and provided him with auxiliary troops. Having landed on the peninsula, Selim III Giray easily defeated Shahin Giray, especially as the latter's soldiers massively joined the rebellion. Yet, in the face of another Russian intervention Selim III Giray retreated to Istanbul in 1778. The Russo-Ottoman conflict was resolved in 1779 by the Convention of Aynalı Kavak, in which the Porte recognized Shahin Giray and in return Russia promised to remove its troops from the Khanate. The Convention ultimately deprived the Crimean Khanate of its common border with Poland as the lands between the Boh and the Dniester were declared as belonging to the sultan, and not to the khan.<sup>591</sup>

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<sup>591</sup> Cf. Article 3 of the Treaty of Küçük Kaynardja that granted to the khan "all the lands situated between the rivers Boh and Dniester, extending as far as the Polish border, except for the fortress of Očakiv along with its ancient district" (in the Russian version: *vsju zemlju do pol'skoj granicy, ležaščuju meždu rekami Bugom i Dnestrom, isključaja krepost' Očakov s ee starym uezdom*; in the Turkish version: *Aqsu ve Turla nehirleri beyinde olan cemi' arazi Leh memleketi hududına varınca tava'if-i merqu-meye istirdad ve Özi qal'esi qadimi ülkesiyle ke'l-evvel Devlet-i 'Aliyyemin taht-i tasar-*

Having preserved his throne thanks to the Russian troops, Shahin Giray found himself deprived of the only major group of his subjects that had supported him, namely the Crimean Christians, who were removed from the Khanate by the Russians in 1778, officially for the sake of their own safety.<sup>592</sup> Not dispirited, the khan returned to his reforms and in addition claimed his authority over the territories extending to the west from the Boh and to the south from the Kuban river, drawing his Russian patrons into unpleasant disputes with the Porte. The grandiose plans did not help in increasing the khan's popularity among his own subjects. When another revolt broke out, first in Kuban and then in the Crimea, Shahin Giray had to seek refuge in Russian Kerch. His brother, Bahadır Giray, assumed the reign for a while in 1782, but the Russian troops once more "restored the order" and reintroduced Shahin to the throne. However, for this time even Catherine was tired with her favorite and in April 1783 the Crimea was formally annexed to Russia.

Acknowledging its military weakness, the Porte initially recognized the annexation, although it was a drastic rupture of the Treaty of Küçük Kaynardja. Yet, in 1787 the Ottomans went to war, demanded the Russian evacuation of the Crimea, and even appointed nominal

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*rufunda bağı qala*), with Article 5 of the Convention of Aynalı Kavak, providing that the lands between the Dniester, the Boh, the Polish border, and the Black Sea (in the Russian version: *meždu Dnestrom, Bugom, pol'skoju graniceju i Černym morem*; in the Turkish version: *Buğ ta'bir olunur Aqsu ve Leh hududı [ve] Dnyester ta'bir olunur Turla nehri ve Qara Deniz sahili beyninde*) were to be deserted by the Tatars and to return under the sultan's authority on the condition that—apart from Očakiv—they remained unsettled and deprived of fortifications; for the Russian version of both treaties, see Družinina, *Kjučuk-Kajnardžijskij mir 1774 goda*, pp. 349–365; for the Turkish version of the treaty of 1774 contained in the instrument issued by the sultan, see Istanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Düvel-i Ecnebiye 83/1 (*Rus ecnebi defteri*), pp. 142–152; the articles are also published in *Mu'ahedat Mecmu'ası*, vol. 3 (Istanbul, 1297 A.H./1879–1880 A.D.), pp. 254–273; for the Turkish version of the Convention of Aynalı Kavak, see *Mu'ahedat Mecmu'ası*, vol. 3, pp. 275–284.

<sup>592</sup> A hypothesis that by this means the Russian authorities deliberately intended to weaken Shahin's political and economic position seems tenable but is not confirmed by any source material; cf. Fisher, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea*, p. 102. Many Greeks and Armenians opposed the idea of leaving their homeland; large numbers perished in result of their forced resettlement and many others wished to return; see "Sobyttija slučivšijasja v Krymu v carstvovanie Šagin-Gereja-xana (perevod s sovremennoj evrejskoj rukopisi sočinennoj karaimom Rabbi-Azar'ja synom Ilii)." Edited and translated by A. Firkovič, in: *Vremennik Imperatorskago Moskovskago Obščestva istorii i drevnostej rossijskix*, book 24 (1856), II. *Materialy*, pp. 101–134, esp. pp. 127–129.

khans from among the Giray princes: first Shehbaz Giray and then Bakht Giray. The Russo-Ottoman war gave a few years of respite to Poland-Lithuania, whose political elites, in liaison with the king, endeavored to liberate themselves from the Russian patronage and, assembled at the so-called Four Years' Diet (1788–1791), passed a program of reforms embodied by an enlightened constitution that openly invoked the Montesquian principles. The reformers' enthusiasm was transient as after the Treaty of Jassy (1792), which cemented the Russian victory over the Porte, the Russian troops were released to invade and subdue Poland-Lithuania one more time. Its second partition, resolved in 1793 by St. Petersburg and Berlin, was followed by a desperate uprising led by Tadeusz Kościuszko (1794), whose only result was the third and last partition (1795) that effaced Poland-Lithuania from the map of Europe.

*Enlightened rulers versus unruly subjects: Catherine the Great, Voltaire, and the suppression of the Crimean and Polish "anarchies"*

In her letters to Voltaire, Catherine the Great persuaded the French philosopher that her benign plans, aiming to restore order and wellbeing in neighboring countries, were repeatedly frustrated by native fanatics, blinded by religious hatred and medieval superstitions. Admittedly, the Polish confederates of 1768 incessantly invoked Virgin Mary, the icon of the Polish Catholicism, and condemned the royal project to grant equal rights to religious dissidents. Still, a student of their mentality should be confused by the facts that they looked for Muslim support with unequalled pragmatism and that one of their leaders, Kazimierz Pułaski, would later become a hero of the American Revolution, in which the Catholic slogans were admittedly not the highest priority. In parallel with the Polish confederates, also the Crimean rebels constantly invoked religious principles (Islamic in their case) and condemned their detested khan as an infidel. However, it would be unfair to describe their mentality as motivated by purely religious, "irrational" motives.

To be sure, in the 18th century both Poland-Lithuania and the Crimean Khanate went through a deep crisis affecting their states and societies. An average reign of a Crimean khan shortened to less than 3 years in the 18th century, to compare with over 5 years in the 17th century, over 8 years in the 16th century, and almost 10 years

in the 15th century.<sup>593</sup> While in the 16th century, the khans enjoyed unrivalled charisma and power in comparison to Ottoman provincial governors and even refused to be treated on equal footing with the Ottoman grand viziers, in the 18th century the khan could be compared merely with an Ottoman provincial governor, appointed and revoked at will by the Porte. In fact, the Ottoman provincial governors had often more means and followers due to the lengthening of their tenures and the ongoing decentralization in the Ottoman provincial administration. The Polish situation was seemingly different from the Crimean one with only four royal elections in the 18th century, yet they all but one were secured by foreign troops. The sole exception was the second election of Stanisław Leszczyński, and the abrupt end of his reign proves that it was impossible to rule in Warsaw without St. Petersburg's consent.<sup>594</sup>

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<sup>593</sup> See the appended table: Chronology of the reigns of Crimean khans, Polish kings, and Lithuanian grand dukes (1386–1795); there were six accessions between 1441–1500, twelve between 1501–1600, nineteen between 1601–1700, and thirty in the years 1701–1783; a number of rulers ascended the throne several times.

<sup>594</sup> On the “absolutist offensive” launched from Stockholm, St. Petersburg, Istanbul, Vienna, and Dresden against East European noble societies in the early 18th century, see the brilliant and informed study by Orest Subtelny, *Domination of Eastern Europe. Native Nobilities and Foreign Absolutism, 1500–1715* (Kingston-Montreal-Gloucester, 1986), esp. pp. 52–59. The author juxtaposes more effective absolutist states, organized about the goal-oriented (power-oriented) *organizational* principle against the “welfare associations” of the East European noble elites, based on an *associative* principle. Although Subtelny does not include the Crimea in his analysis, focusing on Poland-Lithuania, Hungary, Livonia, Moldavia, and Cossack Ukraine, the Crimean Khanate, with its powerful nobility and the limits to the khan's power, would perfectly fit his model. Somewhat similar conclusions were drawn in the Marxist study by Perry Anderson, who stressed the inevitability of absolutism as a “natural” stage in state and social development characteristic for early modern Europe; see *idem*, *Lineages of the Absolutist State* (London, 1974), esp. pp. 297–298 referring to the “Polish anomaly.” Both quoted authors believe that the societies which “failed” to develop domestic absolutisms were “punished” by absolutisms from abroad. Yet, their arguments invoke some reservations: firstly, they both chose to ignore such cases as England or the Netherlands, where the spectacular failures of absolutist tendencies did not prevent state and social development (admittedly, Anderson refers to England and his conclusion that “before it could reach the age of maturity, English Absolutism was cut off by a bourgeois revolution” undercuts his very argument that absolutism was a natural stage of development; cf. *ibidem*, p. 142); secondly, by assuming that *power* is more important than *welfare* (admittedly, few elite members in early modern European states—absolutist or not—cared about the peasants' welfare), one should draw the conclusion that today North Korea is ahead of France because it manages to concentrate a far larger part of its GNP towards *power*.



The vanishing international position of Baghchasaray and Warsaw is best reflected by the diminishment of their diplomatic status in the eyes of—respectively—St. Petersburg and Istanbul. In the 18th century, the Russian government preferred to settle the Crimean affairs directly with the Porte and resigned from concluding peace treaties with the khans, with a notable exception of the Treaty of Qarasu Bazar (1772), concluded with an “independent” Khanate.<sup>595</sup> Likewise, the Ottomans sent experienced diplomats and negotiated new agreements with St. Petersburg, Vienna, and Berlin, but in their relations with Warsaw they were satisfied with lip service declarations that the Treaty of Karlowitz should be observed. In 1714, when a Polish envoy in Istanbul succeeded to obtain a new instrument of peace (to be sure, issued by the grand vizier and not by the sultan), it merely invoked the recent Ottoman-Russian treaty of 1713 and provided that its conditions should be also observed by Warsaw.<sup>596</sup>

Striking parallels can be traced if one studies the biographies of the last Polish king, Stanisław Poniatowski, and the last Crimean khan, Shahin Giray. They were both well educated, ambitious, and full of visions regarding the necessary institutional reforms to be introduced in their states and societies. Yet, they had rather weak personalities and were equally dismayed by the unruliness of their subjects. Moreover, they were both infatuated with Catherine, who knew how to play on their sentiments.<sup>597</sup> Putting all their trust in the Empress’ goodwill, they saw no other choice but to accept the Russian patronage. In a striking naivety, they both hoped to strengthen their rule and augment their troops with the help of Russia, even though such moves would obviously limit the latter’s influence in the affairs of their respective kingdoms.

Catherine indeed expressed some sentiments towards her both favorites, and sometimes even a striking patience when they and

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<sup>595</sup> On this treaty, see above; on the lowering level of diplomatic contacts between St. Petersburg and Baghchasaray in the 18th century, cf. Kellner-Heinkele, “Na granice vse kak obyčno,” pp. 35–36.

<sup>596</sup> See Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, p. 161.

<sup>597</sup> One is somewhat amused by the lecture of Stanisław’s letters, lamenting that his former lover did not support his projects adequately, or by Shahin’s enthusiasm when in December 1781 Catherine nominated him as captain of her personal guard (*kapitan lejbgvardii*), admittedly not a very fitting position for a sovereign ruler; for the imperial patent and the khan’s letter expressing gratitude for the nomination, see Arxiv vnešnej politiki Rossijskoj imperii, f. 123, op. 3, nos. 105–106.

their subjects “misbehaved,” so she should not be only portrayed as a cynical monster. Yet, she was also the Russian ruler, identifying her fortune with the might of the Russian Empire and surrounded by politicians and generals who did not necessarily share her infatuation with Stanisław and Shahin. Catherine’s advisers were divided into those who would be satisfied with a friendly Poland and a friendly Crimea, controlled and dependent on St. Petersburg, and those favoring their direct annexation, even if it invoked large financial and political costs. Finally, the second option prevailed, although Poland-Lithuania was too big to be swallowed by Russia alone and the latter had to appease Berlin and Vienna by allowing them a share of their common neighbor.

After the first partition of Poland, Shehbaz Giray, the former qalga of Devlet IV Giray, warned his cousin Shahin Giray, who then resided in St. Petersburg: “Don’t you know what they [i.e., the Russians] did to their coreligionists, the Poles and their king? [...] If such a thing was done there, then what kind of benefit can you, or the Tatars, expect from the Russian court?”<sup>598</sup> Certainly, Shahin did not want to listen and was more and more irritated with his subjects, who perceived his attire, manners, and reforms as foreign and coming from the hostile, infidel Russian court. One is tempted to ask what would have happened if the Tatars had accepted the proposed reforms, would the Khanate have survived? An indirect answer is given by the Polish example. When on 3 May 1791 the king and the Diet passed the enlightened constitution, unprecedented in Europe and second in the world only after the American one, Stanisław could enjoy a happy moment of unity with his subjects after so many years of alienation, but in fact the move only hastened the demise of Poland-Lithuania as its neighbors chose not to wait until it rebuilds its power.<sup>599</sup> In a confrontation

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<sup>598</sup> *Ne znaete li vy, čto oni svoim odnovercam, Poljakam, i ix korolju, sdělali? [...] Kogda ž onoe tam sdělano, to vy, ili Tatara, kakogo blagodejaniya ot Dvora Rossijskago nadejat’sja możete?*; the letter, preserved in Russian translation, is published in: “Vysočaišie reskripty imperatricy Ekateriny II i ministerskaja perepiska po delam krymskim iz semejnago arxiva grafa Viktora Nikitiča Panina,” pt. 1, in: *Čtenija v Imperatorskom obščestve istorii i drevnostej rossijskix pri Moskovskom universitete* (1871), vol. 4: 1–168 (separate pagination), esp. p. 129; for a slightly different English translation see Fisher, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea*, p. 49.

<sup>599</sup> For a historian of the Ottoman Empire, a striking parallel example is offered by the Young Turkish revolution of 1908 that in fact prompted the Austrian annexation of Bosnia, the Bulgarian declaration of independence, and the Greek pronounced annexation of Crete as the neighboring governments resolved to act before the Ottomans might strengthen their state.

with such military machines of the time as Russia or Prussia, neither the Poles nor the Tatars had the slightest chance. When Shahin Giray, dismayed with the slow progress of his military reforms, resolved to buy guns and hire professional soldiers in Poland, the move did not even provoke an uneasiness of his Russian patrons who monitored and authorized the transaction.<sup>600</sup>

After the demise of his khanate, Shahin Giray spent a few years in Russia, but in 1786 was allowed to leave for the Ottoman Empire. Having passed through Poland, the troublesome guest entered the Ottoman lands, where he was soon exiled to Rhodes and executed in the summer of 1787.<sup>601</sup> Stanisław's fate was only slightly better. After the demise of Poland-Lithuania, he arrived at St. Petersburg, where he was offered a pension and died in 1798, buried in the Catholic Church of St. Catherine. When the church was closed in 1938, the Soviet authorities proposed to transport the royal remains to Poland, but their move caused confusion in Warsaw. The Polish authorities refused to let the "traitor" to the Royal Crypt in the Cracow Cathedral and Stanisław was almost secretly buried in his native town of Wołczyn. Unfortunately, Wołczyn was situated eastward of the Curzon Line and after WW2 Stanisław again found himself in the Soviet Union.<sup>602</sup> His last funeral took place in 1995, again provoking a heated political dispute, before the primate of Poland hesitantly let the Freemason king find his last rest in the Warsaw Cathedral.

Parallel lives of Stanisław Poniatowski and Shahin Giray are not the only links between the Polish and Crimean 18th-century history. Numerous Russian military commanders made their careers on the

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<sup>600</sup> See the reports of the Russian resident in Baghchasaray sent to St. Petersburg on 14 June 1780 and 31 May 1781 (both dates according to the Old Style), in Nikolaj Dubrovin (ed.), *Prisoedinenie Kryma k Rossii. Reskripty, pis'ma, reljacji i donesenija*, vol. 3: 1779–1780 gg. (St. Petersburg, 1887), pp. 604–605, and vol. 4: 1781–1782 gg. (St. Petersburg, 1889), p. 89. Contrary to Fisher's assumption, the Polish contrahent, Wincenty Potocki, had never been a member of the Confederation of Bar and the transaction seemed to have a purely business character; cf. Fisher, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea*, p. 117; for Potocki's career, see his biography by Wacław Szczygielski in *PSB*, vol. 28 (Wrocław etc., 1984–1985), pp. 227–229.

<sup>601</sup> Podhorodecki, *Chanał krymski i jego stosunki z Polską*, p. 275; Hajvoronskyj, *Sozvezdie Geraev*, p. 98.

<sup>602</sup> For the fascinating history of the royal remains that was classified information in communist Poland, see a short story by Marian Brandys, *Strażnik Królewskiego Grobu. Opowiadanie o Józefie Charytonie z Siemiatycz* (Warsaw, 1984) [first published in 1981 in the samizdat publishing house Nowa].

Polish and Crimean fronts, to mention only Burkhard Christoph von Münnich, the conqueror of Danzig (1734) and Baghchasaray (1736), and Aleksandr Suvorov, the subduer of Kuban (1782) and Warsaw (1794). A brilliant Russian diplomat, Osip Igelström, who organized the Russian administration in the Crimea and on the Kazakh frontier,<sup>603</sup> also served in Poland as the last Russian ambassador (and simultaneously commander-in-chief of the Russian troops) before the outbreak of Kościuszko's uprising in 1794.

Still, while reading some Polish or Tatar historical narratives, embedded in the nationalist ideologies of the 19th and 20th centuries, one can get a false impression that the whole "nations" (whatever this term might have referred to) unanimously and uncompromisingly opposed the Russian domination that was supported merely by a bunch of corrupt traitors.<sup>604</sup> In fact, economic and career opportunities offered by the ever rising Russian Empire appealed to numerous members of the local nobilities. The opening of Russian Black Sea ports in Kherson and Odessa enabled numerous Polish nobles to profitably export the wheat produced in their Ukrainian estates to Western Europe. Catholic Poles and Muslim Tatars were to serve in the Russian army and bureaucracy from the Danube and Caucasus to Siberia, along with Buddhist Kalmyks and Protestant Baltic Germans. As to the townsmen, though their Russian peers did not enjoy medieval autonomy that reached to the east only as far as the Polish-Lithuanian eastern borders, the vast market of the Russian Empire offered unprecedented opportunities for enterprising individuals. Admittedly, peasants would be less enthusiastic to become Russian subjects since to be a Russian serf or ordinary soldier was no great fun, but nobody asked their opinion.

While watching subsequent Russo-Ottoman wars in the 18th century, many Poles in fact sided with Russia, some motivated by genuine Christian solidarity, others with an opportunistic relief that the attention of their powerful neighbor was turned in another direction.<sup>605</sup>

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<sup>603</sup> On his activity in the Crimea and Orenburg, cf. Fisher, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea*, pp. 140–141 and 146; Martha Brill Olcott, *The Kazakhs* (Stanford, 1987), pp. 46–47; Khodarkovsky, *Russia's Steppe Frontier*, pp. 175–182 and 214.

<sup>604</sup> For a recent monograph that revisits the topic which has long remained a taboo, see Jarosław Czuby, *Zasada "dwóch sumień": normy postępowania i granice kompromisu politycznego Polaków w sytuacjach wyboru (1795–1815)* (Warsaw, 2005).

<sup>605</sup> Cf. Konopczyński's disgusted comments on the poems celebrating Russian victories written by such prominent Polish writers of the time as Adam Naruszewicz and

Russia had also supporters among the Crimean Tatars and Nogays, some simply bought, others attracted by its might and splendor, and often deeply distrustful towards the Ottoman Porte. The situation was gradually changing in the 19th century, when the rising numbers of the Polish and Tatar intelligentsia learned that the Russian Empire was less religion-, confession-, and ethnicity-blind than Catherine II had once wished or declared. In the age of nationalism, Russia was consequently becoming more Russian and Orthodox, while a number of politically active Tatars and Poles chose emigration, uprisings, or joining revolutionary movements. It is also in the 19th century when national narratives began to influence the minds of common people, as they still do today, and when Catherine II became the head villain in both the Polish and the Tatar collective memories.

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Ignacy Krasicki, and on the unveiling ceremony of John III Sobieski's monument in Warsaw in 1788, which presented (and still presents today) the mounted king trampling a Turk; the latter ceremony coincided with the beginning of the new Russo-Ottoman war and was intended to convince Catherine II of her popularity in Poland; *idem, Polska a Turcja 1683–1792*, pp. 275–276 and 283.

PART TWO

A STUDY IN THE CRIMEAN AND POLISH-LITHUANIAN  
DIPLOMATICS AND DIPLOMACY



## CHAPTER ONE

### THE LANGUAGE AND PRESERVATION OF DOCUMENTS

#### *Turkic languages used by the Crimean chancery*

Since the foundation of the Genghisid empire, Mongolian language recorded in Uighur script had prevailed in its chancery usage. Yet, in the empire's western parts, known after Genghis Khan's two sons as the *ulus* of Djochi and Chagatay, during the 14th century it gradually gave way to Turkic chancery language.<sup>1</sup> The chancery language used in the *ulus* of Djochi (i.e., the so-called Golden Horde) is today called Khwarezmian Turkic as it developed in Khwarezm, then belonging to Djochi's *ulus*, and derived predominantly from western Turkic, Kipchak dialects.<sup>2</sup> After Mongolian had faded away, also Uighur script, initially used for recording both Mongolian and Turkic texts, gave way to Arabic, venerated as the script of the Koran by the Islamicized Genghisid rulers of the Golden Horde. In consequence, Khwarezmian Turkic, recorded in Arabic script, was also adopted as chancery

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<sup>1</sup> On the gradual disappearing of Mongolian, cf. n. 2 in Part I.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. István Vásáry, "A contract of the Crimean khan Mängli Giräy and the inhabitants of Qırq-yer from 1478/79," *Central Asiatic Journal* 26 (1982): 289–300, esp. p. 297. Although this language would later influence the development of literary languages among both the Tatars and the Uzbeks, it would be an anachronism to regard it as old-Tatar or old-Uzbek. Mirkasym Usmanov persuasively argues against referring to the language used in the Golden Horde as Chagatay (Khwarezm, where it had actually developed, did not belong to the *ulus* of Chagatay). Usmanov also vehemently opposes crediting Ali Shir Nava'i (1441–1501), the famous Central Asian scholar today claimed as the father of Uzbek national poetry, with contributing to this language's development. In fact, the language had been in use in Khwarezm, on the Volga, and in the Crimea long before Nava'i was born; see Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, pp. 101–106. A linguistic analysis of the *yarliq*, addressed by Tokhtamış to Jogaila in 1393, was already undertaken by the prominent German-born Russian turcologist Vasilij Radlov [Friedrich Wilhelm Radloff]; see *idem*, "Jarlyki Toktamyša i Temir-Kutluga," in: *Zapiski Vostočnago Otdelenija Imperatorskago Russkago Arxeologičeskago Obščestva*. Edited by V. Rozen, vol. 3, vypuski 1–2 (St. Petersburg, 1888): 1–40, esp. p. 39. Although the terminology used by the author can be regarded as anachronous today (especially his use of the term Chagatay), his conclusions convincingly point to the strong presence of northern and western Turkic dialectal elements in the literary language then used by the Golden Horde's chancery.



language in the Crimean Khanate, whose founders claimed their rights to the Genghisid heritage of the Golden Horde.

The prominence of Turkic literary language(s), based on Kipchak dialects, was not limited to Tatar chanceries. Edward Keenan stressed the importance of Turkic as *the* language of steppe diplomacy connecting immense territories extending from Cairo to Peking and from Vilnius to Delhi and compared it to “the Latin of this world.”<sup>3</sup> Apart from being used as the spoken and literary language at the Mamluk court in Cairo,<sup>4</sup> in the 16th century Kipchak Turkic reached India, whose conqueror, Babur, composed his famous memoirs in the standard chancery language of his Central Asiatic homeland.<sup>5</sup> Turkic was also widely used by the Muscovian chancery, not merely in its relations with the Tatars, but also with the Mongols and even—through their medium—with China.<sup>6</sup> Until the 18th century, numerous Tatar scribes from Kazan and Kasimov were employed in the Russian chancery and Kipchak Turkic, commonly referred to as “Tatar” or “Muslim” language (*besermenskij jazyk*), remained the *lingua franca* of the steppe, facilitating St. Petersburg’s contacts with the Kazakhs and the native inhabitants of Siberia, Central Asia, and the Caucasus.<sup>7</sup> Para-

<sup>3</sup> Keenan, “Muscovy and Kazan,” p. 550.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Charles Halperin, “The Kipchak connection: the Ilkhans, the Mamluks and Ayn Jalut,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 63 (2000): 229–245, esp. p. 232.

<sup>5</sup> In reference to the sixteenth-century Turkic language, used in Central Asian chanceries, the adjective Chagatay is justified and crediting Ali Shir Nava’i for its refining is fully deserved; cf. n. 2 above.

<sup>6</sup> This fact was soon forgotten; a nineteenth-century handwritten catalogue of the Crimean section (*fond*), preserved in the Russian archives, contained an entry referring to a letter in Tatar, composed by an unknown author and not provided with any translation; only in 1858 it was discovered that the letter had been authored by Tsar Michael Romanov (*okazalsja gramotoju pisannoju po tatarski carja Mixaila Feodoroviča*) in 7128 (i.e., 1620 A.D.) and addressed to the Altyn Khan, hence the erroneous entry was crossed out and provided with a margin note informing that the letter had been transferred to the Mongolian section; see RGADA, the handwritten catalogue of f. 123, op. 2; entry no. 71 (crossed out). On the role of the Altyn Khans (lit. “the golden khans;” a title referring to several successive members of the same Mongol dynasty) in the early Russian-Chinese encounters, cf. Mjasnikov, *The Ch’ing Empire and the Russian State in the 17th Century*, pp. 64–71; Marc Mancall, *Russia and China. Their Diplomatic Relations to 1728* (Cambridge, Mass.), p. 39.

<sup>7</sup> Kellner-Heinkele, “St. Petersburg and the Steppe Peoples,” pp. 229 and 235–236; cf. Usmanov, “O dokumentax russko-vostočnoj perepiski na tjurkskix jazykax v XV–XVIII vv. i ix istočnikovovedčeskom značenii,” in: *Vostočnoe istoričeskoe istočnikovovedenie i special’nye istoričeskie discipliny*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1994): 123–138.

doxically yet, in the Russian correspondence with the Crimean Tatars, “Tatar” was gradually abandoned in favor of Ottoman Turkish.<sup>8</sup> In this aspect, the Russian chancery simply followed the Crimean one, in which the process of a gradual replacing of Kipchak with Oghuz elements continued from the late 15th until the 18th century.<sup>9</sup> Strikingly, Kipchak Turkic survived much longer in the correspondence between Baghchasaray and Moscow than in the correspondence between Baghchasaray and Istanbul. In their letters to the sultans, the khans had adopted the Ottoman forms and wording earlier, thus presenting themselves as the Porte’s loyal vassals.<sup>10</sup>

While the political pragmatism, demonstrated by the khans through their adopting of Ottoman patterns in their contacts with Istanbul, is evident, the retaining of Kipchak elements in the Crimean correspondence with Moscow is equally explainable. For the khans, drawing their letters in the ancient form of *yarlıqs* and keeping these *yarlıqs*’ traditional wording was the self-flattering reminder of the preponderance of their forefathers over Muscovian princes. As to the Muscovian side, its declared conservatism would make it reluctant to accept a document deviating from the once established terminology. The above thesis can be supported by the fact that the term *şartname* survived in the Crimean-Muscovian correspondence till the end of the 17th century, while in the Crimean-Polish one it was replaced already in the late 16th century by the term *ahdname*, introduced under the influence

<sup>8</sup> Cf. a copy of the letter by Catherine II, sent in August 1777 to the new khan Shahin Giray and congratulating him on his accession (in fact facilitated by the Russian troops); the letter is composed in Ottoman Turkish; *Arxiv vnešnej politiki Rossijskoj imperii*, f. 123, op. 3, no. 2.

<sup>9</sup> By the end of the 18th century, even the Nogay subjects of the Crimean khans had adopted Ottoman Turkish in their correspondence; the documents, issued in 1772 by the Nogay leaders, who negotiated their passage from the Crimean suzerainty to the Russian patronage, are composed in Ottoman Turkish, not Kipchak Turkic; cf. n. 585 in Part I.

<sup>10</sup> Mengli Giray went so far in presenting himself as a fully “Ottomanized” vassal that in his letter to Mehmed II he adopted an “Ottomanized” form of his name: Bengli and not Mengli; cf. Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, p. 108; for a facsimile of this letter, see *Le khanat de Crimée*, p. 78. Mengli’s great grandson, Ghazi II Giray, known as a talented poet, composed his poetry in both Ottoman Turkish and Kipchak Turkic (Crimean Tatar influenced by the Chagatay and Azeri literary languages, popularized by the poetry of Nava’i and Fuzuli), so he could consciously choose which language to use in his correspondence with different addressees; on the language(s) of his poetry, see İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan, *Gâzi Geray Han: hayâtı ve eserleri* (Istanbul, 1958), pp. 31–32 and 61.

of the Ottoman chancery usage.<sup>11</sup> Besides, Moscow preferred Kipchak Turkic to Ottoman Turkish as the language of mutual correspondence because translators of the former were at hand, recruited among the tsar's subjects, many of them baptized Volgine Tatars, who were more trusted than the Muslims. In sum, the linguistic features of the khans' correspondence with Istanbul and Moscow can be regarded as two extreme poles: the first one characterized by the strongest Ottomanization while the second one by the strongest preservation of Kipchak components.

Nevertheless, it is hard to agree with Sagit Faizov, who maintains that Kipchak vocabulary and morphology still dominated in the Crimean chancery language as late as the mid-seventeenth century, even though the author draws his conclusions mainly on the basis of the Crimean correspondence with Moscow, admittedly the most "Kipchakized" one.<sup>12</sup> Many words, recorded in Arabic script and tentatively transcribed by Faizov in a way that is natural for a Volgine Tatar, might have been pronounced differently in the seventeenth-century Crimea, especially in its southern part, exposed to Oghuz linguistic influences, both Ottoman and native.

In regard to the level and pace of their Ottomanization, the Crimean letters addressed to Poland-Lithuania are in between the Crimean correspondence with Istanbul and that with Moscow.<sup>13</sup> Only one document in our volume, the *şartname* addressed by Mehmed Giray to Sigismund in 1520, is preserved in Khwarezmian Turkic. The following Crimean documents, preserved in Arabic-script originals, are much later and origin from the late 16th century. They already contain a mixture of Kipchak (i.e., Tatar) and Oghuz (i.e., Ottoman

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<sup>11</sup> Cf. Chapter 2 below; to be sure, neither term is of Kipchak origin but unlike *ahdname*, the term *şartname* had been used by the Crimean chancery before its Ottomanization.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Sagit Faizov, "Iz perepiski krymskix xanov s russkim carem i pol'skim korolem, 1654–1658 gg.," in: *Russkaja i ukrainskaja diplomatija v meždunarodnyx otnošenijax v Evrope serediny XVII v.* (Moscow, 2007): 438–478, esp. p. 443.

<sup>13</sup> Usmanov concludes that Baghchasaray's correspondence with Muscovy and Poland-Lithuania retained more Kipchak features than its correspondence with Istanbul, but he does not differentiate between the first two groups; cf. *idem*, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, p. 108. Also Faizov, who studied the Crimean correspondence with Moscow and Warsaw in the mid-seventeenth century, did not comment on linguistic differences but instead tended to draw general conclusions on the language used in the Crimean chancery; see *idem*, "Iz perepiski krymskix xanov s russkim carem i pol'skim korolem, 1654–1658 gg.," p. 443.

Turkish) elements. Judging merely by its extant Polish translation, an even stronger presence of Ottoman Turkish forms, borrowed from the Ottoman chancery, is visible in Mehmed III Giray's instrument from 1624. The long cohabitation of Kipchak and Oghuz elements is still reflected in the *'ahdnames* sent in 1640 from Baghchasaray to Vladislaus IV by Khan Bahadır Giray and Nureddin Qırım Giray. Although composed by the same chancery at the same time, and almost identical in contents, linguistically these two documents differ substantially. In the khan's instrument one finds the Kipchak forms *cibermek* and *taqı*, while their Oghuz alternatives *göndürmek* and *dahi* are missing altogether; moreover, the Kipchak ablative ending (-*din*) is over four times more frequent than the Oghuz one (-*den*). On the other hand, in the nureddin's instrument the Kipchak ablative ending is only two times more frequent than the Oghuz one, the frequency of the Kipchak and Oghuz alternative verbs *cibermek/göndürmek* is almost equal (11:9), and the Kipchak form *taqı* is missing altogether, replaced by its Oghuz alternative *dahi*. The Kipchak optative suffix -*gay/-gey* occurs nine times in the khan's instrument, but only two times in the nureddin's one. In this last aspect, both instruments are superceded by the one sent in the same year by Qalga Islam Giray, issued not in Baghchasaray but in Ferahkerman (Perekop), which contains as many as thirteen Kipchak optative suffixes.<sup>14</sup>

Perhaps the first instrument in our volume, where the Oghuz forms definitely prevail over the Kipchak ones, is the *'ahdname*, sent to Poland in 1646 by Khan Islam III Giray. Interestingly, six years earlier, when he was still the qalga, Islam Giray issued an instrument that was strongly Kipchakized (see above). The Ottomanization had been more or less completed in the following decade. In the *'ahdname* of Mehmed IV Giray, issued in 1654, one finds a purely Oghuz form: *hazretlerine olsun*, whereas Islam III Giray's *'ahdname* of 1646 still has: *hazretlerige bolsun*.

Selamet II Giray's instrument from 1742 stands apart from the remaining ones as it is a unique document in our volume that originates from the 18th century. It is written in pure Ottoman Turkish, although the glorious Genghisid past is still invoked by the fact that the document is referred to as *yarlıq*.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Documents 55–57.

The language of seventeenth-century Crimean documents, preserved in various European archives, has been already studied by several turcologists. Mária Ivanics, who studied the Crimean letters addressed to the princes of Transylvania, observed “the mixing of Kipchak and Oguz elements” but concluded that these letters “seem Ottoman-Turkish rather than Tatar from the linguistic point of view.” Nevertheless, she admitted that while in the Crimean letters sent to Transylvania “the rate of the Oguz elements is greater, [...] in the documents written to the Russian tsars the Kipchak elements are predominant.”<sup>15</sup> Josef Matuz, who studied the language of the Crimean letters addressed to Danish kings, found notable differences between individual documents, even those issued in the same period, which reminds of the aforementioned differences between the instruments sent to Poland in 1640. Matuz singled out three linguistic categories: from almost purely Ottoman Turkish letters (8), to the ones with “somewhat more” (*etwas mehr*) Kipchak elements (12), finally to the most “Kipchakized” ones (3), although he admitted that even the language of the latter cannot be described as purely Kipchak or Crimean Tatar.<sup>16</sup> Curiously, a letter sent in 1661 by Mehmed IV Giray is described by Matuz as *ehertatarisch* and included in the most “Kipchakized” category,<sup>17</sup> whereas in our volume the instrument of the same khan, drawn in 1654, is the most “Ottomanized” one (not counting the much later instrument from 1742). Apart from pointing to the already mentioned differences between individual instruments issued in the same period, one can explain this seeming paradox by the fact that while in our collection Mehmed IV Giray’s instrument is one of the latest ones (the second latest preserved in Arabic script), the Crimean letters held in the Danish archives do not date back further than 1658. The instruments of Mehmed IV Giray are thus in average more “Ottoman” than those of his predecessors, but more “Kipchakized” than those of his successors. The Crimean chancery language was also studied by Elżbieta Świącicka, who analyzed four seventeenth-century letters preserved

<sup>15</sup> Mária [Mary] Ivanics, “Formal and linguistic peculiarities of 17th century Crimean Tatar letters addressed to princes of Transylvania,” *AO ASH* 29 (1975): 213–224, esp. pp. 221 and 224.

<sup>16</sup> Matuz, *Krimtatarische Urkunden im Reichsarchiv zu Kopenhagen*, pp. 83–85.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 119; for the letter’s text, see *ibidem*, pp. 139–141 and Tafel IV–V (facsimile).

in Stockholm, sent by the women of the Giray dynasty. Using a different method than Ivanics and Matuz, she concluded that the ratio between the Ottoman Arabic/Persian, and the Turkic words in the examined letters was 135:40 and referred to their language as “Tatar-Ottoman.”<sup>18</sup>

Having noticed the gradual Ottomanization of the language of Crimean instruments addressed to the Polish kings, parallel with the preservation of Kipchak elements at least until the mid-seventeenth century, we should wait with more refined conclusions for a thorough analysis that would include all Crimean letters addressed to Polish-Lithuanian recipients, and not just the few ones that can be classified as formal instruments of peace. This task is beyond the scope of the present study and awaits a future researcher.

### *Other languages used by the Crimean chancery*

Apart from Khwarezmian Turkic, then a mixture of Tatar and Ottoman-Turkish, and finally pure Ottoman-Turkish, all recorded in Arabic script, the Crimean chancery used other languages as well.

In 1894, a Russian historian Mixail Berežkov published an article, voiced in a truly colonial spirit, typical for that period. The author maintained that Crimean instruments, regarding the peace with Russia, had been in fact drafted by the Muscovian chancery, in Russian, and then sent to the Crimea merely for the khan to corroborate them. According to Berežkov: “the khan’s chancery needed only to translate the Russian draft into Tatar, add the heading titles as well as concluding formulas, and strengthen [thus drawn] documents with a seal.”<sup>19</sup> As if to console himself for his ignorance of Oriental languages, the author optimistically concluded: “therefore, the Russian texts (Rus. *gramoty*) are not inferior to the Tatar originals in regard to their content and importance; they are even superior [*sic*-DK], because the

<sup>18</sup> Elżbieta Świącicka, “The Diplomatic Letters by Crimean Keräy Ladies to the Swedish Royal House,” *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 55 (2002), no. 1, pp. 57–90, esp. p. 60.

<sup>19</sup> ...*xanskoj kancelarii ostavalos’ tol’ko perevesti po-tatarski étot russkij spisok, pribavja zaglavnnye tytuly da zaključitel’nyja formuly i skrepja dokumenty pečat’ju*; see Berežkov, *Krymskie šertnye gramoty* (Kiev, 1894), p. 3.

Crimean *şartnames* (Rus. *şerti*) were simply translations of the Russian drafts.”<sup>20</sup>

Berežkov’s dismissive view of the Tatar chancery was later justly ridiculed by the leading Russian Orientalist, Aleksandr Samojlovič.<sup>21</sup> Perhaps in reaction to such derogatory views of the Tatar culture like Berežkov’s, today we encounter opposite views, especially among Tatar scholars, that diminish or entirely neglect the role of the Russian language—and per analogy any non-Tatar language—in the past foreign diplomatic correspondence of Baghchasaray. Sagit Faizov maintains that the instruments of peace (*şart-* and *ahdnames*), circulating between Baghchasaray and Moscow, were drawn exclusively in Tatar and issued unilaterally by the khan’s chancery, in analogy to the *yarlıqs* once issued by the khans of the Golden Horde.<sup>22</sup> Arguing that no seventeenth-century peace agreement between Baghchasaray and Moscow is known to have been composed in Russian, the same author concludes: “one can assume—for the lack of sources [*sic*-DK]—that also seventeenth-century Crimean-Polish agreements were drawn exclusively in the Crimean Tatar language.”<sup>23</sup> A more balanced view is proposed in reference to the earlier period (15th–16th century) by Usmanov, who nevertheless insists that almost all the letters sent by the Girays to Moscow were composed in Tatar and translated into Russian only in the Muscovian chancery, while the Russian replies were composed in two languages: Russian originals and their Tatar copies.<sup>24</sup>

A modern scholar is faced with the fact that all the earliest Crimean instruments of peace, addressed to Muscovian rulers in the 15th and 16th centuries, are preserved only in copies in Russian. Some of these copies are referred to as translations (Rus. *perevod*), so we may safely

<sup>20</sup> *Takim obrazom russkija gramoty po sodержaniju i po značeniju ne ustupajut tatarskim podlinnikam; one daže preimuščestvujut pred nimi, ibo krymskija šerti byli prostym perevodom s russkix obrazcovyx zapisej; see ibidem.*

<sup>21</sup> See Aleksandr Samojlovič, “O ‘pajza’—‘bajsa’ v Džučievom uluse (K voprosu o basme xana Axmata),” *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR* 20 (1926): 1107–1120, esp. p. 1108.

<sup>22</sup> *Russko-krymskie šert-name i gaxed-name suščestvovali liš’ kak tatarojazyčnye dokumenty, isxodivšie iz kanceljarii xana, podobno jarlykam-požalovanijam zolotoordynskix xanov; see Faizov, “Iz perepiski krymskix xanov s russkim carem i pol’skim korolem, 1654–1658 gg.,” p. 442.*

<sup>23</sup> *Russkojazyčnye dogovora XVII v. meždu Rossiej i Krymskim jurtom ne izvestny. Možno predpolagat’—vsledstvie nedostatka istočnikov—čto i krymsko-pol’skie dogovory XVII v. ispolnjalis’ liš’ na krymskotatarskom jazyke; see ibidem.*

<sup>24</sup> Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, p. 109.

assume that their originals were written in Arabic script and composed in Khwarezmian Turkic or Tatar. Sometimes, we find additional references to the now lost originals. For instance, in a late sixteenth-century inventory of the Muscovian archives, we read that Mengli Giray's *šartname* (Rus. *šerťnaja gramota*), brought in 1508 by Kostjantin Zabolockij and today extant only in a Russian copy, was written in "Muslim script" (*besermenskim pis'mom*).<sup>25</sup> Some of the oldest Crimean instruments were still extant in 1626, having survived the great fire of Moscow; an official inventory, ordered after the disaster, listed "six old Crimean *šartnames*, [received] during the reign of Vasilij Ivanovič [r. 1505–1533], the grand duke of the whole Rus', sent in various years, and one among them addressed to Ivan Vasilevič [r. 1533–1584], the tsar and grand duke of the whole Rus', written on sheets of paper in Tatar script, very damaged and lacerated, two [of them] with top and bottom parts missing."<sup>26</sup> The already mentioned fact that also the Muscovian chancery issued documents in Turkic recorded in Arabic script, is further confirmed by a register, executed in 1800 by Aleksej Malinovskij, an employee and the future director of the Russian Foreign Ministry archives. An entry in the register refers to a solemn letter, sent by Ivan III to Mengli Giray in 1481, which was "written in the Tatar language and provided with a golden seal" (*pisannaja na tatarskom jazyke s priloženiem zolotoj pečati*). Two other letters, drawn in the same year on behalf of Ivan III, were also written in Tatar.<sup>27</sup>

Having asserted the wide usage of the Turkic language and Arabic script in the Crimean-Muscovian mutual correspondence, we may still ask about the role of the Russian language and Cyrillic script. Undoubtedly, in Moscow, Russian functioned as the main language. Even if some instruments, addressed to the khans and Crimean dignitaries, were drawn in Tatar, Muscovian envoys were simultaneously

<sup>25</sup> *Opisi Carskogo arxiva XVI veka i arxiva Posol'skogo prikaza 1614 goda*. Edited by S. Šmidt (Moscow, 1960), p. 28.

<sup>26</sup> *6 gramot krymskix šerťnyx, staryx, pri velikom knjaze Vasil'e Ivanoviče vsea Rusii, prislany v roznnyx godex, i odna iz nix k carju i velikomu knjazju Ivanu Vasil'evičju vsea Rusi, pisany na bumage na listex, tatarskim pismom, vetxi gorazdo i podrany, u dvou[x] verxov i spodu net*; see *Opis arxiva Posol'skogo prikaza 1626*. Edited by V. Gal'cov and S. Šmidt (Moscow, 1977), pt. 1, p. 79.

<sup>27</sup> See "Reestr šerťnym gramotam Krymskix xanov, zapisjam poslov ix i drugim postanovlenijam s krymskimi tatarami byvšimi, soč. 1800 g. kanc. sov. A. Malinovskim," published in *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*.... Edited by F. Laškov, pp. 1–22, esp. p. 2.



provided with their copies in Russian. Besides, the contents of both incoming and outgoing correspondence were recorded in Russian in the Muscovian chancery registers.<sup>28</sup> In the Crimea, the situation was apparently analogous, with Turkic serving as the main language, but also—for practical reasons—with other languages and scripts admitted for diplomatic correspondence.

Having studied the Russian translations of Tatar letters sent to Moscow, Edward Keenan identified Turkic syntax and vocabulary which often transpires through the Russian text.<sup>29</sup> His findings can be fully confirmed by the present author, who has found numerous analogies in the Ruthenian translations of Tatar letters sent to Vilnius.<sup>30</sup> Still, the presence of Turkic calques and loaned expressions in a text extant today in an East Slavic language does not necessarily imply that this text is a translation of a now lost Turkic original. A Tatar native speaker or an assimilated Slav in the khan's service, charged with drawing a document in Russian or Ruthenian, would be expected to insert Turkic linguistic elements. Turkic expressions also entered the Muscovian chancery language, only to mention such crucial terms as *jarlyk* and *šert'*. Ivan III and Vasilij III are even known to have applied the formula *slovo moe* (lit. "[this is] my word," a loanword from Turkic *sözüm*)—originally reserved for the Genghisids only—in their correspondence with Tatar *mirzas* and *beys* in desire to raise the prestige of the Muscovian ruler in the addressees' eyes.<sup>31</sup>

In fact, there are three ways of explaining the presence of Turkic elements in texts extant today in Russian or Ruthenian:

- 1) the texts that have come down to us may have been translated from the now lost Turkic originals by the translators of the recipients' chanceries—Slavs or Tatars in the Muscovian and Lithuanian service;

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Xoroškevič, *Rus' i Krym*, pp. 207 and 276.

<sup>29</sup> Keenan, "Muscovy and Kazan," p. 550.

<sup>30</sup> For instance, the expression *v golovax*, often found in the Ruthenian translations of the khans' letters, does not make much sense for a Slavic speaker but is perfectly understandable in the Turkic context, as it is equivalent to the term *başlıg* ("to begin with"); the most notoriously loaned expression is of course the term *slovo moe* ("my word"), which reflects the Turkic formula *sözüm*, found in the headings of Tatar documents; for more examples, see Document 20, whose text is luckily preserved in both Khwarezmian Turkic and Ruthenian.

<sup>31</sup> Xoroškevič, *Rus' i Krym*, pp. 188 and 276.

- 2) the texts might have been prepared already in the Crimea by the translators of the Crimean chancery (Tatars, Crimean Christians, or Muscovian and Lithuanian “renegates” in the khan’s service) and sent along with original documents in Turkic in order to facilitate the recipients the correct apprehension of the khan’s message (many Tatars in the Lithuanian and Muscovian service spoke the vernacular, but few of them were able to read the Arabic script);
- 3) the extant texts might be the copies of the original documents, drawn from the outset in a Slavic language and Cyrillic script by the Crimean chancery and corroborated with the khan’s seal.

While the opinions of Usmanov and Faizov, quoted above, favor the first option, several entries in the Muscovian chancery books, identified by Il’ja Zajcev and the present author, prove that at least some Crimean letters, addressed to Moscow, were originally drawn in Russian or Ruthenian. For instance, in 1492 Mengli Giray addressed Ivan III “in the Russian script” (*ruzskim pismom*) and in 1502 the khan’s letter sent to Moscow was again referred to as written in the Cyrillic script (*a se careva gramota ruskim pismom*). In 1528, Sa’adet Giray stressed in his letter to Vasilij III that he had written his letter in Russian (*a sju esmi gramotu [...] po-ruski napisal*), and two years later the same khan again notified the addressee: “I have issued [my] letters, having written them in your language” (*po vašemu jazyku napisav, gramoty [...] dal esmi*).<sup>32</sup>

It is worth questioning which East Slavic dialect was predominant in the khan’s chancery. Anna Xoroškevič draws an example of a letter by Mengli Giray, whose text, recorded in the Muscovian chancery books, contains “old-Belarusian” (i.e., Ruthenian) linguistic elements. Although admitting a possibility that the entry might have been composed by a recent immigrant from Lithuania, employed in

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<sup>32</sup> For the quotations from 1492, 1528, and 1530, see Zajcev, *Krymskaja istoriografičeskaja tradicija XV–XIX vekov. Puti razvitija. Rukopisi, teksty i istočniki* (Moscow, 2009), pp. 19–20; curiously, the same author seems to underrate the usage of Russian in the khan’s chancery and regards Russian as less important than Latin. For the quotation from 1502, see *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 1, p. 377; admittedly, a similar entry on p. 390, referring to the letter of an Ottoman prince residing in Caffa, suggests that the translation was made already in Moscow by a member of the Crimean embassy, who is referred to by his title of *baḥşı* (*a se gramota ruskim pismom; a imjani saltanova bakšej u nej ne perevel*); on the term *baḥşı*, cf. Document 35, n. 21.

the Muscovian chancery, Xoroškevič yet suggests that the text was rather composed in the Crimea already in the Ruthenian language.<sup>33</sup>

The use of the East Slavic language(s) along with the Turkic one(s) in the Crimean chancery is unequivocally confirmed by the correspondence between Qırq Yer and Vilnius. After all, before he ascended the Crimean throne, Hadji Giray had spent numerous years in Lithuania and was regarded by contemporaries as a Lithuanian client. The oldest original Crimean document, preserved in Poland, is the letter sent by Hadji's son, Mengli Giray, to Jurij Radziwiłł, the palatine of Kiev, in March 1512.<sup>34</sup> Sealed with the khan's *nišan*, it is composed in Ruthenian and begins with the words: *Velykoe Ordý ot velykoho carja Mengli Gereja Carja slovo* (*Великое врьды ѿ великого ѣрѣа меңли гереча ѣрѣа слово*). It was surely not the only document in Ruthenian, issued by Mengli Giray, although it might be the only one extant today. In 1514, in a letter to Mengli Giray, Sigismund acquitted the receipt of the khan's two letters of identical contents, written in Ruthenian and Tatar (*lysty svoy v jedno slovo po rusky y po tatarsky k nam pryslal esy*).<sup>35</sup> Unfortunately, none of these letters is preserved today in the original, although we find Mengli's letters from 1514 in numerous Ruthenian copies.

In 1562, when Mengli's grandson, Devlet Giray, urged Sigismund Augustus to join his campaign against Muscovy, the khan's letter, issued in a military camp on the Samara river, was again drawn in Ruthenian. Since in that period the khans apparently did not take along their solemn seals (*nišans*) on military campaigns, the letter was corroborated merely with Devlet's signet seal. Apart from the sealed original, preserved today in the Polish archives, a copy of the khan's letter is entered in the Lithuanian Register books.<sup>36</sup> If the original had not been preserved, perhaps some scholars would have argued today that the copy preserved in the Lithuanian Register must be the translation of the lost Turkic original!

There are further hints indicating that there were more than one language options for a khan's instrument to be issued in. In his *šarname*

<sup>33</sup> Xoroškevič, *Rus' i Krym*, p. 19; Mengli's letter is recorded among the Tatar embassy papers from 1509.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. n. 123 in Part I.

<sup>35</sup> Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, p. 445.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. n. 292 in Part I; for a similar situation, when the khan corroborated his document with a signet seal since he lacked his *nišan* while campaigning in Hungary, see n. 270 below.

(*prysjažnyj lyst*), sent to Casimir in 1480 and preserved today in a Ruthenian copy, Mengli Giray refers to his oath, “pronounced in [his] own language” (*rekučy svoym jazykom*) in the presence of the royal envoy as if the oath could have been pronounced in another language as well.<sup>37</sup> At times, it was the Christian side that insisted for the khan’s document to be written in the khan’s own language and Arabic script. In 1514, Sigismund asked Mengli Giray for an instrument of peace “written in Muslim words” (*pysany musulmanskymy slovy*), apparently in the hope that the khan would not break a promise written in Arabic—the sacred script of the Koran.<sup>38</sup>

Beside Ruthenian, the Crimean chancery used other “infidel” languages as well. The use of Greek is confirmed by Mengli Giray’s letter, addressed in 1481 to Genoese envoys, that is preserved in the original stamped with the khan’s *nišan*.<sup>39</sup> As to the Western languages, the instrument of Nur Devlet, addressed in 1467 to Casimir, is preserved in a fifteenth-century Latin copy that contains a strikingly precise *datatio* referring to the Muslim calendar (*anno Saracenorum octugentesimo septuagesimo secundo mensis Zapher*). Furthermore, two letters by Mengli Giray, addressed in 1472 to the kings of Poland

<sup>37</sup> See Document 6.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. n. 148 in Part I; four years earlier, Sigismund had contacted the chief mulah at the khan’s court, asking for mediation and invoking the addressee’s religious authority among the Giray dynasty members; see n. 116 in Part I.

<sup>39</sup> Encouraged by the death of Mehmed II in 1481, Genova revived its diplomatic activity in the Black Sea region and tried to gain the support of the local rulers, including Mengli Giray, for restoring its suzerainty in Caffa. In September 1481, two Genoese envoys, Bartolomeo da Campofregoso and Lodisio Fiesco, arrived at Kiev (the form *Mancreman*, encountered in Genoese sources, derives from the Turkish name of Kiev: Mankerman) and, with the consent of King Casimir, began correspondence with Mengli Giray, who invited them to come incognito to his court and discuss the secret project of an anti-Ottoman alliance. The Genoese-Crimean negotiations lasted for two more years but did not bring any result; see Giacomo Grasso, *Documenti riguardanti la costituzione di una lega contro il Turco nel 1481 (estratto dal Giornale Ligustico)* (Genova, 1880), pp. 21–22, 89–96, and 162–174; cf. Șerban Papacostea, “Caffa et la Moldavie face à l’expansion ottomane (1453–1484),” in: *Colocviul româno-italian “Genovezii la Marea Neagră în secolele XIII–XIV.” București, 27–28 martie 1975*. Edited by Ș. Pascu (Bucharest, 1977): 131–153, esp. pp. 152–153. The Greek text of Mengli’s invitation, addressed to the Genoese envoys and dated on 30 December [1481], is published in Franz Miklosich and Joseph Müller (eds.), *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, vol. 3: *Acta et diplomata graeca res graecas italiasque illustrantia* (Vienna, 1865), pp. 292–293, and again, along with a Latin version, in Grasso, *Documenti*, pp. 168–169; for the facsimile of the original document in Greek, preserved in the State Archives in Genova, see *Księga podróży Ewliji Czelebiego*. Edited by Z. Abrahamowicz (Warsaw, 1969), p. 325.

and Bohemia, are also preserved in Latin copies recorded in the Polish Crown Register books.<sup>40</sup> Finally, an early sixteenth-century manuscript, held today in Zagreb, contains a Latin copy of a letter addressed by Mengli Giray to John Albert, the king of Poland. It is dated in Qırk Yer on 10 February 1500 (*Ex Chercher...millesimo quingentesimo die decima Februarii*) and even contains the standard *sözüüm* formula (*Menlicherei verbum meum*).<sup>41</sup> Since none of the above letters is preserved in the original, we cannot be entirely sure that they were originally drawn in Latin, but at least the use of Italian, precisely its northern dialect spoken in Genovese Caffa, by the Crimean chancery is well evidenced. Numerous Italians entered the khan's service after the Ottoman conquest of Caffa and other Black Sea colonies, to mention only Vincenzo de Guidulphis, the son of the Genovese ruler of Matrega (Taman'), and Augustino de Garibaldis, a Genovese from Caffa whose brothers lived in Spain. These characters make perfect representatives of the Genovese diaspora then dispersed between the Caspian and the Spanish New World.<sup>42</sup> The oldest document published in the present volume, which is preserved in the original, is Mengli Giray's instrument from 1514, provided with the khan's golden *nişan* and composed in Italian. It was sent to King Sigismund in response to the latter's instrument in Latin, issued on behalf of the Polish Crown. The task of drawing the khan's instrument was entrusted to Augustino de Garibaldis. The Crimean chancery did not make much difference between Italian and Latin and in its correspondence in Ruthenian it referred to both languages as "Frankish" (*frjažskyj*). It was probably easier to find a clerk fluent in Italian than in Latin since the knowledge of Latin among the members of Italian diaspora was on the decrease.<sup>43</sup> Although Italians continued to serve in the Khanate's diplomacy into the 17th century, there is no evidence that the Crimean chancery used Italian in the years following the death of Mengli Giray. Due to their

<sup>40</sup> For the instrument from 1467, see Document 2. For the two letters from 1472, see AGAD, Metryka Koronna, Libri Inscriptionum, no. 12, fol. 79a–79b; they are published in Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, p. 199; on the Crimean embassy from 1472, cf. n. 53 in Part I.

<sup>41</sup> Published in Józef Garbacik (ed.), *Materiały do dziejów dyplomacji polskiej z lat 1486–1516 (Kodeks zagrzebski)* (Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow, 1966), pp. 89–91.

<sup>42</sup> On Vincenzo de Guidulphis and Augustino de Garibaldis, see Document 16, notes 10 and 18.

<sup>43</sup> A similar process can be observed in the Ottoman chancery: while the fifteenth-century letters sent from Istanbul to Cracow were drawn in Ottoman Turkish or Latin, in the 16th century Italian replaced Latin as the second language.

rising acculturation, Italians themselves gradually forgot their vernacular although they often kept Genovese family names along with Tatar or Tatarized names and titles.<sup>44</sup>

While many scholars described and often deplored the Ottomanization of the Crimean chancery, another parallel and fascinating process went almost unnoticed. We would call it—*toutes proportions gardées*—the Polonization of the seventeenth-century Crimean chancery. By the late 17th century, Polish had been largely adopted in everyday use by the Lithuanian and Ruthenian nobility, and replaced Ruthenian as the official language of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. It also became widely spoken among the upper strata of Ukrainian Cossacks, Armenian merchants living in Poland-Lithuania, and even Moldavian boyars. To be sure, the usage of Polish as the tool of communication was not equal to the loyalty towards the Polish king and institutions; to give just one example: when in 1653 Bohdan Xmel'nyč'kyj, the leader of the Cossack rebellion against the Polish rule, sent a letter to the Ottoman grand vizier, the letter was composed in Polish and corroborated with Xmel'nyč'kyj's signature in Polish.<sup>45</sup>

Many Tatars experienced captivity in Poland, taken prisoner in result of failed raids. While the rank and file were usually settled as slaves and with time they assimilated into the local society, the nobles could hope for redemption or a chance to be released during the nearest pacification, although sometimes they had to wait quite a long time. In the years 1629–1634, such fate fell to the lot of the future khan Islam III Giray, imprisoned in Rawa, where he had many opportunities to meet Polish dignitaries and learn Polish. In the years 1649–1653, the Tatars led by Islam III Giray assisted the Cossack rebellion and took part in numerous engagements with the Polish troops, while in the years 1654–1666 the Tatars and the Poles fought alongside against the Russians and the Swedes. Either in war or in alliance, there were numerous opportunities to learn each other's customs and sometimes even language. Besides, the Crimean society was anything but homogeneous and there were many Polish “renegates”—both of common and noble

<sup>44</sup> On the Genovese in the khans' service, cf. Document 45, n. 8.

<sup>45</sup> For the letter, preserved in the original in the Topkapı Archives, see Nigâr Anafarta, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile Lehistan (Polonya) arasındaki münasebetlerle ilgili tarihi belgeler/Historical documents concerning relations between the Ottoman Empire and Lehistan (Poland)* [(Istanbul, 1979)], no. 19 (pp. 17 and 15–16 of the Turkish and English versions, respectively; see also Figure 5 for the facsimile).

origin—who made career at the khan's court. Some of them may have been kidnapped, especially at a young age, which facilitated acculturation. Others might have arrived at their free will.<sup>46</sup> In the 1660s, a prominent role in the khan's chancery was played by a certain Islam Bey, who had retained his Polish noble surname along with the new Muslim identity and signed his letters to Polish dignitaries as Islan Bey Cegielski.<sup>47</sup> A prominent Tatar diplomat and go-between in the same period was Dedesh Agha, who spoke Polish, headed numerous embassies to Poland, and even posed for the royal court painter, Daniel Schultz, who executed his portrait in a Polish outfit (a Muslim with an uncovered head!), depicted with his sons and servants in the then fashionable setting composed of a hunting dog, a hawk, and a monkey.<sup>48</sup>

Having in mind the above background, we should not be surprised that numerous letters sent by the Crimean khans and dignitaries and extant in the Polish archives were composed in Polish. Two documents in the present volume, preserved in the originals and issued by the qalga (along with nine other dignitaries) and the khan, in the years 1667 and 1672 respectively, are composed in Polish and corroborated with seals engraved in Arabic script.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, in the 17th century Polish began to serve as a medium for the Crimean correspondence with other European courts, namely Stockholm and Copenhagen. In 1661, Mehmed IV Giray furnished his embassy to Stockholm with a letter in Tatar, accompanied by a Polish translation (perhaps prepared

<sup>46</sup> For various reasons that motivated the so-called renegates, who kept arriving from Christian Europe to Islamic countries, cf. Bartolomé and Lucile Bennisar, *Les Chrétiens d'Allah. L'histoire extraordinaire des renégats XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1989).

<sup>47</sup> Cf. his letter to Chancellor Mikołaj Prażmowski from 15 May 1663, in AGAD, Dz. tat., k. 61, t. 57, no. 199.

<sup>48</sup> The oil painting by Daniel Schultz, one of the best painters of the Polish baroque, born in a German family in Danzig, was executed in 1664 and is preserved in the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg. Painted during the envoy's stay in Warsaw, the portrait was apparently a royal gift presented to Dedesh and taken by him to the Crimea. It was probably captured by the Russian army during Münnich's invasion of the Khanate in 1736. On the adventurous history of the painting and the identification of the portrayed figure, see *Gdzie Wschód spotyka Zachód. Portret osobistości dawnej Rzeczypospolitej 1576–1763. Katalog wystawy pod kierunkiem Jerzego Malinowskiego* (Warsaw, 1993), pp. 353–354 (a note by Jacek Gajewski), and Bożena Steinborn, *Malarz Daniel Schultz. Gdańszczanin w służbie królów polskich* (Warsaw, 2004), pp. 136–139.

<sup>49</sup> See Documents 66 and 70; on the use of Polish in the Crimean seventeenth-century correspondence, see also Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu w dawnej Polsce do XVIII wieku* (Łódź, 1950), p. 128.

by aforementioned Islam Bey Cegielski) and an explanatory note, also in Polish: “now, having written our letter in Tatar, we send it to you; yet, if there is no one with you who can read it, we send you its Polish translation [as well].”<sup>50</sup>

Also the Crimean letters, addressed to Copenhagen, were often accompanied by Polish translations, on whose basis the Danish royal chancery, which lacked translators of Oriental languages, was able to prepare translations into German.<sup>51</sup> Besides, Josef Matuz, who studied the Crimean documents preserved in the Danish archives, identified a number of Polish translations made—as the author maintained—from Turkish originals that “could not be identified so far” (*bisher unauffindbar*).<sup>52</sup> Matuz provided his otherwise remarkable study with an explanation that it was unthinkable for a Crimean khan or dignitary to issue a document in other language than Turkish.<sup>53</sup> Perhaps his own *credo* prevented him from noticing that the Turkish originals had never existed because the Polish “translations” were the actual originals. A visit in the Danish State Archives in March 2009 enabled the present author to establish that most of the alleged “translations” are corroborated with the original seals of Crimean dignitaries (for instance, of the Crimean vizier Sefer Ghazi Agha) with Arabic script engravings. The letters were folded and sealed with wax (the traces of folding and wax are still visible), according to the European rather than the Oriental custom. After they had been folded, solemn addresses in Latin were written on their back, for instance: *Serenissimo et Potentissimo Domino Friderico ex Gratia Dei Daniae Regi etc. etc. Amico Nostro honorato*. In short, these are undoubtedly the originals, and not translations or copies.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>50</sup> *Teraz list nasz po tatarsku napisawszy Wam posyłamy; luboby też u Was takich ludzi nie było do przeczytania onego, na polski przetłumaczywszy Wam posyłamy*; see Karl Zetterstéen, *Türkische, tatarische und persische Urkunden im Schwedischen Reichsarchiv* (Uppsala, 1945), pp. VI and 98, n. 1; cf. also Święcicka, “The Diplomatic Letters by Crimean Keräy Ladies to the Swedish Royal House,” p. 64, n. 11.

<sup>51</sup> Matuz, *Krimtatarische Urkunden im Reichsarchiv zu Kopenhagen*, p. 122.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 279–280.

<sup>53</sup> *Bevor wir nun auf die Frage eingehen, wie die Sprache der in Kopenhagen befindlichen krimtatarischen Urkunden beschaffen ist, soll darauf hingewiesen werden, daß die Krimchane und sonstige hohe krimtatarische Würdenträger sich in ihrer Korrespondenz mit Dänemark ausschließlich des Türkischen bedienten. Schreiben der krimtatarischen Potentaten konnten weder in einer anderen islamischen Sprache (Arabisch oder Persisch) noch in einer Europäischen Sprache ermittelt werden*; see *ibidem*, p. 82.

<sup>54</sup> Copenhagen, Rigsarkivet, Tyske Kanzelli, Udenrigske Afdeling, Tatariet AI 1/2/41–47 (46 is missing). It is worth noting that in the same period the Crimean



In their correspondence with the Habsburgs, the Girays did not need to have recourse to Polish since there were many translators of Turkish in Vienna. Nevertheless, Tatar embassies traveling to Germany and Austria through Poland were usually joined by Polish commissioners, who acted as guides, interpreters, and even intermediaries, just like in the case of Baghchasaray's contacts with the Scandinavian kingdoms.<sup>55</sup>

In sum, the use of so many scripts (Arabic, Cyrillic, Greek, Latin) and languages (Khwarezmian Turkic, Crimean Tatar, Ottoman Turkish, Ruthenian, Greek, Italian, Polish, perhaps Muscovite Russian and Latin as well) demonstrates the political pragmatism of the Crimean court and the fluency of the Crimean chancery in various cultural spheres.<sup>56</sup> Scholars, who mourn the Ottomanization of the Crimean culture as the manifest sign of its decadence, should also take into account its impressive adaptability and openness to stimuli coming from different directions. Perhaps here should we look for the roots of the future dynamism, for which the nineteenth-century Crimean Tatar activists and reformers, such as Ismail Bey Gaspirali, are often credited?

### *Languages used by the Lithuanian and Polish chanceries*

When it comes to the beginnings of the Polish and Lithuanian relations with the Tatars, Cracow might claim precedence over Vilnius, because already in 1241 a Polish prince perished at the hands of the

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letters written in Turkish, addressed to the Danish king, were put into satin bags with addresses written on attached paper sheets known as *kulaks* (lit. "ear"), so the Oriental and European traditions coexisted in the Crimean chancery.

<sup>55</sup> For just a sample of information regarding the Crimean embassies traveling through Poland to Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Vienna, preserved in the Polish archives and libraries, see Augusiewicz, "Dwa poselstwa Mariusza Stanisława Jaskólskiego na Krym w 1654 roku," p. 60, n. 83; Bibl. Kórn., ms. 991, fol. 498b and 505a.

<sup>56</sup> In a letter, sent in 1686 from Baghchasaray to the Transylvanian ruler, Mihály Apafi, Khan Selim Giray proudly proclaimed that there were many people at his court fluent in different languages and scripts, although he admitted that in the given case nobody was able to translate Apafi's letter that was apparently composed in Hungarian: *egerçe bu tarafda her dili bilir ve her yazuyı oqur adamlar var idi lakin sizden gelen kağıdı oquyub içinde olan ahvalı tercüme qadır olamadılar* ("although there have been people here who have known every language and read every script, yet, having read the letter that had come from you, they have been unable to translate its contents"); see Bucharest, Direcția Arhive Naționale Istorice Centrale, Documente turcești, no. 2349. I would like to thank Michał Wasiucionek for drawing my attention to this latter and providing me with its copy.

Mongol-Tatar invaders. Yet, since the 14th century geographic factors decided that the relations of the Golden Horde, and then the Crimean Khanate, developed more intensively with Vilnius than Cracow, hence we will start our description from Lithuania.

Well into the early modern period, Lithuanian had not been entirely forgotten by the Lithuanian elites. Jogaila and Vytautas are known to have conversed in that language, especially when they did not wish to be overheard. Nevertheless, the official language used by the Lithuanian chancery was Ruthenian, sometimes referred to as "common speech" (*prostaja mova*) in order to differentiate it from Church Slavonic. Contrary to the latter designation, it was not a vernacular but a literary language, derived from various Eastern Slavic dialects used by the inhabitants of present-day Belarus and Ukraine,<sup>57</sup> but also containing some Church Slavonic and a rising number of Polish elements. Ruthenian differed from Muscovite Russian, but the two chancery languages were mutually intelligible as they combined Church Slavonic with local Eastern Slavic vernaculars.

Apart from having lexically influenced Ruthenian, Polish also directly entered the chancery usage in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and gradually replaced Ruthenian as the official means of communication. The process began in the 16th century and was completed by 1697, when the Polish-Lithuanian Diet passed the law that Polish should be the official language in both parts of the Commonwealth. By that time the majority of Ruthenian nobles became Catholic and Polonized and opted themselves for introducing Polish, invoking their inability to read the Cyrillic script, although one still heard few voices favoring the preservation of Ruthenian.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>57</sup> The often encountered term Old- or Middle Belarusian is insofar imprecise as it conceals the influence of the Volhynian dialect, visible from the times when Vytautas resided in Luc'k; see Andrij Danylenko, "On the Name(s) of the *Prostaja Mova* in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth," *Studia Slavica Hungarica* 51 (2006): 97–121, esp. p. 98; cf. also the classical monograph by Christian Stang, *Die westrussische Kanzleisprache des Grossfürstentums Litauen* (Oslo, 1935), p. 163.

<sup>58</sup> On the penetration of Polish into the Lithuanian institutions, cf. Antoine Martel, *La langue polonaise dans les pays ruthènes: Ukraine et Russie Blanche, 1569–1667* (Lille, 1938), pp. 54–66; Bohdan Strumins'kyj, "The Language Question in the Ukrainian Lands before the Nineteenth Century," in: *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question*, vol. II: *East Slavic*. Edited by R. Picchio and H. Goldblatt (New Haven, 1984): 9–47, esp. pp. 21–24; on the law of 1697, known as *Coequatio iurium* and containing the famous clause regarding the official language, see Jerzy Malec, *Szkice z dziejow federalizmu i myśli federalistycznej w czasach nowożytnych* (Cracow, 1999), pp. 38–50; the law is published in *Volumina legum: przedruk zbioru praw staraniem XX. Pijarów*

Since its foundation, the Lithuanian chancery also used Latin and German, especially in its relations with the Teutonic Order. The use of Tatar in the times of Vytautas is also highly probable.<sup>59</sup> In the 15th and 16th centuries, numerous Tatars were employed in the grand ducal chancery, and at least some of them must have had the command of the written language apart from the vernacular.<sup>60</sup> For instance, an entire clan of Tatar envoys and interpreters was founded by Ibrahim Tymirčyn, who had participated in several embassies to the Great Horde and Crimea, and in a more advanced age served in the Lithuanian chancery. As his noble status was questioned by earlier Tatar immigrants to Lithuania, he managed to secure letters from both Mengli Giray and the latter's mortal enemy, Sheikh Ahmed, certifying the elevated position of his family within the Tatar society.<sup>61</sup> Undeniable proof of the use of the Tatar language in the Lithuanian chancery is provided by a letter of Sigismund I from July 1511. Notifying his two envoys, sent earlier to the Crimea and still remaining at Mengli Giray's court, of the departure of a new royal embassy headed by Stanisław Skinder, the king informed that the envoy was provided with two letters: "one in Ruthenian, whose contents Stanisław should orally communicate to the khan, and another in Tatar, which you should give to the khan so that he may read it himself."<sup>62</sup>

Yet, even if some letters addressed to the khans could be drawn in Tatar or rather two language versions: Ruthenian and Tatar, the

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w Warszawie, od roku 1732 do roku 1782 wydanego, vol. V (St. Petersburg, 1860), p. 418; in the scholarly literature, it is sometimes referred to under the erroneous date of 1696.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Marceli Kosman, "Kancelaria wielkiego księcia Witolda," *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 14 (1969): 91–117, esp. p. 93; Żwan, "Stosunki litewsko-tatarskie," p. 598; Banionis, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės pasiuntinybių tarnyba*, pp. 146–147. Gilbert de Lannoy, who in 1421 traveled to Constantinople through Lithuania, recalled that Grand Duke Vytautas had provided him with safe-conducts written in Tatar, Ruthenian, and Latin (*Et me bailla le dit duc, au partir, telles lettres, qu'il me falloit pour passer par son moyen parmy la Turquie, escriptes en tartarie, en russie et en latin*); see Gilbert de Lannoy *i jego podróże*, p. 68.

<sup>60</sup> For a list of Tatar interpreters, whose names are known for the years 1492–1506, see Krzysztof Pietkiewicz, *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie pod rządami Aleksandra Jagiellończyka. Studia nad dziejami państwa i społeczeństwa na przełomie XV i XVI wieku* (Poznań, 1995), p. 29.

<sup>61</sup> On Ibrahim Tymirčyn as well as his two brothers and three sons, who also served in the Lithuanian diplomacy, see Document 8, n. 40.

<sup>62</sup> *odyn spysok po rusky, z kotoroho maet Stanyslav slovom carju movyty, a druhyj spysok po tatarsky maet carju daty, yžby car sam sobe vyčol*; see Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, p. 382.

majority of the correspondence was conducted in Ruthenian, especially as this language was also used by the Crimean chancery. With the passing of time, the role of Lithuanian Tatars in diplomatic exchange decreased, partly due to their weakening fluency in the spoken and especially written language in the Crimea.<sup>63</sup> Although valued as cavalrymen and allowed to retain their religion, they played a limited role as political or cultural intermediaries. Their momentous return to the fore, caused by their collective desertion in 1672, on the eve of the Ottoman invasion of Poland, helped to refresh their cultural liaisons with the Muslim world, but did not serve well their image in Poland. Even though many returned, persuaded by John III Sobieski and disenchanted with Ottoman realities, their resumed role was again that of soldiers rather than diplomats.

To sum up, in its correspondence with Qırq Yer, Vilnius used predominantly Ruthenian, both in its own instruments and for recording the copies of incoming Crimean documents, even if some of the latter might have been originally drawn in Khwarezmian Turkic (it was demonstrated above that both Khwarezmian Turkic and Ruthenian were used in Qırq Yer). The linguistic Polonization of the Lithuanian chancery was still at its inception by 1569, when the role of Vilnius in the Commonwealth's relations with the Crimea was overtaken by Cracow. Therefore, Polish did not have time to make its impact. Even those Crimean instruments, addressed to the Jagiellonian rulers (i.e., until 1572), which are extant today in Polish copies, were apparently first composed in (or translated from Turkic into) Ruthenian, and only then recorded in Latin script in Polish.<sup>64</sup>

As to the Polish chancery, its official language since the Middle Ages had been Latin, but in the 16th century a gradual process of Polonization began. Ruthenian was used as well, though much less commonly

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<sup>63</sup> Mária Ivanics maintains that Polish commissioners who accompanied the Crimean embassies, traveling to Vienna through Poland, were recruited from among the Polish (or rather Lithuanian) Tatars; see *eadem*, "Posol'stva krymskix tatar pri Venskom dvore v 1598–1682 gg.," p. 233. Yet, an examination of the Habsburg financial documents, quoted by Ivanics, where these commissioners are recorded by their Christian names, proves that they were Polish Armenians and not Tatars: in 1660 the Tatar embassy to Vienna was accompanied by a *polnischer Commissar* Łukasz Abazel, and in 1669 by Krzysztof (Christoph) Dominikowicz; see Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Reichs-akten, Fasc. 187a, fol. 557a–558b, Facs. 189a, fol. 290a–291b.

<sup>64</sup> These are Documents 1, 4, 28, 31, and 33 from the years ca. 1462, ca. 1473, 1539, 1542, and 1560.

than in Vilnius. After all, many royal subjects were Ruthenians and their number sharply increased in 1569 when the southern half of the Grand Duchy, including Volhynia and Kiev, was annexed to the Polish Crown. In its foreign correspondence with European rulers, including the Ottoman sultans, the Crown Chancery stuck to Latin well into the 18th century, but this rule did not apply to its relations with Moscow and Baghcharay.<sup>65</sup> In the former, Ruthenian predominated while in the latter Ruthenian was gradually replaced with Polish. Anyway, it was certainly easier to find in Baghcharay a translator from Ruthenian or Polish than from Latin.

It seems that in the times of Sigismund III solemn royal instruments addressed to the khans were already composed in Polish as their texts are extant today only in Polish copies. Nevertheless, Ruthenian was still used along with Polish. Not accidentally, two royal envoys to the Crimea appointed during Sigismund's reign, Ławryn Piaseczyński and Florian Oleszko, originated from the Volhynian nobility and both served in the Crown chancery as notaries (Ruth. *pysars*) responsible for keeping a separate series of books recorded in Ruthenian, hence their fluency in Cyrillic script was unquestionable. In 1601, Piaseczyński carried along a number of letters in Ruthenian addressed to the khan, qalga, and other Tatar officials.<sup>66</sup>

At times, the Polish chancery was able to provide a royal instrument with an Arabic-script Turkish translation, as is evidenced by Piaseczyński's diary from 1602.<sup>67</sup> Yet, the quality of such translations

<sup>65</sup> Admittedly, the letters of Augustus II sent to Baghcharay were composed in Latin; cf. n. 80 below.

<sup>66</sup> *Listy króla Jego Mci zawarte, po rusku pisane...*; see Pułaski, "Trzy poselstwa Piaseczyńskiego," p. 247. On the careers of Piaseczyński and Oleszko as notaries responsible for keeping Ruthenian books of the Crown Register, respectively in the years 1569–1591 and 1583–1619, see Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, "The Ruthenian (Volhynian) Metrica: Polish Crown Chancery Records for Ukrainian Lands, 1569–1673," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 14 (1990): 7–83, esp. pp. 23–26 and 62–63; Petro Kulakovs'kyj, *Kanceljarija Rus'koji (Volyns'koji) metryky 1569–1673 rr. Studija z istoriji ukrajins'koho regionalizmu v Reči Pospolytij* (Ostroh-L'viv, 2002), pp. 140–152. Piaseczyński (Ruth. Lavryn Hnivošovyc' Piscočyns'kyj), attracted by the Reformation in his youth, ended up as a Catholic, while Oleszko (Ruth. Florian Semenovyč Oleško), born in an Orthodox family, converted to Catholicism somewhere between 1588 and 1599.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. n. 347 in Part I. Two original letters, issued in Ottoman Turkish by the seventeenth-century Polish chancery, are preserved in the Czartoryski Library in Cracow. They were composed in 1653 and entrusted to Kasper Szymański, a royal envoy dispatched to the Kalmyks. Issued on behalf of King John Casimir and Crown Chancellor Stefan Koryciński, they are addressed "to His Excellency, the sultan, our

depended on the quality of the translators serving at a given time in the Crown Chancery, which ranged from excellent<sup>68</sup> to very poor.

In the 17th century, Polish came to be used in the Crimean chancery as well and often served in mutual negotiations between the Polish and Tatar commissioners. Yet, by the 18th century it had lost much of its attractiveness for the East European elites. At the same time, a number of foreigners, typically of Levantine origin, entered the Polish service as diplomats and translators.<sup>69</sup> Although sooner or later they learned Polish, they often preferred to translate Arabic-script documents coming from Muslim capitals into Latin or French, so these languages gained new prominence in the relations between Baghchasaray and Warsaw.

### *Original documents published in the present collection*

All documents published in the present volume, which are preserved in the original, are held today in the Main Archives of Early Acts (*Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych*) in Warsaw, in its section named the Warsaw Crown Archives (*Archiwum Koronne Warszawskie*). The Polish Crown Archives were founded in the 14th century and initially held in Cracow. After the court moved to Warsaw at the turn of the 16th century, the Crown Archives were organized in two branches—the Cracow and the Warsaw ones—but in 1765 both branches were

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prosperous and mighty friend, the ruler of the land of Kalmyks” (*Qalmuq vilayetinin hakimi olan sa’adetli ve şevketli dostumuza sultan hazretleri*). The letters, drawn in the *divani* script, are extant in the sealed originals; see Bibl. Czart., ms. 609, nos. 37–38, pp. 293–308 (Baranowski, who wrote on Szymański’s mission, knew only their contemporary Polish translations preserved in AGAD, Libri Legationum, no. 33, fol. 84b–85a; cf. *idem*, *Znajomość Wschodu w dawnej Polsce*, pp. 217–218). They never reached the addressee because Szymański’s mission was probably cancelled; see *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 2, pp. 275 and 285. It remains unknown who composed these letters, written in decent Ottoman Turkish; perhaps it was Wojciech Bieczynski, the Crown translator of Oriental languages of the time.

<sup>68</sup> Samuel Otwinowski and Franciszek Meniński (born François à Mesgnien), appointed in the Crown Chancery in the 17th century, were among the best European translators of the time. Otwinowski’s translations of Ottoman and Crimean documents, preserved in various manuscript collections, can be still admired for their precision. Meniński spent over one decade in Poland where he was ennobled (hence he adopted the Polish surname), but he made his greatest career as a linguist after he entered the Habsburg service in Vienna.

<sup>69</sup> At least two of them deserve to be mentioned, namely Franciszek Giuliani and Antoni Crutta (the latter was born in Albania).

united in Warsaw. After the partitions of Poland-Lithuania, in 1795 the Polish Crown Archives were taken to St. Petersburg, and in 1828 they were transferred to Moscow and incorporated into the Moscow Main Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Moskovskij Glavnyj Arxiv Ministerstva [Kollegii until 1834] Inostrannyx Del*). In result of Poland's resurrection after WW1 and the victorious Polish-Soviet war, sealed by the Treaty of Riga (1921), in 1923 the Polish Crown Archives returned to Warsaw where they remain today, having luckily survived the Nazi occupation during WW2.<sup>70</sup>

The oldest two instruments of peace, issued by the Crimean khans and preserved in the original in the Crown Archives, are those from the years 1514 (in Italian) and 1520 (in Khwarezmian Turkic).<sup>71</sup> One should certainly deplore that no earlier originals are preserved, but it is worth stressing that the oldest original Crimean instrument of peace, extant today in Moscow, is over a century later and origins from 1630.<sup>72</sup>

Out of the fifteen original Crimean documents published in the present volume,<sup>73</sup> eleven have already appeared in Arabic script in the monumental edition *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, published in 1864 by Vladimir Vel'jaminov-Zernov and Xusain Faizxanov.<sup>74</sup> The aforementioned edition contains 378 Crimean documents

<sup>70</sup> On the revindication of the Polish Crown Archives, stipulated by the Treaty of Riga, see Józef Siemieński, "Rewindykacja Archiwów Koronnych," *Archeion* 1 (1927): 33–60.

<sup>71</sup> On the Tatar documents held in the Polish archives, including the *yarlıq* of Tokhtamish from 1393, cf. Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, "Dokumenty tatarskie i tureckie w zbiorach polskich," pp. 141–148. The oldest Crimean document preserved in the original (in Ruthenian) is the letter of Mengli Giray from 1512; cf. n. 34 above and n. 123 in Part I.

<sup>72</sup> A slightly earlier document from 1624 is preserved in a contemporary copy in Arabic script; cf. n. 394 in Part I. On the oldest original instruments of peace addressed to the Russian tsars and preserved in Moscow, cf. n. 192 below. Admittedly, one can find older Crimean documents preserved in Russian collections, but they are not instruments of peace.

<sup>73</sup> Not counting the text of the oath of the Tatar plenipotentiaries from 1667, authenticated by the Polish hetman, Jan Sobieski, with his handwritten signature.

<sup>74</sup> *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva izvlečennyya, po rasporjaženiju Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk, iz Moskovskago Glavnago Arxiva Ministerstva Inostrannyx Del*. Edited by V. Vel'jaminov-Zernov and X. Faizxanov [Fejzhanov] (St. Petersburg, 1864). On the key role of Faizxanov, overshadowed in scholarly literature by his more prominent Russian colleague, in the collecting and copying of Tatar documents, see Sagit Faizov, "Značenie nasledija Xusaina Faizxanova v oblasti krymsko-tatarskoj arxeografii dlja izučenija istorii Krymskogo jurta i russko-krymskix otnošenij," in: Xusain Faizxanov. *Žizn' i nasledie. Istoriko-dokumental'nyj sbornik*. Edited by

sent to the Russian and Polish courts, which in the 19th century were held together in Moscow, but today are again separated among Moscow and Warsaw.<sup>75</sup> The editors left out the instrument of the Treaty of Zborów (1649)—apparently by neglect, as well as all the Crimean instruments that were not written in Arabic script (even though they were stamped with Arabic-script seals), including the instrument in Italian from 1514 and the instruments in Polish from 1667 and 1672, which are published in the present volume.

Unfortunately, no Tatar instruments, addressed to the grand dukes of Lithuania: Vytautas, Švitrigaila, and Sigismund, who ruled autonomously under the suzerainty of the Polish kings in the years 1392–1440 and are known to have corresponded with the khans, are extant either in the original or in copies. A number of later documents addressed to kings Casimir and Sigismund specifically as Lithuanian and not Polish rulers, are preserved in copies. It is significant that although in 1514 and 1520 the khans issued separate instruments for Lithuania and for Poland, today only those issued for Poland are extant in the original, while those issued for Lithuania are preserved merely in copies. One can assume that the instruments regarding Lithuania had been stored in the Grand Ducal Archives, kept initially in Trakai, and since the early 16th century in Vilnius.<sup>76</sup> Most of them probably perished in the

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D. Muxetdinov (Nižnij Novgorod, 2008): 145–149. The collection by Vel'jaminov-Zernov and Faizxanov has recently been reprinted and provided with a new introduction by A. Melek Özyetgin and İlyas Kamalov; see *Kırım yurtuna ve ol taraflarga dair bolgan yarlıqlar ve hatlar. Kırım Hanlığı tarihine dair kaynaklar*. [Edited by] V. V. Velyaminov-Zernov (St. Petersburg, 1864). *Giriş-Tıpkıbasım*. Prepared for publication by A. M. Özyetgin and İ. Kamalov (Ankara, 2009). Alas, the new introduction is unreliable as far as the historical context is concerned. For instance, the authors mistook Sigismund I of Poland for Vasilij III of Muscovy and Frederick Augustus of Saxony (i.e., Augustus III of Poland) for Frederick II of Prussia thus wrongly attributing the addressees of both the oldest and the youngest documents published in the collection; cf. *ibidem*, p. XI.

<sup>75</sup> Out of the 378 Crimean documents published in *Materialy*, 67 belong to the Polish Crown Archives; cf. Abrahamowicz, "Dokumenty tatarskie i tureckie w zbiorach polskich," p. 147.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, "The Archival Legacy of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: The Fate of Early Historical Archives in Vilnius," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 57 (1979): 552–571, esp. pp. 553–554; cf. *eadem*, with the collaboration of Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *The "Lithuanian Metrica" in Moscow and Warsaw: Reconstructing the Archives of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Including an annotated edition of the 1887 Inventory compiled by Stanisław Ptasiński* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), p. 11.



great fire of the Vilnius Lower Castle during the Russian invasion of 1655, if they had not been consumed by time already earlier.

A part of the Grand Ducal Archives survived the catastrophe (see below on the Lithuanian Register). Besides, some documents have resurfaced in private archives, especially the Radziwiłł family archives, because the Lithuanian chancellors, among whom one finds numerous Radziwiłłs, notoriously kept state papers in their private archives.<sup>77</sup> Nevertheless, no original Crimean *yarlıq*, addressed to a Lithuanian ruler, is known to have been preserved in either state or private archives.

The sorrowful fate of the Lithuanian archives affects the present study only in part, because after 1569 the conduct of Crimean affairs was overtaken by the Polish chancery and the incoming instruments of the khans were no longer stored in Vilnius, but rather in Cracow or Warsaw. A more serious handicap, affecting the equilibrium of the present study, is the total absence of original Polish-Lithuanian instruments, sent to Qırq Yer or Baghchasaray, which were probably once kept in the khans' archives. The only extant instrument, which can be regarded as the original, is the oath of the Polish plenipotentiaries, taken in 1667 at Pidhajci, authenticated by Hetman Jan Sobieski with his handwritten signature, and sent to Warsaw in order to be stored in the Crown Archives. This document is preserved because it was *not* sent to the Crimea and is preserved today in the Polish and not Crimean archives. The latter are known to have perished in the great fire of the khan's palace in Baghchasaray during the Russian invasion of 1736.

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<sup>77</sup> The post of the Lithuanian chancellor was held by the Radziwiłł family members in the years 1492–1521, 1550–1579, 1623–1656, and 1690–1719; in addition, the post of the vice-chancellor (*podkanclerzy*) was held by this family members in the years 1579–1585, 1619–1623, and 1668–1690; in sum, in the years 1492–1521, 1550–1585, 1619–1656, and 1668–1719 either the chancellor or vice-chancellor was a Radziwiłł; see *Urzednicy centralni i dostojnicy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego XIV–XVIII wieku. Spisy*. Edited by H. Lulewicz and A. Rachuba (Kórnik, 1994), pp. 51–53 and 146–149; on the Lithuanian state papers preserved in the Radziwiłł family archives, see Kennedy Grimsted, “The Archival Legacy of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania,” p. 567, and more recently Waldemar Mikulski, “Dokumenty z archiwum Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w Archiwum Warszawskim Radziwiłłów,” in: *Miscellanea Historico-Archivistica*, vol. VII (Warsaw, 1997): 71–83, esp. p. 73. After WW1, these archives were transferred from the Radziwiłł residence in Nesviž (Pol. Nieśwież) to Warsaw, and after WW2 they were nationalized and incorporated into the Main Archives of Early Acts.

Like in the case of the Lithuanian catastrophe of 1655, the Crimean archives were not destroyed entirely in 1736. For instance, after the fall of the Crimean Khanate, the last treasurer (*hazinedar*), Mehmed Agha, submitted to the Russian authorities over 100 registers, the majority of which contained the records of cases heard at the central Crimean court.<sup>78</sup> The oldest registers originated from the first half of the 17th century and apparently had not been affected by Münnich's invasion of 1736. Brought from Simferopol to St. Petersburg in 1905, today these registers constitute the section (*fond*) named *Kazy-askerskie knigi Krymskogo xanstva* in the Russian National Library.<sup>79</sup> Moreover, in the Russian State Archives of Early Acts in Moscow one finds four original letters addressed to Khan Kaplan Giray, sent in 1714 by the Polish king, Augustus II, his rival Stanisław Leszczyński, and the Polish grand hetman, Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, all preserved in envelopes with original seals. The question how these letters found their way to Moscow and why they have been incorporated into the Russian correspondence with Istanbul and not with Baghchasaray, merits a further study.<sup>80</sup>

Historians like to mythologize single dramatic events as symbolical moments of destruction of "national heritages"—like the dates of the

<sup>78</sup> See Fedor Laškov, "Istoričeskij očerk Krymsko-tatarskago zemlevladienija," in: *Izvestija Tavričeskoj učenoj arxivnoj kommissii*, vol. 21 (Simferopol, 1894): 59–89, esp. p. 65.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. St. Petersburg, Rossijskaja Nacional'naja Biblioteka, fond 917. On their transfer from Simferopol, see *Otčet Imperatorskoj Publičnoj Biblioteki za 1905 god* (St. Petersburg, 1912), pp. 38–39. Apart from cases heard by the court, also the contents of numerous *yarlıqs*, issued by the khans and qalga, have been recorded in these registers; yet, all these *yarlıqs* regard domestic matters while no documents concerning foreign affairs have been found there (apart from a number of cases concerning Ottoman subjects who have arrived in the Khanate); for the summary contents of the *yarlıqs* recorded in these registers until 1774, see Natalia Królikowska, "Law and Division of Power in the Crimean Khanate. A Study on the Reign of Murad Giray (1678–1683)." Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Warsaw, 2010, pp. 234–251 (Appendix I).

<sup>80</sup> See RGADA, f. 89 "Snošenija Rossii s Turciej," op. 4, no. 4. I wish to thank Natalia Królikowska for drawing my attention to this collection. The two letters of Augustus II (in Latin) are dated on 20 August and 7 September 1714 in Rydzyna, and the letter of Hetman Sieniawski (in Polish) on 25 September in Sataniv (Pol. Satanów). They all refer to the returning Crimean embassy of Sefer-shah Bey, who successfully negotiated the reconciliation between the king and the khan. The letter of Stanisław Leszczyński (in Polish) is dated July 1714 in Zweibrücken (Deux-Ponts) and discloses the author's frustration with the rapprochement between his archenemy and Kaplan Giray. Stanisław invoked his old friendship with the khan and advised him not to trust Augustus II as long as the latter sided with Muscovy; on the political background of this correspondence, see n. 555 in Part I.

Russian invasions of Vilnius (1655) and Baghchasaray (1736). In Russian historiography, an analogous place is given to the invasions of Moscow, respectively by the Tatars (1571), the Poles (1610–1612), and the Frenchmen (1812). The truth is sometimes less clear cut and more complicated. To take one example: the Tatar and Polish invasions of Moscow admittedly brought huge losses to the Russian archives, as is evidenced by the inventories, executed immediately after these disasters on the order of the Russian authorities. Yet, comparable losses were caused by natural forces, especially the great fire of 1626, and still, after all these events, many ancient Crimean documents were extant in Moscow in the 17th century.<sup>81</sup> If they are no longer extant today, this is probably due to less spectacular reasons than enemy invasions or fires, namely moisture, worms, human neglect, and—even in our days—the lack of money for their proper maintenance and restoration.

No matter how diligently packed, these documents had been exposed to various dangers even before they reached the relative safety offered by archive vaults. Some were taken to and fro between the capitals concerned in order to be “amended” or to serve as models for future instruments. An illuminating scribal note can be found in the Polish Crown Register, where Mengli Giray’s letter addressed to the king of Bohemia was copied in 1472. While the text of the letter is recorded in Latin, the scribal margin note is in Polish and explains the lamentable state of the khan’s document. While reading the phrase “and the rest has been torn by pigs” (*a ostatek swynye wyrzly*), we can easily imagine a shabby inn cum animal barn in which the Crimean envoys must have spent the ominous night when the mentioned accident occurred.<sup>82</sup>

To be sure, a horde of drunken soldiers can bring much harm, and victorious commanders, overwhelmed by glory and other more urgent matters, are often deaf to the fate of the captured papers and books. But it is equally likely that the conquerors would preserve them in order to efficiently administer the captured lands, draw taxes from the conquered population, and—last but not least—legitimize their conquest. Even in those rare cases when the conquerors really want to annihilate the cultural heritage of the defeated, like the Nazis in Warsaw after the crushed uprising of 1944, they often fail to do their job “properly”

<sup>81</sup> On the inventories of the Muscovian archives ordered and executed in the years 1570s (undated), 1614, and 1626, see notes 25–26 above.

<sup>82</sup> AGAD, Metryka Koronna, Libri Inscriptionum, no. 12, fol. 79b; published in Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, p. 199; on this embassy, cf. n. 53 in Part I.

because they are prevented from doing so by the defeated people's caretakers (like the aforementioned Crimean treasurer Mehmed Agha) or an inadequate motivation of their own employees.

A decade ago, a belief still prevailed in international scholarly community that the Soviet authorities, along with expelling the Tatars from the Crimea in 1944, deliberately and viciously destroyed their cultural heritage, held in the Soviet archives and libraries.<sup>83</sup> Today we know that at least a part of this heritage is preserved, although the losses suffered by the Tatar culture in the 1930s and 1940s are hard to be overestimated. It remains to hope that one day more documents from the Crimean archives will resurface in one of the tremendously rich Russian collections.

### *Official translations held in the Crown Archives*

When written in Arabic script, Crimean letters addressed to Christian courts were sometimes provided with translations made in the khan's chancery. More often, the Arabic-script letters were translated at the recipient's court by official translators, hired in all the chanceries that maintained regular contacts with Muslim states. Such translations, kept in the recipient's archives along with the received originals, assumed an official character and were regarded—certainly by the recipient, though not necessarily by the sender—as equal to the Arabic-script originals.

In the Polish Crown Archives, official translations are preserved on separate sheets of paper or on the reverse side of original documents in Turkish. Their legal value was analogous to the validity of official copies, entered into the Crown Register (see below). In fact, the latter were typically based on the official translations and their texts are often identical. Today, the extant translations are especially valuable if the original letters have not been preserved. For instance, four Crimean instruments: of Ghazi II Giray from 1599, the latter's envoy, Djan Temir Agha, from the same year, Mehmed III Giray from 1624, and

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<sup>83</sup> Cf. Halil Inalcık, "Znaxidka kadijs'kyx sidžiliv (sudovyx knyh) Krymsk'koho xanatu," in: *Mappa Mundi. Zbirnyk naukovyx prac' na pošanu Jaroslava Daškevycha z nahody joho 70-riččja* (L'viv-Kiev-New York, 1996): 308–329, esp. pp. 308–310. The author, who announced the discovery of several dozens of microfilmed Crimean court registers, preserved in a local Crimean archive, did not know the fate of their originals which have been preserved in St. Petersburg, see n. 79 above.

Inayet Giray from 1635, are no longer extant in the original, but their official translations into Polish are preserved in the Crown Archives. The translations of the documents from 1624 and 1635 were made by the Crown translator, Samuel Otwinowski, from the now lost Turkish originals. The translation of the instrument of 1624 even contains Otwinowski's notes and explanations given in parantheses, which give us an intimate insight into his understanding of Ottoman-Turkish.<sup>84</sup> As far as the khan's instrument of 1599 is concerned, its Turkish original had been already lost by Otwinowski's times. Charged in 1641 with assembling the ancient Crimean documents, the Crown translator recorded that he could not find it in the Crown Archives so he merely copied an earlier Polish translation. The original of Djan Temir Agha's instrument from 1599 had also disappeared by 1785, and probably much earlier. It is preserved in the translation done by a royal chancery translator, Machin Chir.<sup>85</sup>

*Official copies entered in the Crown and Lithuanian Registers*

In spite of the gradual unification between the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania that lasted with short interruptions since 1386 till 1795, the two states retained separate chanceries until the demise of the Commonwealth. Neither Cracow nor Vilnius formally resigned from maintaining multidirectional diplomatic relations, although at times they admitted limited experience (or interest) in certain areas and matters and left dealing with them to the partner.<sup>86</sup> Since Poland had been a member of Latin Christian Europe since 966, its chancery had a long tradition of diplomatic contacts with the Holy Roman Empire, the Papacy, as well as other western and southern European courts. Cracow also maintained intensive diplomatic relations with Istanbul, because the Polish and Ottoman political interests crossed in Hungary and Moldavia. On the other hand, Vilnius had more experience in the correspondence with Moscow and the Tatar khanates, usually conducted in Cyrillic script. Some directions were of equal importance to both Cracow and Vilnius, like the relations with

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<sup>84</sup> See Document 48, notes 3 and 5–6.

<sup>85</sup> On the two instruments from 1599 and their translations, see Document 37, n. 1, and Document 38, n. 1.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. n. 143 in Part I.

the Teutonic Order or Moldavia. In such cases, the contents of a foreign embassy could be divided in respect to their relevance for either Cracow or Vilnius and entered accordingly into the Polish or Lithuanian chancery books.<sup>87</sup> Since the beginning of the 16th century, the rising financial share of the Polish Crown in defending the Lithuanian eastern borders and in preparing gifts for the khans resulted in the rising interest of Cracow in the Muscovian and Crimean affairs. Having incorporated the Lithuanian southern provinces in 1569, Poland simultaneously obtained a common border with Muscovy and territorially cut off Lithuania from the Crimean Khanate. In result, after 1569 the Crimean matters were almost entirely taken over by Cracow while the Muscovian affairs were conducted by Vilnius and Cracow in liaison.

To summarize, by 1569 the correspondence with the Crimea was maintained by both Vilnius and Cracow, although the share of Vilnius was far larger, especially until 1514. After 1569, the role of Vilnius became almost negligible and reflected the marginalization of the Grand Duchy in the Commonwealth's southern politics. Official copies of documents, regarding the diplomatic exchange with the Crimea, can be thus found in both the Polish and Lithuanian state papers, although the share of the latter sharply decreases after 1569.

In the Polish Crown, the contents of official correspondence, both received from and sent to foreign courts, were usually<sup>88</sup> recorded in the Crown Register (Lat. *Metrica Regni Poloniae*, Pol. *Metryka Koronna*). Initially, matters concerning either domestic or foreign affairs were recorded indiscriminately in the Inscription Books (Lat. *Libri Inscriptionum*). Yet, at least since 1501 foreign correspondence was entered into the Legation Books (Lat. *Libri Legationum*), which originated from the Inscription Books but developed into a separate category. Nevertheless, it still happened that documents related to foreign affairs were

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<sup>87</sup> For such division of the papers originating from a single Moldavian embassy, cf. Banionis, "K voprosu o genezise posol'skix knig (1480–1486)," pp. 70–71.

<sup>88</sup> In both the Polish and Lithuanian cases, only a part of the documents, known to have been sent or received by the respective chanceries, is recorded in the extant registers. For instance, from among 2106 documents, known to have been issued in the years 1492–1506, only 934 (i.e., 44%) are recorded in the extant books of the Lithuanian Register. The difference can be explained by two factors: a) not all documents were registered; b) not all the volumes of the Register have been preserved; cf. Pietkiewicz, *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie pod rządami Aleksandra Jagiellończyka*, p. 37.

copied into the Inscription Books.<sup>89</sup> The fate of the Legation Books was no less adventurous than that of the original documents kept in the Crown Archives. Taken to Sweden in 1655 and restored to Poland after the Treaty of Oliva (1660), in the years 1795–1923 they were kept in Russia along with the Crown Archives.<sup>90</sup> At different times, some books were separated from the main body. For instance, the Legation Book which contains the translation of the khan's instrument of 1607 is today held in the Warsaw University Library.<sup>91</sup>

Frequent travels of the Jagiellonian rulers to Lithuania did not interrupt the activity of the Crown Chancery. It often happened that the king was accompanied in Lithuania by a Crown chancellor or vice-chancellor (Pol. *podkanclerzy*), so also in Vilnius he could issue a document on behalf of Poland that would be recorded in the Crown Register.<sup>92</sup>

In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, an analogous role to the Crown Register was played by the Lithuanian Register (Lat. *Metrica Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae*). Its Latin title developed in analogy to the title of its Polish counterpart and—like in the case of the Crown Register—its origins date back to the first half of the 15th century. Lithuanian historians have many reasons to be allergic to the notion of the Polish *mission civilisatrice*, represented by some of their Polish colleagues, especially in the past.<sup>93</sup> Nevertheless, *mutual* borrowings in the chancery practice in Cracow and Vilnius were inevitable, given the movement of people and the shared experience of common life under one dynasty. Although the Lithuanian chancery had its own ancient roots and used predominantly Ruthenian and not Latin, many developments in Cracow and Vilnius were parallel. Egidijus Banionis has convinc-

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<sup>89</sup> For instance, the instruments of the pacification of 1667 (cf. Documents 66–69) are recorded in the Inscription Book no. 206, whose section covering fols. 618a–752b is entirely devoted to foreign correspondence.

<sup>90</sup> The Inscription Books returned to Warsaw (then in the Prussian hands) already in 1799.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Document 43; on the Legation Books, cf. Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa and Janina Wejchertowa, "Księgi poselskie (Libri Legationum) Metryki Koronnej," *Archeion* 48 (1968): 61–73.

<sup>92</sup> On the organization of the Polish chancery, especially in the 15th century, see Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *Polska kancelaria królewska w latach 1447–1506* (Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow, 1967); Waldemar Chorążyczewski, *Przemiany organizacyjne polskiej kancelarii królewskiej u progu czasów nowożytnych* (Toruń, 2007); *Księga Metryki Koronnej podkanclerzego Andrzeja Oporowskiego z lat 1479–1483, ze spuścizny Antoniego Prochaski*. Edited by G. Rutkowska (Warsaw, 2005).

<sup>93</sup> For a view representative for this school, see Witold Kamieniecki, *Spółeczeństwo litewskie w XV wieku* (Warsaw, 1947).

ingly demonstrated that in Lithuania—like in Poland—the Legation Books developed into a separate category only in the 16th century, although already in the 15th century, matters related to foreign affairs had been typically recorded in separate, homogenous fascicles, which were then integrated into larger books of heterogeneous contents.<sup>94</sup> Few of the earliest volumes of the Lithuanian Register are preserved in the original.<sup>95</sup> Most of the extant volumes are copies made in the years 1594–1607 on the order of Lew Sapieha (Lev Sapeha), the Lithuanian grand chancellor, because already in his times the originals were in poor condition. After the completion of the copies, the originals were either consciously destroyed by the Lithuanian authorities or perished in the great fire of the Vilnius Lower Castle, caused by the Russian invasion of 1655.<sup>96</sup>

Around 1735, the Lithuanian Register was transferred from Vilnius to Warsaw and integrated with the Crown Register.<sup>97</sup> In 1777, it was resolved to transcribe the oldest Cyrillic volumes of the Lithuanian Register into Latin script, because the knowledge of Cyrillic was in constant decrease. The task was supervised by Adam Naruszewicz, a trusted royal secretary, Catholic bishop and former Jesuit, also known as a prominent historian and a leading figure of the Polish Enlightenment. In result, the contents of the earliest sixty-six books were copied into twenty-nine new Latin script books. Following the demise of the Commonwealth, in 1795 all the books of the Lithuanian and Crown Registers were brought to St. Petersburg, but in 1799 the Crown Register (except for the Legation Books) was handed over to the Prussian

<sup>94</sup> Banionis, “K voprosu o genezise posol’skix knig (1480–1486),” pp. 64–84.

<sup>95</sup> For such a rare example: a book covering the years 1511–1516 and composed around 1516, preserved in the original, see Krzysztof Pietkiewicz, “Księga 9 wpisów (zapisów) Metryki Litewskiej, układ i zawartość, oraz jej kontynuacja do roku 1518 z Archiwum Radziwiłłowskiego,” in: *Lietuvos Metrika. 1991–1996 metų tyrinėjimai* (Vilnius, 1998): 11–35; the book is edited along with a supplement, covering the years 1516–1518, in *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 9 (1511–1518). Užrašymų knyga 9*. Edited by K. Pietkiewicz (Vilnius, 2002).

<sup>96</sup> Krzysztof Pietkiewicz initially shared the traditional view that the original books had perished during the Russian invasion of 1655; cf. *idem*, “Nowa edycja Metryki Litewskiej,” *Lituano-Slavica Posnaniensia. Studia Historica* 7 (1997): 133–153, esp. p. 134; yet, more recently the same author stated that the original books had been destroyed after the completion of the copies in order to evade future disputes that could result from the existence of two parallel versions; unfortunately he did not support this thesis with any reference; cf. his introduction to *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 9 (1511–1518). Užrašymų knyga 9*, p. 11.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Pietkiewicz, “Nowa edycja Metryki Litewskiej,” p. 135; earlier authors have dated this transfer to 1740s.



authorities and returned to Warsaw (then in the Prussian hands). Along with the Crown Register, also twenty-nine Latin-script books of the Lithuanian Register returned to Warsaw and have remained there until the present day.

Most of the volumes of the Lithuanian Register, brought to St. Petersburg in 1795, were transferred in 1887 to the Moscow Archive of the Ministry of Justice. A number of volumes, classified as Legation Books, was transferred to Moscow already in 1828 to be kept in the Main Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs along with the former Polish Crown Archives and the Crown Legation Books. In 1923, during the negotiations following the Polish-Soviet war and the recently signed Treaty of Riga, Moscow refused to restore the Lithuanian Register to Warsaw, although it conceded to restore the Crown Archives and the Crown Register. The refusal based on the argument that the Lithuanian Register belonged to the Lithuanian and Belarusian rather than Polish cultural heritage. On the other hand, independent Lithuania, resurrected after WWI and primarily entitled to its archival heritage, was then in sharp conflict with Poland over the city of Vilnius, the ancient Lithuanian capital but at that time inhabited mainly by the Poles and Jews. Already involved in military conflict with Warsaw, the government in Kaunas did not risk deteriorating its relations with Moscow by pushing the touchy issue of the historical legacy too far. Although the restoration of cultural assets was discussed between Kaunas and Moscow in the 1920s, the problem remained unsolved until 1940, when Lithuania was annexed to the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, in result of subsequent reorganizations in Moscow in the years 1925, 1940, and 1952, the volumes of the Lithuanian Register, kept formerly in the Moscow Archive of the Ministry of Justice, were rearranged into the section (*fond*) no. 389 (*Litovskaja Metrika*) of the Central State Archives of Early Acts (CGADA), although all this time they have remained under the same roof. The volumes, formerly held in the Main Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, were transferred to the same building already in 1925, but only in 1954 they were reintegrated into the main corpus of the Register (therefore they are labeled today with high numbers: 587 to 601).<sup>98</sup> Following the col-

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<sup>98</sup> For a brief history of the Lithuanian Register, see Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, "Metryka Litewska—charakterystyka i dzieje," *Archeion* 65 (1977): 91–118; the introduction of Egidijus Banionis in *Lietuvos Metrika (1427–1506). Knyga Nr. 5. Užrašymų knyga 5*, pp. 5–10; Pietkiewicz, "Nowa edycja Metryki Litewskiej," pp. 133–135; on

lapse of the Soviet Union, in 1992 the CGADA was renamed into the RGADA (Russian State Archives of Early Acts = *Rossiiskij Gosudarstvennyj Arxiv Drevnix Aktov*), but the arrangement of its holdings has remained unchanged. Like the first one in 1918, the second resurrection of independent Lithuania in 1990 did not result in transferring the Lithuanian Register from Moscow to Vilnius, but since the Soviet times, the microfilms of the Register books held in Moscow have been available in the Lithuanian State Historical Archives (*Lietuvos Valstybės Istorijos Archyvas*) in Vilnius.

Ten documents, published in the present collection, are preserved in copies in the Crown Register (six in the Legation Books and four in the Inscription Books). Twice as many, namely twenty-four, are preserved in the Lithuanian Register. From among the nine volumes, in which these documents are copied, four can be classified as Legation Books. The most valuable is book no. 7 that contains 1298 numbered pages filled with the foreign correspondence from the period between the accession of Sigismund (1506) and the 1530s.<sup>99</sup> Fourteen instruments, originating from the years 1506–1527, are recorded in this book, including the Ruthenian translation of the khan's instrument from 1520, which is also preserved in the Khwarezmian Turkic original. Also book no. 524, where an instrument from 1541 is copied, is entirely filled with foreign correspondence. Curiously, neither of the above two books was classified as a Legation Book when the volumes, brought to St. Petersburg in 1795, were divided among the Russian ministries of Justice and Foreign Affairs, and in result they have remained with the main corpus of the Register.<sup>100</sup> From among

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the Legation Books of the Lithuanian Register, see especially Kennedy Grimsted, with the collaboration of Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *The "Lithuanian Metrica" in Moscow and Warsaw*, pp. 61–70.

<sup>99</sup> RGADA, f. 389, no. 7 (for its 18th-century Latin transcription, see AGAD, Metryka Litewska, no. 193); a list of its contents is published in *Opisanie dokumentov i bumag, xranjaščixsja v Moskovskom Arhive Ministerstva Justicii. Kniga 21: Knigi Litovskoj Metriki* (Moscow, 1915), pp. 85–146. The Inventory of the Lithuanian Register by Stanisław Ptaszycski, compiled in St. Petersburg in 1887 and republished by Kennedy Grimsted, is misleading as it repeats the title from the front page, according to which the volume covers only the years 1506–1513. Perhaps due to the volume's immense size it has remained unpublished until the present day, unlike the other volumes from the same period. Its history and contents certainly deserve a further study; perhaps not by accident its chronological scope coincides with the so-called *Acta Tomiciana* (on the latter collection, see below).

<sup>100</sup> On the other hand, not all the books, transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, were Legation Books.

the Legation Books, then transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and reintegrated into the main corpus in 1954, the books nos. 591 and 595 contain the foreign correspondence from the years 1545–1572 and 1506–1507, respectively, including a few instruments of peace published in the present volume.<sup>101</sup> The remaining instruments, recorded in the Lithuanian Register and published in the present volume, are dispersed in books containing domestic matters as well.

In spite of the admirable effort, put during the last two decades, especially by Lithuanian and Belarusian scholars, into the publication of successive books of the Lithuanian Register, still much remains to be learned in regard to their internal composition and the interrelation between the separate volumes. Unfortunately, any judgment is severely hindered by the fact that most of the extant copies origin from the late 16th century and do not necessarily reflect the internal arrangement of the lost originals. It is interesting that three instruments, published in the present volume and originating from the years 1506–1507, have been recorded three times in three different books of the Lithuanian Register: book no. 8, classified as an Inscription Book and covering the years 1506–1514 (although containing a few older documents as well), book no. 595, classified as a Legation Book and covering the years 1506–1507, and finally book no. 7, also classified as a Legation Book, but covering a longer period between 1506 and the 1530s. Textual differences between the three versions are mostly negligible, but it seems that copy B., recorded in book no. 8, is slightly better than the other two. One could tentatively suggest that the texts of the three instruments were initially recorded in the current Inscription Book among other entries of mostly domestic character. Then, they were copied into a separate Legation Book, containing the current correspondence with the Tatars and apparently composed in or shortly after 1507. Finally, in the 1530s a new Legation Book was composed, summarizing the relations with the Tatars since the accession of Sigismund I. There, the three instruments were entered again on the basis of the earlier copies.

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<sup>101</sup> Both books were already published in the 19th century by Mixail Obolen'skij, the director of the Main Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who also published the *yarliq* of Tokhtamish from 1393; see *Kniga posol'skaja Metriki Velikago Knjažestva Litovskago, soderžaščaja v sebe diplomatičeskija snošenija Litvy v gosudarstvovanie korolja Sigizmunda-Avgusta (s 1545 po 1572 god)*. Edited by M. Obolen'skij and I. Danilovič (Moscow, 1843), and *Sbornik knjazja Obolenskago* (Moscow, 1838).

To sum up, the copies recorded in the Crown and especially the Lithuanian Register books are invaluable for studying the correspondence of Vilnius and Cracow with the Crimea. These copies allow us to reconstruct the form and contents of the original instruments, especially the oldest ones, the majority of which is lost today. From the legal and practical point of view, in Vilnius and Cracow these copies were regarded as equal to originals, because they recorded the wording of royal instruments, whose originals had been sent to the Crimea, or rendered intelligible the khan's instruments, whose Arabic-script contents were made accessible to their recipients only after they had been translated and recorded in the chancery books in Ruthenian, Latin, or Polish. Nevertheless, one should remember that these copies were sometimes recorded in a shortened, or even careless form. At times, they are inferior not only to the originals, but even to other copies that did not have an official character.<sup>102</sup>

*Other copies preserved in various collections*

In 1535, after the death of Piotr Tomicki, the Polish vice-chancellor, his former secretary, Stanisław Górski, began to gather all the documents dating back to the accession of Sigismund I. The collection initially consisted of twenty-nine folders of documents in the original or copies, but was later supplemented and rearranged several times. By the late 16th century, the voluminous collection, later named *Acta Tomiciana*, had already existed in several versions and several copies. Valued as a handy chancery manual, it assumed a semi-official character and found its way to the libraries of Polish and Lithuanian statesmen, who ordered its purchase or copying. The text of the Latin instrument of Sigismund I from 1513, published in the present volume, can be found in two manuscript collections of *Acta Tomiciana* that once belonged to Andrzej Opaliński (1540–1593), the grand Crown marshal, and Stanisław Karnkowski (1520–1603), the primate of Poland.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Document 59, n. 1, and Document 37, *passim*.

<sup>103</sup> On the *Acta Tomiciana* and their various collections, one of them destroyed in Warsaw in September 1939, see Ryszard Marciniak, "Ze studiów nad zbiorem *Acta Tomiciana*. Dzieje zwołu sapieżyńskiego-radziwiłłowskiego w okresie Oświecenia," in: *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej*, no. 16 (1980): 5–16; *idem*, *Acta Tomiciana w kulturze politycznej Polski okresu odrodzenia* (Warsaw-Poznań, 1983); for the instrument of 1513, see Document 11.

In 1852, Tytus Działyński, a Polish aristocrat, initiated and sponsored the publication of successive volumes of *Acta Tomiciana*, preserved in his library in Kórnik as well as other collections. Unfortunately, the editors of the earliest volumes did not compare the various copies in order to establish the original and most reliable text of the published documents.<sup>104</sup> Besides, they included a number of documents that had not belonged to the original corpus of *Acta Tomiciana*, without annotating their provenience. This is how four Tatar instruments from the years 1507–1520, preserved in contemporary Polish translations, found their way to the printed version of *Acta Tomiciana*, even though they had never belonged to its original corpus. Their common source of provenience is a sixteenth-century manuscript, held in the Kórnik Library under the current number 222. It contains a separate fascicle, written by single hand in Polish and numbering 38 pages, entitled: “The treaties or agreements concluded by the Polish kings with the Tatar khans of the Crimean Horde [lit. ‘the Horde of Perekop’]” (*Pacta albo dokończenia królów polskich z czarmi tatarskimi Ordy Prekopskiej stanowiące*). The fascicle contains nine instruments of peace, issued by the Crimean khans between the years ca. 1462 and 1560, and a letter of Mehmed Giray that is not an instrument of peace.<sup>105</sup> We do not know who commissioned the execution of the fascicle, whether the entered texts were based on the originals, copies, or earlier translations, and whether the task served an official or merely an antiquarian purpose. Four documents in Polish, found in the printed version of *Acta Tomiciana*, are also preserved in Ruthenian versions, recorded in the Lithuanian Register.<sup>106</sup> Sometimes the Ruthenian and Polish versions differ substantially,<sup>107</sup> but they apparently descend from the same, now lost, original or from more complete earlier copies. The remaining five instruments, found in the manuscript, are today extant only in Polish versions, although these versions are apparently translations from

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Helena Chłopocka, “Edytorstwo naukowe Tytusa Działyńskiego,” in: *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej*, no. 12 (1976): 65–91.

<sup>105</sup> On this manuscript, cf. *Katalog rękopisów staropolskich Biblioteki Kórnickiej XVI–XVIII w.*, vol. 2. Edited by R. Marciniak, M. Muszyński, J. Wiesiołowski (Wrocław etc., 1985), pp. 90–92. On Mehmed Giray’s letter from 1516, see n. 153 in Part I.

<sup>106</sup> These are Documents 8, 12, 15, and 19; in the present volume they are published on the basis of their Ruthenian, more reliable versions, although the variants found in their Polish versions are annotated as well.

<sup>107</sup> This is especially true for the two instruments from 1513–1514; cf. Document 12, n. 1, and Document 15, n. 2.

Ruthenian.<sup>108</sup> The most valuable among them is the copy of the oldest extant Crimean instrument of peace, issued by Hadji Giray.

Another valuable collection of Crimean correspondence, today preserved in the Ossolineum Library in Wrocław, was completed in 1642 by Samuel Otwinowski, the Crown translator mentioned earlier. The manuscript, commissioned by the Royal Chancery, consisted of the Polish translations of numerous Ottoman and Crimean documents, held in the Crown Archives and considered to be still useful in political disputes, especially regarding the amount of gifts to be sent to the khan. The extant original manuscript is provided with Otwinowski's dedication to Piotr Gembicki, the Crown chancellor of the time.<sup>109</sup> Seven instruments of peace, published in the present volume, are also recorded in Polish translations in that manuscript.<sup>110</sup>

The last large collection that has been searched for the copies of correspondence with the Crimea are the so-called Naruszewicz Folders (*Teki Naruszewicza*), the majority of which is held today in the Czartoryski Library in Cracow. In 1781, the last Polish king, Stanislaus Augustus (Stanisław Poniatowski), commissioned his trusted collaborator, Adam Naruszewicz,<sup>111</sup> with the task of collecting materials that were to serve the latter in compiling a voluminous *History of the Polish Nation*. In result of a meticulous teamwork, sponsored by the king, directed by Naruszewicz, and conducted during the following decade in numerous archives and libraries at home and abroad, over 38,000 documents were copied and entered into over 200 folders.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>108</sup> These are Documents 1, 4, 28, 31, and 33.

<sup>109</sup> On the manuscript and the circumstances of its execution, cf. n. 440 in Part I.

<sup>110</sup> These are Documents 16, 20, 37, 50, 52, 53, and 54. In the manuscript, Otwinowski did not record all his translations of Oriental documents. For instance, his translations of the Crimean instruments of 1624 and 1635, preserved in separate copies in the Crown Archives, are not entered in the Ossolineum Library manuscript.

<sup>111</sup> On Naruszewicz's supervision of the Latin-script transcription of the Lithuanian Register, cf. above.

<sup>112</sup> On the methods applied in gathering the materials and the collections searched by the team, see Stanisław Grzybowski, *Teki Naruszewicza „Acta regum et populi Poloni”* (Wrocław, 1960); see also the critical review of this book by Jerzy Michalski in *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 9 (1964): 180–183. After the third partition of Poland-Lithuania, the folders were taken care by Tadeusz Czacki, a prominent Polish historian, and after his death were acquired by the Czartoryski family. During the Polish uprising of 1830–1831, the collection was transported to Paris and in 1876 found its present location in the newly founded Czartoryski Library in Cracow. A number of volumes, confiscated by the Russian authorities in 1831, were taken to St. Petersburg and restored to Poland in 1930. Nine of these volumes survived WW2 and are held today in the state archives in Warsaw (AGAD).

As long as original documents or their contemporary copies are preserved, their late eighteenth-century copies from the Naruszewicz Folders are less important. Yet, some of the latter were based on older manuscripts that are no longer extant today. For instance, three instruments from 1637, published in the present volume, can only be found today in the Naruszewicz Folders. They are provided with identical notes *Ex ms. Bibl. Załusciae No. 425* which refer to the fact that they had been copied after an older manuscript from the Załuski Library, which perished during WW2 (see below).<sup>113</sup> Some other copies should also draw our attention. For instance, seven Crimean instruments (ca. 1462, ca. 1473, 1513, October 1514, 1539, 1542, and 1560) are preserved in Polish translations extant in just two collections: the sixteenth-century manuscript of the Kórnik Library (no. 222), which was described above, and the Naruszewicz Folders. Two of these instruments (1513 and October 1514) are also preserved in more reliable Ruthenian versions, so their Polish translations are of a lower value, but the remaining five instruments, including the oldest, fifteenth-century *yarlıqs* of Hadji and Mengli Girays, are preserved uniquely in the aforementioned two collections. Unfortunately, in this case the copies recorded in the Naruszewicz Folders are not provided with any notes referring to their provenance. In fact, it is highly probable that they were taken from the Kórnik manuscript and hence present no original scholarly value: out of the ten Crimean documents, recorded in the Kórnik manuscript (nine instruments of peace and one “ordinary” letter of Mehmed I Giray from 1516), eight can also be found in the Naruszewicz Folders. Some of the copies in the two collections contain identical errors, especially regarding their datation. Moreover, some fragments written correctly in the Kórnik manuscript are misspelled or omitted in the Naruszewicz Folders as their eighteenth-century compilers were apparently no longer familiar with such terms as *koń potny* (“a horse growing sweaty”), *kupcy ordobazarcy* (“merchants from the khan’s military camp”), *Frazy* (“Franks”), or *drzwi* (lit. “door,” here specifically referring to the khan’s “Porte”). Both the similarities and the differences mentioned above suggest that the Kórnik manuscript served as the basis for the copies entered in the Naruszewicz Folders.

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<sup>113</sup> On the most typical notes referring to the provenance of texts entered into the Naruszewicz Folders (for instance: *ex orig. Arch. Regni* for originals from the Crown Archives), see Grzybowski, *Teki Naruszewicza*, pp. 27–32.

Still, we cannot entirely dismiss that at least some of these copies were based on other sources. It is worth noting that Mengli Giray's *yarlıq* is correctly dated in the Naruszewicz Folder (878 A.H.), while in the Kórnik manuscript it has an erroneous date 978 A.H. Besides, according to one testimony, the *yarlıq* of Hadji Giray—in the original or a copy—was seen in the Załuski Library in Warsaw in 1772.<sup>114</sup> As the compilers of the Naruszewicz Folders had access to the Załuski Library, it would be hard to explain why they did not benefit from the collection that they had easily at hand and instead used the copy held today in Kórnik.

The Załuski Library, founded by two brothers and bishops: Józef Andrzej Załuski and Andrzej Stanisław Załuski, was opened in 1747 as the first public library in Poland. Taken to St. Petersburg in 1795, it became the core of the Imperial Public Library (today the Russian National Library), founded the same year by Catherine II. By the force of the Treaty of Riga (1921), it returned to Warsaw, sent in installments in the years 1923–1934 and incorporated into the Polish National Library. Unfortunately, after the Warsaw Uprising in 1944 the National Library was deliberately set on fire by the Nazis and most of its collection perished. Very few manuscripts that had once belonged to the Załuski Library have survived. By lucky chance, one finds among them the lengthy diary of Ławryn Piaseczyński, relating his three embassies to the Tatars in the years 1601–1603. The manuscript also contains a number of documents in Polish copies, including two instruments of Ghazi II Giray from the years 1599 and 1601, and the instrument of Sigismund III from 1601.<sup>115</sup>

Single instruments of peace, exchanged between the khans and the kings, are also preserved in copies dispersed in various manuscripts, held in several Polish libraries. Their whereabouts can be found in the Bibliography and in the descriptions of the instruments concerned.

Apart from the large manuscript collections, preserved in the countries once belonging to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, namely Poland, Lithuania (Vilnius), Belarus (Minsk), and Ukraine (L'viv and

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<sup>114</sup> Cf. n. 34 in Part I.

<sup>115</sup> Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, ms. III. 3086 "Księga poselstwa Ławryna Piaseczyńskiego;" on this manuscript, cf. n. 345 in Part I, and *Biblioteka Narodowa. Katalog Rękopisów*, series 2, vol. 2: *Sygn. 3006–3300. Rękopisy z Biblioteki Załuskich i innych zbiorów polskich, zwrócone z Leningradu w latach 1923–1934*. Edited by B. Kupść and K. Muszyńska (Warsaw, 1980), pp. 123–129.



Kiev), copies of instruments of peace, exchanged between Warsaw and Baghchasaray can be perhaps located in Istanbul, Moscow, and other ancient capitals of early modern states, whose rulers carefully watched the international situation developing in the proximity of their own borders. So far, no such copies have been located, but they might be revealed in the course of future thorough research.

For instance, information is known to have been regularly exchanged between Istanbul and Baghchasaray. In 1623, Sultan Murad IV sent Mehmed III Giray a copy of his *'ahdname*, granted to Poland-Lithuania, and required that the khan should respect its provisions, too.<sup>116</sup> It is therefore not unlikely that also copies of Crimean instruments, exchanged with Warsaw, were sent from Baghchasaray to Istanbul in order to keep the Porte aware of the political developments. In analogy, during the Crimean-Russian negotiations that took place in Baghchasaray in the years 1680–1681, Murad Giray regularly informed the Porte about their progress. Admittedly, neither of the two cases, quoted above, can be treated as sufficient proof that copies of Crimean-Polish instruments of peace were sent to Istanbul. Given the unequal relations between Istanbul and Baghchasaray, the khan was expected to respect the engagements made by the sultan, but not vice versa, so the sultan did not need to know in detail what the khan had promised the Polish king. Moreover, at times the Porte openly dissuaded the Polish court from negotiating directly with the khan, hinting to the latter's non-sovereign status.<sup>117</sup> In these circumstances, sending to Istanbul copies of lofty *yarlıqs*, in which the khans frequently adopted the pompous titles that were regarded by the Porte as reserved for the Ottoman padishahs, would not be a clever move on the part of the Crimean chancery. The aforementioned Crimean-Russian negotiations in Baghchasaray in 1680–1681 were untypical, because Murad Giray was officially empowered to conclude the peace on behalf of the Porte, and the agreement, reached in January 1681 between the khan and the Russian envoys, was then subject to corroboration by the Ottoman grand vizier, and finally by the sultan. Hence, while it is likely that the news of the Crimean-Polish embassies and agreements reached

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<sup>116</sup> See Jan Rypka, "Briefwechsel der Hohen Pforte mit den Krimchanen im II. Bande von Feridüns Münşeât," pp. 262 and 269.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. n. 218 in Part I.

Istanbul, it does not necessarily imply that the texts of these agreements were *in extenso* sent and recorded in the Ottoman archives.

Another capital, where the Crimean relations with Poland-Lithuania were observed with lively interest, was Moscow. To be sure, it was rather unlikely that copies of instruments, exchanged between the kings and the khans, would reach Moscow by legal channels. Neither Warsaw nor Baghchasaray were interested in sharing the contents of their agreements with the tsar as these agreements were usually directed against the latter. In analogy, if the khans entered agreements with the tsars, they were typically directed against Poland-Lithuania. Given the traditional mistrust in the triangle Warsaw-Baghchasaray-Moscow, an unusual event occurred in 1670. The tsar not only entered peace with the khan which also included the Polish king, but the Russian chancery shared with the Polish side the contents of the instrument, negotiated in Moscow with the Tatar envoys, by sending its copy to Warsaw.<sup>118</sup> The uniqueness of this event is related not only to the short term rapprochement between Warsaw and Moscow, but to the unusual fact that this rapprochement did not immediately result in a joint military action against the Crimea that would render any tripartite negotiations out of the question.

Such tripartite negotiations and voluntary sharing of information were yet extremely rare. Usually a rapprochement between two courts resulted in the estrangement of the third one. Nevertheless, Moscow could still acquire copies of instruments of peace, exchanged between Baghchasaray and Warsaw, through spies or "good services" of the members of the respective courts, whose names would be entered on the Muscovian payroll. Yet, no such copies have been located so far in the Russian archives.

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<sup>118</sup> Cf. n. 515 in Part I.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE CRIMEAN INSTRUMENTS OF PEACE AND THEIR TYPOLOGY

#### *The “donation yarlıq”*

In his discussion of the ancient Turkic term *yarlıq*, Mirkasym Usmanov critically summarizes the extant literature and proposes to apply this term only to the following two categories of documents:

- a) genuine *yarlıqs*, i.e., the privileges, grants, orders, appointments, etc., addressed by the khans to their subjects (including the subjects of their vassals);
- b) *yarlıqs*-messages (Rus. *jarlyki-poslanija*), addressed by the khans to other rulers whom the khans regarded as their vassals.

According to Usmanov, a characteristic trait of these documents was the formula “my word” (Rus. *slovo moe* < Tur. *sözüüm*), present in their initial protocol, and the term *yarlıq*, present either in their final corroboration or within their text. The form and contents of a *yarlıq* expressed the binding character of the khan’s will and his suzerainty over the addressee(s). On the other hand, letters addressed by the khans to the rulers whom they regarded as their peers or superiors, as well as the instruments of peace known as *şartnames*, are classified by Usmanov as two separate categories which should not be confused with *yarlıqs*.<sup>119</sup>

Although neat and useful, Usmanov’s categorization does not fully reflect the complex reality. In his own article, the author invokes *yarlıqs* issued not by the khans, but by their wives and qalgas, who apparently had a share in their husband’s, father’s, or brother’s sovereignty.<sup>120</sup> In the 17th century, also the Crimean nureddins referred

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<sup>119</sup> Mirkasym Usmanov, “Termin <<jarlyk>> i voprosy klassifikacii oficial’nyx aktov xanstv Džučieva ulusa,” in: *Aktovoe istočnikovovedenie. Sbornik statej* (Moscow, 1979): 218–244, esp. pp. 242–243; *idem*, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, pp. 7–8 and 271–276.

<sup>120</sup> Usmanov, “Termin <<jarlyk>>,” p. 230.

to their instruments sent to the Polish kings as *yarlıqs*.<sup>121</sup> Moreover, it sometimes happened that the very same Crimean document was referred to within its text as both a *yarlıq* and an '*ahdname*'.<sup>122</sup> Finally, if the powerful wife of Mengli Giray, Nur Sultan, could issue a *yarlıq* even though she was a woman and not of Genghisid descent, would it really be unrealistic for a powerful ambitious leader, such as Mamay, to refer to his document as a *yarlıq* even though it would be contrary to the custom, which restricted the right to issue *yarlıqs* to the ruling members of the Genghisid dynasty?<sup>123</sup>

In the Lithuanian chancery language, the term *yarlıq* could refer to any letter circulating between the Lithuanian and Tatar courts. For instance, letters sent by grand dukes Casimir, Alexander, and Sigismund to Mengli Giray were sometimes referred to as *yarlıqs*.<sup>124</sup> Usmanov might be right that such linguistic abuse reflected the ignorance of the proper Genghisid chancery manners, but nevertheless it remained a fact. His argument that while the Lithuanian chancery confused *yarlıqs* with simple letters, the Muscovian one impeccably differentiated between the terms *jarlyk* and *gramota* ("letter"), is also unconvincing.<sup>125</sup> For instance, in 1474 Ivan III instructed his envoy to

<sup>121</sup> For instance, see Document 56.

<sup>122</sup> For instance, see Document 34, issued by Ghazi II Giray in 1592, which contains the curious phrase "we have stamped this '*ahdname*, our noble imperial *yarlıq*, with the golden *nişan*-like seal" (*bu 'ahdname yarlıg-i şerif-i haqanimüzge altun nişanlıg mührini basub*), and is further referred to as "the '*ahdname*, the noble imperial *yarlıq*" (*'ahdname yarlıg-i şerif-i haqani*). Usmanov, who is familiar with the above document, describes it as a *šertnyj jarlyk* ("oath-*yarlıq*") or *dogovornyj jarlyk* ("agreement *yarlıq*") and concludes that it belongs to the category of agreements and not *yarlıqs* proper; cf. *idem*, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, pp. 279 and 281.

<sup>123</sup> Such a hypothesis was recently raised by Feliks Šabul'do, although the author did not support it by any material evidence; see *idem*, "Čy buv jarlyk Mamaja na ukrajins'ki zemli? (Do postanovky problemy)," pp. 301–317. To be sure, the formula "my word" (or rather its variant "our word") was adopted by such non-Genghisid rulers as Timur, Uzun Hasan, and Shah Ismail, the founder of the Safavid dynasty; for the facsimiles of their relevant documents, see Lajos Fekete, "Arbeiten der grusinischen Orientalistik auf dem Gebiete der türkischen und persischen Paläographie und die Frage der Formel *sözümüz*," *AO ASH* 7 (1957): 1–20, esp. pp. 17–18. In the same article, Fekete published the facsimile of a letter of the Crimean khan's mother, containing the same formula, but he misread *hazret-i ana biyim sözümüz* (whereas *ana biyim* is the title of the khan's mother) as *hazret-i ana benim sözümüz* that led him to unnecessary divagations on the redundant double possessive form; see *ibidem*, pp. 15 and 20.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Usmanov, "Termin <<jarlyk>>," p. 241; see also Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, pp. 224 and 326.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. Usmanov, "Termin <<jarlyk>>," p. 241.

bring from Mengli Giray a “*yarlıq* of agreement” (*jarlyk dokončal’nyj*) and in the following year referred to the already received document as an “oath-*yarlıq*” (*jarlyk šertnoj*).<sup>126</sup> Yet, when in 1508 Mengli Giray sent an analogous instrument to Ivan’s son, Vasilij III, it was recorded in the Muscovian chancery books as a “letter of agreement” (*dokončalnaja gramota*) and referred to as “oath-letter” (*šertnaja gramota*) in Vasilij’s correspondence with the khan.<sup>127</sup> Hence, four different terms were used to describe the very same type of document.

Notwithstanding the often vague and imprecise terminology used by contemporaries, it is possible to single out a distinct type of document that was repeatedly issued by the Crimean khans and sent to Lithuanian, and later Polish-Lithuanian rulers until 1560. In the present study, the term “donation *yarlıq*” will be used because its main content was the khan’s “donation” of numerous territories to the recipient (in fact, the territories in question had usually belonged to Lithuania long before they were “donated” by the khan). The term corresponds with the Slavic term *žalovannyj jarlyk*, often encountered in Russian medieval chronicles,<sup>128</sup> but here its usage is limited to those *yarlıqs* that granted lands and not other privileges.

The Girays, who descended from Togha Timur (Tuqay Timur), Genghis Khan’s grandson and Batu Khan’s younger brother, were more “modest” in historical claims than their main rival and distant cousin, the khan of the Great Horde Sheikh Ahmed, who in 1497 reminded Grand Duke Alexander: “we have lived in brotherhood and friendship with you since the times of the great khan Batu.”<sup>129</sup> The Crimean chancery usually went back only to the past alliance between Tokhtamış and Vytautas, which was well confirmed by historical evidence.<sup>130</sup> The fact that Tokhtamış had also maintained friendly relations with Jogaila, Vytautas’ elder cousin and the king of Poland, was curiously erased from the Crimean memory to reappear only in the 16th century under the pressure of the Polish chancery. It has been recently suggested that already Jogaila’s father, Algirdas, might have received a “donation *yarlıq*” from Mamay, the *de facto* ruler of the

<sup>126</sup> See *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 1, pp. 2 and 9.

<sup>127</sup> See *ibidem*, vol. 2, pp. 20 and 57.

<sup>128</sup> Cf. Berežkov, *Krymskie šertnye gramoty*, p. 1.

<sup>129</sup> See Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, p. 237.

<sup>130</sup> On the Girays’ genealogy and their pretended descent from Tokhtamış, cf. n. 32 in Part I.

Golden Horde in the second half of the 14th century, or rather from a Genghisid prince in whose name Mamay ruled, but this question remains open.<sup>131</sup>

In 1506, in a letter sent to the lords of the Lithuanian Council, Mengli Giray referred to the ancient *yarlıqs*, by which Tokhtamış had donated Kiev, Smolensk, and other towns to Vytautas, and to the subsequent *yarlıqs*, by which Mengli's father and older brother, Hadji Giray and Nur Devlet, and then Mengli himself, had confirmed this donation to King Casimir. "Our [past] *yarlıqs* are in your treasury, just look [at them]!"—continued the khan.<sup>132</sup> Unfortunately, the "donation *yarlıq*" sent by Tokhtamış to Vytautas is not preserved,<sup>133</sup> but the "donation *yarlıq*" of Hadji Giray, sent to Casimir in ca. 1462, is preserved in a Polish copy and allows one to reconstruct the contents of the earlier *yarlıqs* as well.

Hadji Giray's instrument perfectly fits the definition of a *yarlıq* proposed by Usmanov, although the term itself does not appear in the document, or at least in its extant Polish translation: it begins with the formula "the word of Hadji Giray Khan" and pronounces the khan's will to all those present, both the khan's Tatar subjects grouped into the right and left wings of his army, and the Lithuanian notables, clergymen, and commoners, whom Hadji Giray treats as his subordinates as well. The very fact of donation reflects the khan's conviction that he had the right to donate the listed lands as their rightful owner, and hence the suzerain of Lithuanian grand dukes. On the other hand, the document invokes the beneficiaries' past merit, namely the refuge and assistance given by Vytautas to Tokhtamış when the latter's horse had been "growing sweaty beneath him." In its major part, the document apparently reiterates the contents of the now lost "donation *yarlıq*" of Tokhtamış from ca. 1397, granting to Lithuania vast tracts

<sup>131</sup> Cf. n. 123 above.

<sup>132</sup> *Našy jarlyky v skarbe vašom* [in the original erroneously written *našom*] *est, posmotryte*; see Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, pp. 292–293. In the Crimean correspondence, Casimir is often referred to with his Polish royal title as King Casimir (*Kazimir korol*'), although in Lithuania his official title was not the king but the grand duke (*velykij knjaz*').

<sup>133</sup> Tokhtamış's *yarlıq* sent in 1393 to Jogaila, which is preserved in the original, does not list any localities "donated" to Lithuania, but only vaguely stresses the khan's suzerainty over the Lithuanian ruler; cf. n. 7 in Part I. A proper "donation *yarlıq*" must have been granted by Tokhtamış to Vytautas around 1397, after the khan had been ousted by Tamerlane and needed Lithuanian support.

of what is today the Ukraine, Belarus, and western Russia (but significantly, not the “core” Lithuanian lands around Vilnius and Trakai, which were not mentioned because the khan apparently did not claim them as the Golden Horde’s heritage). Moreover, Hadji Giray’s document contains later “strata” that reveal the subsequent updatings made after Tokhtamish’s death by the following khans:

- a) a reference to Tula and several other localities situated in the Duchy of Rjazan’, annexed by Vytautas in the years 1427–1428, shortly before his death in 1430; these localities could have been entered in a “donation *yarlıq*” of Ulug Muhammed, another ousted khan of the Golden Horde whom the Girays regarded as their legal predecessor and who enjoyed Vytautas’ support after 1424, or already by Hadji Giray, who owed his early career to Vytautas; yet, the existence of “donation *yarlıqs*” issued by Ulug Muhammed and/or Hadji Giray to Vytautas is not certain; to be sure, the aforementioned localities appear in Hadji Giray’s *yarlıq* granted to Vytautas’ younger brother and successor, Sigismund (see below);
- b) a reference to Sigismund, Vytautas’ younger brother and the grand duke of Lithuania in the years 1432–1440, whom Hadji Giray granted his earlier “donation *yarlıq*” which is not preserved, but whose text is partly entered in his later *yarlıq* granted to Casimir;
- c) a reference to Pskov and Velikij Novgorod, disputed between Vilnius and Moscow, and currently “donated” by Hadji Giray to Casimir, apparently on the latter’s request.

The “donation *yarlıq*” of Nur Devlet, invoked in Mengli Giray’s letter from 1506, is not preserved, although Nur Devlet’s treaty instrument sent to Poland in 1467 is extant in a Latin copy. The following “donation *yarlıq*” was issued in ca. 1473 by Mengli Giray. Its extant Polish translation does not contain the formula “our word” and the term *yarlıq* is missing altogether, but its form and contents are almost identical with those of Hadji Giray’s instrument. Explaining his munificence in granting so many lands to Lithuania, Mengli Giray invoked the hospitality once extended by Vytautas not only to Tokhtamish, but also to Mengli’s father, Hadji Giray.

In the final years of Casimir’s reign, the Jagiellonian-Giray alliance dissolved due to Mengli’s rapprochement with Ivan III on the one hand, and the Lithuanian support for Sheikh Ahmed, the khan of the Great Horde and Mengli’s archenemy, on the other. By 1503, Mengli

defeated Sheikh Ahmed, who found refuge in Lithuania, yet this event paradoxically enabled a shift of alliances. Mengli's open claim to the entire heritage of the Golden Horde caused a rising distrust in Moscow, while the khan's fear that Vilnius might still use Sheikh Ahmed against him made him better disposed towards Lithuanian peace offers. The ensuing pacification of 1506–1507 resulted in the drawing of yet another “donation *yarlıq*,” issued by Mengli, then over sixty years old, to Casimir's youngest son, Sigismund. The instrument, preserved today in a Ruthenian copy and probably originally composed in Ruthenian, commences with an invocation followed by the formula: “the word of Mengli Giray, the great khan of the Great Horde.” Unlike the previous documents, where the term *yarlıq* was missing, the instrument of 1507 is explicitly referred to as *yarlıq* three times within its text. The “donation” effected by the document comprised of the same territories as in the former *yarlıqs*, including the Lithuanian lands lost to Muscovy between 1494 and 1503, which neither Mengli nor Sigismund controlled at that time. Yet, it was precisely for that reason that the *yarlıq* was valued in Vilnius since it contained the khan's recognition of the Lithuanian territorial claims and his promise to help to restore the lost lands.

Although valued by both sides as still politically useful, the “donation *yarlıq*” of 1507 was yet deemed insufficient as an instrument regulating the relations between the two states, because its anachronous form and contents did not reflect the current issues of their political cooperation. Therefore, Mengli Giray separately issued an oath-letter (*prysjażnyj lyst*), which was delivered to Sigismund along with the *yarlıq*.<sup>134</sup> Another solution was found in 1513, when the pacification of 1507 was replaced by a new, more stable one. Then, a new type of document appeared that combined the features of a “donation *yarlıq*” with those of an oath-letter (hence this type will be tentatively referred to as a “donation *yarlıq* cum *şartname*”). In December 1513, Mengli Giray issued an instrument that commenced with an invocation followed by the formula: “the word of the great khan Mengli Giray.” Within its text, the document was referred to as *yarlıq* and the khan also invoked the previous *yarlıqs* issued by his predecessors, his own *yarlıq* given to Casimir (i.e., the one from ca. 1473), and his recent pacification with Sigismund of 1507. Yet, having enumerated the

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<sup>134</sup> Cf. Documents 8 and 9; on the latter, see below.



lands “granted” to Lithuania in a way typical for a “donation *yarlıq*,” the document’s narration went on and referred to current political as well as commercial issues, whereas the khan promised to keep his engagements on his own behalf and on behalf of his sons and his subjects. A diligent reading of the instrument also proves that even its first, seemingly fossilized part, was subject to reediting: the *yarlıq* listed three localities that had never before been “granted” to Lithuania, namely Radogošč’, lost to Muscovy in 1503 and still disputed, as well as Polack and Vicebsk, whose position became vulnerable as the Lithuanian eastern border moved westward, even before the Muscovian conquest of Smolensk in 1514.

In the summer of 1514, Mengli Giray sent a new embassy, provided with a new, slightly reedited version of his instrument, which again can be described as a “donation *yarlıq* cum *şartname*.” It was again referred to as *yarlıq* and contained the formula: “the word of Mengli Giray Khan,” but, like in the previous document from December 1513, the list of the “granted” lands was followed by references to current political clauses and the khan’s engagement to observe them. Apart from the two aforementioned versions of “donation *yarlıqs* cum *şartnames*,” later in the year 1514 the Crimean chancery also issued a separate instrument of peace, specifically referring to Poland, whose two versions are discussed below.

When Mehmed Giray ascended the throne in 1515, he sent to Cracow a new instrument of peace, whose text is not extant. The decentralized structure of the Crimean politics is well reflected by the fact that not only the khan, but also his oldest son, Bahadır, who did not even hold the official post of qalga, issued a separate instrument of peace on the request of the Lithuanian side. Bahadır’s document, whose contents were based on the now lost document of Mehmed Giray from 1515, was issued in 1517 and contained an unusual “collective” *sözüm* formula, which reflected the prince’s incomplete sovereignty that apparently needed to be supplemented by the authority of his late grandfather and his reigning father, and in addition was shared with his younger brother: “the word of my grandfather Mengli Giray, [also] the word of my father Mehmed Giray, the word of [mine,] Bahadır Sultan, [and] the word of my brother, Alp Giray Sultan.” Within its text, Bahadır’s document is not specifically referred as a *yarlıq*, but it invokes “the ancient *yarlıqs* of the first khans,” on whose basis it has been drawn. Like in the previous documents, the list of lands “granted” to Lithuania is followed by references to current

political issues. Even though it was issued by a Crimean prince and not the ruling khan, the instrument can be again classified as a “donation *yarlıq* cum *şartname*.”

Mehmed Giray's relations with Sigismund deteriorated in the years 1518–1519, when the khan entered an alliance with Moscow, but then he again changed his mind and designed an ambitious plan to restore the Golden Horde's unity under the Giray family. Preparing a confrontation with Moscow over the political influence on the Volga, Mehmed Giray restored his alliance with Sigismund and in 1520 issued two separate documents: a “donation *yarlıq* cum *şartname*” for Lithuania, and a separate instrument of peace for Poland. Although the former document did not contain the term *yarlıq*, it commenced with a sophisticated formula: “by the grace of God, Mehmed Giray Khan, the lord of all the lands of the Kipchak Steppe and the hereditary lord of the Tatars, this is my word.” The instrument again consisted of two parts: the “donation” of lands to Lithuania and a detailed list of current political engagements. In the first part, besides Radogošč', Polack, and Vicebsk, already listed previously, the khan entered—apparently on the Lithuanian request—one more town that had been absent in the earlier donations, namely Trubčevsk on the Desna river, lost by Vilnius to Muscovy in 1503. Interestingly, the second part of the instrument, containing current political issues, is introduced by a formula that did not appear in the instruments from 1513–1517, namely: “and this is also our word” (*eščo slovo naše to est*).

In the turbulent years that followed the death of Mehmed Giray, no “donation *yarlıq*” is known to have been issued until 1532.<sup>135</sup> Then, Islam Giray, who had long dreamed of becoming khan, ascended the throne after the abdication of his uncle, Sa'adet Giray, but shortly afterwards the Porte replaced him with another uncle of his, Sahib Giray. During the few months of his unstable reign, Islam Giray desperately looked for Lithuanian support so he easily consented to issue a “donation *yarlıq* cum *şartname*” modeled on the one given in 1517 by Bahadır Giray. The khan, who resided outside Qırq Yer and apparently lacked the assistance of professional chancery clerks, merely corroborated a copy of Bahadır's instrument that was presented to him

<sup>135</sup> Sa'adet Giray's instrument from 1527 is referred to as an oath-*yarlıq* (Ruth. *jarlyk prysjažnyj*), but it is not a “donation *yarlıq*,” this document is discussed below.

by a Lithuanian envoy, without even entering his own name in its *intitulatio*.<sup>136</sup>

In 1535, a Lithuanian envoy left for the Crimea provided by the Lithuanian chancery with a ready formula of a new “donation *yarlıq* cum *şartname*” to be issued by Sahib Giray. The formula’s text was again based on Bahadır’s instrument from 1517, yet the list of the lands to be “granted” to Lithuania was extended by one more town, namely Ljubeč, situated eastwards from the Dnieper. It was the only stronghold from among those lost to Muscovy by 1503 that had been restored to Lithuania in result of the subsequent war of 1507–1508, hence no wonder that Vilnius aimed to secure Crimean recognition of this fact. We do not know whether the khan then fulfilled the Lithuanian request as no text of a *yarlıq* from 1535 is extant. The earliest “donation *yarlıq* cum *şartname*,” issued by Sahib Giray and extant today, origins from 1539. It is recorded in a corrupt Polish translation and the list of the lands “granted” to Lithuania is substantially shortened: in comparison to the earlier “donation *yarlıqs*,” over thirty place-names are missing. Some of the omissions probably resulted from careless copying or the fact that a number of strongholds and estates, recorded in the past *yarlıqs*, lost their importance and sometimes even their location could have been unknown to contemporaries. It is also hard to explain why Sahib Giray refused to confirm the restoration of Ljubeč to Lithuania (Ljubeč is not listed) and simultaneously acknowledged Vilnius’ more exorbitant claims to Smolensk, Putyvl’, and Kozel’sk, which were all in fact controlled by Muscovy. Yet, at least some of the omissions visible in the *yarlıq* from 1539, namely the absence of lands situated between the lower Dniester and lower Boh, close to the Black Sea shore, might have reflected the khan’s deliberate policy related to current developments, as in 1538 these lands had been officially claimed by Sultan Suleyman after his Moldavian campaign. Interestingly, the khan’s instrument begins with a “collective” *sözüm* formula that follows the invocation and is reminiscent of the formula used in Bahadır’s *yarlıq* from 1517, even though unlike Bahadır, Sahib Giray was a sovereign khan: “this is the word of my father, Mengli Giray Khan, and of my elder brother [i.e., Mehmed Giray-DK], and of us, Sahib Giray.”

In 1541, Sahib Giray again issued a “donation *yarlıq* cum *şartname*.” It is not extant today, but apparently corresponded with the draft, nego-

<sup>136</sup> Cf. Document 24 and notes 215–217 in Part I.

tiated earlier that year in Cracow between the Polish lords councilors and the Crimean envoy, Ali Hadji.<sup>137</sup> In 1542, the khan issued another “donation *yarlıq* cum *şartname*.” Its first part again listed, somewhat carelessly, the lands “granted” to Lithuania. Apparently the traditional form of a *yarlıq* was gradually falling into disuse. The very term *yarlıq* does not appear in the document and the formula “our word” is missing as well (at least in the extant Polish translation). Moreover, the khan’s “donation” of lands to Lithuania, which formally belongs to the instrument’s first section (the “donation *yarlıq*” proper), is mixed with the khan’s engagement to assist Vilnius in restoring the lands captured by Muscovy, which formally belongs to the instrument’s second section (the *şartname*).

In 1552, the new khan Devlet Giray addressed his first instrument of peace to the Polish and Lithuanian ruler, Sigismund Augustus. The document again took shape of a “donation *yarlıq* cum *şartname*.” The list of towns “granted” to Lithuania was partly updated and contained Ovruch, Żytomyr, Vinnycja, and Kaniv—four Ukrainian castles that had never before been listed in the *yarlıqs*, but whose inclusion was explainable by their rising administrative and military importance. The instrument contained the proper *yarlıq* formula: “the word of Devlet Giray Khan, the great khan of the Great Horde,” although it was not referred to as *yarlıq* within the text. As usual, the list of “granted” lands was followed by specific political clauses and the khan’s solemn promise to maintain the peace with both Lithuania and Poland.

In 1560, Devlet Giray and Sigismund Augustus reconfirmed their alliance against Muscovy and the khan issued a new “donation *yarlıq* cum *şartname*.” The instrument contained some novelties in its second section, regarding the conditions of mutual cooperation, but its first section, listing the lands “granted” to Lithuania, remained basically unchanged. Only the “our word” formula, present in 1552, is missing in the instrument from 1560 or at least in its extant Polish translation.

The document from 1560 was probably the last one that invoked and reconfirmed the then semi-mythical “grant” of numerous lands to Lithuania once effected by Khan Toktamish.<sup>138</sup> In the subsequent

<sup>137</sup> On the draft, corroborated by the Crimean envoy with his oath, see below. The list of lands to be “donated” by the khan was apparently submitted by the Polish-Lithuanian side and based on the Lithuanian chancery formula from 1535 as both lists are identical and even contain the same errors; cf. n. 249 in Part I.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. Kolankowski, “Problem Krymu w dziejach jagiellońskich,” p. 297.

period, letters sent by the khans to the kings were often referred to as *yarlıqs*, but they no longer took the shape of “donation *yarlıqs*.” Admittedly, the texts of the subsequent Crimean instruments of peace sent to Poland-Lithuania in the years 1571(?), 1579, and 1585, are not extant, so we cannot establish whether they were shaped as “donation *yarlıqs* cum *şartnames*” or simply *şartnames*, and we are confronted with a gap of over thirty years open to scholarly speculations.<sup>139</sup> What we know for sure is that the earliest Crimean instrument issued after 1560 and preserved is the one from 1592, and it is *not* a “donation *yarlıq*.” Nevertheless, it seems likely that the abolition of the old instrument type took place already by 1569.

The fact that Hadji and Mengli Girays willingly “donated” Pskov and Velikij Novgorod to Casimir in the time of the heated territorial dispute between Moscow and Vilnius, while their sixteenth-century successors—Mehmed, Sahib, and Devlet Girays—repeatedly “donated” Smolensk to the Jagiellonians long after it had been lost to Muscovy, explains why the Lithuanian grand dukes accepted and sometimes even requested to be granted such humiliating documents as the “donation *yarlıqs*,” whose tenor depicted them as the khans’ vassals and beneficiaries. Mentioning a given town in the khan’s *yarlıq* not only guaranteed—at least in theory—its immunity against Tatar raids, but could be used in territorial disputes with Moscow. The khans consciously applied the carrot and stick method in their relations with their two northern neighbors, as it can be seen from a letter sent by Mehmed Giray to Vasiliij III in 1515: as a “punishment” for Vasiliij’s “misbehavior” and his recent conquest of Smolensk (1514) without the khan’s permission, Mehmed Giray demanded that the Muscovian ruler not only restore Smolensk to Lithuania, but also cede eight towns that had once belonged to Lithuania but had later been “donated” by Mengli Giray to Moscow in the times of the Crimean-Muscovian friendship.<sup>140</sup> In turn, during the Crimean-Muscovian rap-

<sup>139</sup> In 1571, Jurij Bykovskij, a Lithuanian envoy, was provided by the Lithuanian chancery with a ready formula, according to which Devlet Giray was to issue a new instrument of peace and send it to Sigismund Augustus; neither the formula nor the khan’s instrument, if the latter was issued at all, are extant. Also the texts of the instruments of 1579 and 1585, sent to Stephan Báthory by Mehmed II Giray and Islam II Giray and brought by the royal envoy Marcin Broniowski, are not preserved. On the embassies from 1571, 1579, and 1585, cf. Part I.

<sup>140</sup> These were Brjansk, Starodub, Počep, Novhorod-Sivers’kyj, Ryl’sk, Putyvl’, Karačev, and Radogošč; cf. n. 152 in Part I.

prochement in 1525, Sa'adet Giray annulled his predecessor's decision and promised Vasilij not to raid eight frontier towns (of whom six were identical with the ones mentioned in 1515), for that time referred to as "his" [i.e., Vasilij's] although they had earlier belonged to Lithuania.<sup>141</sup> Studying the Crimean instruments addressed to Vilnius and Moscow, one gets the impression that the khans sometimes granted the same territories simultaneously to both neighbors in order to please the recipients. Admittedly, unlike the Crimean instruments sent to Vilnius, those addressed to Moscow were not shaped as "donation *yarliqs*" but simply as *şartnames*, whereas the "grant" of given territories was mentioned among other clauses. The reality reflected by Tatar instruments might be regarded today as purely virtual, but the contemporary rulers in Vilnius and Moscow knew how to use these "grants" to their benefit, even if the form and contents of the received instruments infringed their prestige as sovereign monarchs. As late as in 1578, Ivan IV endeavored to obtain Devlet Giray's formal recognition of his claims to "the whole of Rus' [including the most recent conquest of Polack]" and to Livonia, hence corresponding entries were entered into the Russian project of a new Muscovian-Crimean treaty.<sup>142</sup>

Two closely related factors apparently contributed to the disappearance of a "donation *yarliq*" from the Crimean-Lithuanian diplomatic practice. The first one was the transfer of Ukrainian territories from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to the Polish Crown that occurred in 1569, on the eve of the Union of Lublin. In consequence, the Crimean affairs were taken in charge by the Crown chancery in Cracow, for whose clerks an idea to be granted some lands by the Crimean khan must have appeared awkward. The discontinuity was even reflected in the change of the vernacular used for mutual correspondence. While the Cyrillic alphabet and Ruthenian language reigned in the Lithuanian chancery in Vilnius and was commonly understood by

<sup>141</sup> These were Starodub, Počep, Novhorod-Sivers'kyj, Ryl'sk, Putyvl', Radogošč', Černihiv, and Homel' (*takže i tvoix ukrainnyx gorodov Putivlja, Rylska, Novagorodka, Radogošča, Staroduba, Černigova, Počapa, Gom'ja [...] ne voevati*); see RGADĀ, f. 123, op. 1, no. 6, fol. 87b; published in Malinovskij, "Istoričeskoe sobranie," p. 416.

<sup>142</sup> See Filjuškin, "Proekty russko-krymskogo voennogo sojuza," pp. 330 and 335–336; admittedly, Ivan IV did not ask the khan to "grant" him Livonia or Polack but only to recognize his right to keep them, whereas in the instrument from 1560, sent to Sigismund Augustus, Devlet Giray explicitly "granted" him Polack and numerous other lands.

the Crimean chancery clerks in Baghchasaray, the Polish chancery in Cracow used predominantly Latin and Polish (the second gradually gaining importance, especially in domestic matters), although—as it has been mentioned above—in the correspondence with the Crimea Ruthenian continued to be used along with Polish until the reign of Sigismund III. The other factor that contributed to the discontinuity of the ancient tradition was the extinction of the Jagiellonian dynasty with the heirless death of Sigismund Augustus in 1572. The new elective kings, such as the Frenchman Henry Valois, the Hungarian Stephan Báthory, and the Swede Sigismund III Vasa, were not so attached to the tradition of the old amity between the Lithuanian grand dukes and the Tatar khans. On the other hand, they were perfectly aware of the symbolic meaning of the *yarliqs* and hardly enthusiastic about the idea of becoming the khan's tributaries.

This change of attitude is best reflected in the instruction given by Sigismund III Vasa to Nikodem Kossakowski, sent in embassy to Ghazi II Giray in 1598. The king, even though he was a Jagiellonian on his mother's side, showed no respect to the old tradition and explicitly forbade his envoy to accept any instrument that would include the customary clause "granting" Kiev and other lands to Lithuania, because "how could the Tatars donate a thing that had never belonged to them."<sup>143</sup> Obviously referring to the "donation *yarliqs*," the royal instruction stressed that the ancient treaties had been concluded by Lithuania, and not by the [Polish] Kingdom, and after the unification [i.e., the Union of Lublin of 1569] the khan should model his instrument on his predecessors' treaties concluded with Poland and not with Lithuania.<sup>144</sup>

<sup>143</sup> *Jakoż tedy mieli to darować, co ich nigdy nie było?*; see Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, p. 79; for the entire text of the instruction, see AGAD, Libri Legationum, no. 27, fol. 106a–109a.

<sup>144</sup> Kossakowski was ordered to request an instrument shaped on the one addressed by Mengli Giray to Sigismund I as the king of Poland, apparently the one from 1514 (see Document 16). Consequently, the envoy was to reject any instrument similar to the ones formerly addressed to the Jagiellonians as the grand dukes of Lithuania in which the khans granted them Ruthenian lands. It is hard to establish which instrument previously sent to Lithuania the royal chancery clerks had in mind. Kossakowski's instruction refers to an instrument issued by Mehmed Giray and brought to Lithuania by an envoy named Haraburda (*jeśliby [...] powiedzieli, że dokończenie być ma według tego, jako z Mechemetgiereiem czarem przez posła Haraburdę było namówiono, na to powiedzieć, że Haraburda [sic] od Lithewskiego Państwa jeździł i stanowiął, ale że potym nastąpiło zjednoczenie Księstwa Wielkiego Lithewskiego z Królestwem Polskim, i z Królestwem teraz ma być stanowienie, słusznie nie według tego, co się działo*

*The şartname, the oath-yarlıq, and the ‘ahdname*

From among the Crimean treaty instruments of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, addressed to the rulers in Moscow, Vilnius, and Cracow, all but four are extant today only in copies, most typically recorded in Russian by chancery clerks in Moscow, and in Ruthenian by chancery clerks in Vilnius. The Crimean chancery of that period is known to have issued documents in Ruthenian, but its standard language was firstly Khwarezmian Turkic, and then a mixture of Crimean Tatar and Ottoman Turkish. It is hard to determine which of the copies, preserved today in the Muscovian and Lithuanian chancery books, are based on the Slavic language originals of the khans' documents, and which are merely contemporary translations of the lost Arabic-script Turkic originals.<sup>145</sup> This question is particularly important when we try to reconstruct the original terms, by which the Crimean chancery referred to its own instruments. Arguably Slavic language originals, drawn in the Crimean chancery, would more faithfully reflect the original terminology than translations made in Vilnius and Moscow, which were probably influenced and distorted by the notions proper to the recipients.

Scholars, who work solely on Slavic versions of Crimean instruments and are unfamiliar with the terms and procedures typical for Islamic chanceries, are likely to misapprehend the encountered terminology. In his article, strongly biased against the Crimean Tatars, Mixail Berežkov stressed the difference between “donation *yarlıqs*” (*žalovannye jarlyki*) sent by the khans of the Golden Horde to Muscovian rulers in the times of the Horde's supremacy, and “oath-letters” (*šertnye gramoty*) sent by the Crimean khans to Ivan III and his successors. According to Berežkov, the Crimean khans, who turned into Ottoman vassals and hence were no peers to the Muscovian rulers, adopted the new type of

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z Litewskiem Państwem za Mehmetgiereia, ale według tego jako z Królestwem Polskim za Mendliגיעria dokończenie się było stało; see AGAD, Libri Legationum, no. 27, fol. 107a). Yet, Mehmed I Giray issued his instrument for Lithuania in 1520 (Mehmed II Giray reigned after the Union of Lublin so the instruction cannot refer to him) while Myxajło Haraburda (Pol. Michał Haraburda) was sent in embassy to the Crimea two times in the years 1559–1561 (see Banionis, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės pasiuntinybių tarnyba*, pp. 202–203) and can be associated with Devlet Giray's instrument from 1560 (in fact brought by Skumin Tyškevyč). Hence, the royal chancery could refer either to the donation *yarlıq* cum *şartname* from 1520 (see Document 19) or the one from 1560 (Document 33).

<sup>145</sup> On the languages used in the Crimean chancery, see Chapter 1.



instrument in acknowledgement of their inferior status, because the “oath-letter” embodied a unilateral engagement made by an inferior partner, who swore his loyalty and obedience towards a superior.<sup>146</sup>

Misunderstandings can also be found in more recent studies. For instance, in her painstaking analysis of the Crimean-Muscovian diplomatic procedures of the late 15th and early 16th centuries, Anna Xoroškevič aims to differentiate an **agreement**, negotiated and concluded between two equal partners, referred to in old-Russian (and old-Ruthenian) by the term *dokončanie*,<sup>147</sup> from a **unilateral engagement**, undertaken by an inferior partner towards his suzerain, and referred to in old-Russian by the term *prisjažnaja gramota* (lit. “oath-letter”).<sup>148</sup> In fact, both Russian terms, also known in Ruthenian, referred to the very same type of a Crimean document known as *šartname*, whereas the word *šart* derived from Arabic شرط (“condition;” in the Tatar usage it also denoted “oath”) and the word *name* from Persian نامه (“letter” or “writing”). Its most common Russian equivalent was the already mentioned term *šertnaja gramota* (“oath-letter”), a calque which Fedor Laškov proposed to render as *kljatvennaja gramota*.<sup>149</sup> Yet, both the Muscovian and Lithuanian chanceries also referred to the Crimean *šartnames* with the terms *prisjažnaja gramota* as well as *dokončanie*. The above statement is best illustrated by the fact that the instrument of Khan Mehmed Giray, sent in October 1520 to King Sigismund, which is preserved in both Kwarezmian Turkic original and contemporary Ruthenian translation, is referred to as *šartname* in the original, and as *dokončane* in the translation.<sup>150</sup>

According to a typology proposed by Usmanov, “agreements and oath-letters” (*dogovory i šertnye gramoty*) should be distinguished as a

<sup>146</sup> Berežkov, *Krymskie šertnye gramoty*, pp. 1, 5 and 22.

<sup>147</sup> The ancient term *dokončanie* is equivalent to such modern Russian terms as *dogovor* or *soglašenje*; in fifteenth-century Russian one encounters also a verb *kančivati*, “to make an agreement”; cf. Xoroškevič, *Rus' i Krym*, pp. 125 and 290.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 287.

<sup>149</sup> Fedor Laškov, “Krymskija šertnyja gramoty XVI–XVII vv. xranjaščijasja v Moskovskom Glavnom Ārxive Ministerstva Inostrannyx Del,” in: *Trudy vos'mago arxeologičeskago sezda v Moskve 1890*. Edited by P. Uvarova and M. Speranskij, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1895): 191–208, esp. p. 192.

<sup>150</sup> Cf. Document 20 and its contemporary Ruthenian translation edited as an appendix. The term *šartname* appears as many as eight times in the original and is translated seven times as *dokončane* (the eighth appearance was considered redundant by the translator so he did not translate it); in addition, the Ruthenian translation is provided with a heading *Dokončane na Korunu Pol'skuju*, “the agreement regarding the Polish Crown (i.e., the Polish Kingdom).”

separate category of the khans' documents, different from *yarlıqs*. Yet, the author blurs his own typology by admitting that among "agreements and oath-letters" one can also find "oath-*yarlıqs*," granted by the khans to the rulers, whom they regarded as their vassals, including the grand dukes of Muscovy.<sup>151</sup> Usmanov maintains that the Crimean khans sent oath-*yarlıqs* to Muscovy because they regarded its rulers as their vassals, and oath-letters (*şartnames*) to Poland-Lithuania because they regarded its rulers as equal, sovereign monarchs. Yet, this argument does not make sense if we remember that the Jagiellonians obtained "donation-*yarlıqs*," and in return sent annual gifts, regarded by the khans as tribute. Besides, at least one instrument sent to a Polish-Lithuanian ruler (the one from 1527) is referred to as "oath-*yarlıq*."

It should be stressed here that in the Tatar and Turkish practice, an oath could be taken and exchanged between equal as well as unequal partners, for instance by a vassal towards his suzerain, but also by a suzerain towards his vassal or even by a ruler towards his subjects.<sup>152</sup> In all the above cases, an instrument referring to such an oath would be labeled as a *şartname*.

<sup>151</sup> Usmanov proposes to divide the khans' documents into four categories: 1) genuine *yarlıqs* addressed to subjects; 2) *yarlıqs* addressed to vassals, both real and imaginary ones (like the Muscovian grand dukes); 3) letters addressed to the rulers regarded by the khans as their peers or superiors (these documents, lacking legally binding formulas typical for *yarlıqs* and *şartnames*, remain besides the scope of the present study); 4) agreements and oath-letters. Within the last category, he further distinguishes: a) agreements between equals; b) instruments by which their authors admitted and confirmed their obligations towards superior monarchs (*pis'ma-objazatel'stva*); c) instruments given to real and imaginary vassals, referred to as oath-*yarlıqs* (*şertnye jarlyki*); see *idem*, "Termin <<jarlyk>>," pp. 243–244; *idem*, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, pp. 279–281.

<sup>152</sup> An interesting document, containing a written oath taken by Khan Mengli Giray towards his subjects, the inhabitants of Qırq Yer, is published and analyzed in Vášáry, "A contract of the Crimean khan," pp. 290–300. Usmanov, who was familiar with this document before it was published, regarded the text of the khan's oath, where Mengli had declared that he should become an infidel and loose his wife if he broke his promise, as humiliating and reflecting the khan's weak position vis-à-vis his subjects after his recent return to power in 1478; see *idem*, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, p. 71. Yet, a similar oath was pronounced by Mengli Giray in 1513 in the presence of Polish-Lithuanian envoys, when the khan's position was hardly weak and it was Sigismund who had asked for peace; hence the oath formula, regarded by Usmanov as unusual and humiliating for the ruler, seems to have been standard at that time; cf. Document 20. Also the Ottoman sultan, Mehmed II, is known to have taken an oath and granted an oath-letter (*ahdname*) to his new subjects, the Italian inhabitants of Pera, precisely when he was at the apex of his power, after the recent conquest of Constantinople in 1453.

The earliest extant Crimean instrument of peace, which can be tentatively classified as a *şartname*, is the document by Khan Nur Devlet, addressed in 1467 to King Casimir. It is preserved in a Latin copy (perhaps it was originally composed in Latin by an Italian from Caffa?), whose pretentious style differs from the later simpler instruments of Mengli Giray. Nevertheless, it contains a crucial element, namely the khan's reference to his oath (*iura commisi*) and his engagement to keep peace with the king.<sup>153</sup>

The following instrument, which can be classified as a *şartname*, was issued by Mengli Giray in 1480, apparently in Ruthenian. It is referred to as oath-letter (*prysjažnyj lyst*) and very short,<sup>154</sup> containing only the khan's oath to maintain friendship and alliance with Casimir and the request that the king should send back the Tatar refugees who were allegedly Mengli's subjects.<sup>155</sup> In 1507, Mengli issued another oath-letter (*prysjažnyj lyst*) along with his "donation *yarlıq*," apparently in order to supplement the latter's contents. Preserved (perhaps originally composed) in Ruthenian, the instrument refers to the oaths taken not merely by the khan, but also by his family and retinue members. Having shortly reiterated the "donation" of numerous lands to Sigismund, already specified in the *yarlıq*, the khan promised to prevent his subjects from raiding Lithuania and to send military assistance against Muscovy, demanding in return the execution of his archenemy, Sheikh Ahmed, who had found refuge in Lithuania, and a financial subsidy from the royal side that would be used for the maintenance of the Tatar Dnieper fort of Islamkerman.<sup>156</sup>

As it has already been mentioned, in December 1513 Mengli Giray issued an instrument that combined the characteristics of a "donation *yarlıq*" with that of a *şartname*. Although referred to as *yarlıq* within its text, its extant Ruthenian copy is provided with the heading:

<sup>153</sup> See Document 2. The text, preserved in the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow [Biblioteka Jagiellońska; hereafter, Bibl. Jagiell.] in a fifteenth-century Latin volume, which belonged to certain Peter from Olkusz, is entered under the heading: *Concordia et pacis confederatio Serenissimi principis Regis Polonie cum Tartharorum Imperatore*. For a possible interpretation of the expression *iura commisi* as "I engaged" or "I confirmed with oath," cf. *Słownik łaciny średniowiecznej w Polsce*. Edited by M. Plezia, vol. 2 (Wrocław etc., 1959–1967), col. 676.

<sup>154</sup> Cf. Mengli's oath-letter (*şertnaja gramota*) sent to Ivan III in 1474, which is also very short; it is preserved in a copy and published in Malinovskij, "Istoričeskoe sobranie," p. 267.

<sup>155</sup> Cf. Document 6.

<sup>156</sup> Cf. Document 9.

*dokon'čan'e*. The heading is fully justified since the document refers to the oaths taken by Mengli Giray along with his family and retinue members. Promising his military assistance, Mengli Giray specifically engaged to help Sigismund to reconquer the latter's lands that had been lost to Muscovy; the khan also declared that he would forget the past wrongs, expecting the king to do the same, and promised to send one of his grandsons to Lithuania as an honorary hostage; the document allowed royal merchants to come and trade in the khan's lands, though Mengli expected in return to continually receive royal gifts; curiously, the document did not contain any mention of Sheikh Ahmed, who still remained in Lithuanian custody.<sup>157</sup>

In June 1514, Mengli Giray repeated his oath and issued a new instrument that reiterated the clauses contained in his document from December. It contained only minor variations, introduced on the request of the royal side, such as the right granted to royal merchants to conduct transit trade with Ottoman Caffa. Like the previous instrument, the document can be described as a "donation *yarlıq* cum *şartname*;" in fact both terms: *yarlıq* and *dokončene/dokončane*, can be found in its extant Ruthenian copy.<sup>158</sup>

Both "donation *yarlıqs* cum *şartnames*," issued in 1513–1514, only vaguely refer to a major shift that had recently occurred in the mutual relations. In result of the prolonged negotiations, conducted in the years 1509–1512, Sigismund consented to send a yearly gift to the khan. In expectation of this gift, which in his eyes was equal to tribute, Mengli Giray agreed to send his grandson, Džalaleddin, as an honorary hostage to Lithuania, and after the young prince's unexpected death in Vilnius in 1513, to send another Giray prince as a replacement. In September 1513, Sigismund issued two solemn instruments of peace, separately as the grand duke of Lithuania (in Ruthenian) and as the king of Poland (in Latin), engaging to regularly send annual gifts to the Crimea.<sup>159</sup> Yet, as Poland was to share the financial burden of the promised gifts, the Polish councilors pressed the king to demand that Mengli should issue a separate instrument of peace for Poland. The khan, who had already issued two instruments that year, was apparently somewhat irritated by the royal demand to issue yet another

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<sup>157</sup> Cf. Document 12.

<sup>158</sup> Cf. Document 14.

<sup>159</sup> Cf. Documents 10–11.

document. Nevertheless, he agreed and in the fall of 1514 issued a separate instrument regarding Poland, extant today in two versions: a Ruthenian one, dated 29 October and referred to as “letter of agreement” (*dokončalnyj lyst*), and an Italian one, dated 29 November and referred to as *lectra patente*. Having invoked his present oath and the oaths previously taken on his behalf by his envoys, Mengli Giray engaged that in return for the royal promise to keep Sheikh Ahmed in custody and to deliver a yearly gift of 15,000 florins—one half from Poland and one half from Lithuania, the Polish and Lithuanian merchants were permitted to conduct trade in the Crimea while the Tatars were to honor the integrity of the Polish Kingdom.<sup>160</sup>

Bahadır Giray’s instrument from 1517, which apparently reiterates the conditions of the now lost instrument of his father, is referred to in its Ruthenian copy as a *lyst dokončannyj*, but has been already classified above as a “donation *yarlıq* cum *şartname*.” Like in the analogous documents of Mengli Giray from 1513–1514, the “donation” of lands, typical for a *yarlıq*, is followed by the clauses promising the Crimean military help against Muscovy, declaring to forget the past wrongs and send a new Giray prince as a hostage to Lithuania, and allowing the Polish and Lithuanian merchants to conduct trade in the Crimea. The instrument is corroborated by the solemn invocation of Bahadır’s oath, taken in Čerkasy in the presence of Olbracht Gasztold.<sup>161</sup>

In 1520, Mehmed Giray issued two instruments of peace, separately for Lithuania and for Poland, just as his father had done in 1514. The document regarding Lithuania, referred to as *dokončane*, can be again classified as a “donation *yarlıq* cum *şartname*” as it contains both the “donation” part and a number of clauses regarding current political issues, confirmed with the khan’s oath. The clauses that follow the “donation” are more extended and specific than those in the documents from 1513–1514 and 1517. Although the khan reiterated his and his father’s former promises to militarily assist Vilnius against Moscow, the Crimean military assistance was to be paid for by the

<sup>160</sup> Cf. Documents 15–16; while the Ruthenian version vaguely describes the Polish Kingdom as “beginning with L’viv [Pol. Lwów],” the Italian one specifically refers to its two southeastern provinces, mostly exposed to Tatar raids, the palatinates of Ruthenia and Podolia, and lists “Kamjanec’ [Pol. Kamieniec Podolski] and other castles” though not mentioning L’viv.

<sup>161</sup> Cf. Document 18.

Lithuanian treasury, while future incomes from the lands recaptured from Muscovy were to be shared between Vilnius and Qırq Yer. The article providing that Sheikh Ahmed should be kept in custody until his death, which was absent from the previous instruments regarding Lithuania (curiously, in 1514 it was entered in Mengli's instruments regarding Poland, although Sheikh Ahmed was detained in Lithuania, and not in Poland), reappeared in 1520. In turn, Mehmed Giray no longer promised to send a Giray prince as a hostage to Vilnius. Finally, the clause referring to trade contained an interesting novelty: the khan declared the reduction of tolls due from the royal merchants from seven to only three percent.

Mehmed Giray's instrument for Poland, issued in 1520, is today the oldest Crimean instrument of peace preserved in the Arabic-script original. Within its text, it is properly referred to as *şartname*. Nevertheless, it also contains the promulgation of the khan's will addressed to the general public, including the Tatar as well as the Polish dignitaries, which is in fact typical for a *yarlıq*. Like the khan's instrument addressed to Lithuania, the "Polish" *şartname* contains the clauses regarding the detainment of Sheikh Ahmed, the payment of royal gifts, and the treatment of royal envoys and merchants; yet, unlike the "Lithuanian" instrument, it does not contain any mention of Muscovy or the anti-Muscovian alliance, perhaps because in those times Poland did not even have a common border with Muscovy. Like the "Polish" instrument from 1514, the *şartname* from 1520 guarantees the inviolability of the Polish territory, which is described by enumerating thirteen towns situated in the Kingdom's southeastern provinces. In its conclusion, the instrument invokes the oath taken by the khan and his retinue members in the presence of the royal as well as the Crimean envoys who were to deliver the instrument to the king.

In 1526, Sa'adet and Islam Girays, who almost incessantly competed for the throne during the turbulent decade following the death of Mehmed Giray, reached a short term agreement, in result of which Islam became Sa'adet's qalga. In the following year, both Sa'adet and his ambitious nephew decided to reconcile with Sigismund and sent their instruments of peace to Cracow. Both instruments are extant today in Ruthenian copies. The khan's instrument is referred to within its text as an "oath-*yarlıq*" (Ruth. *jarlyk prysjažnyj*) and contains the standard *yarlıq* formula "our word." As to the qalga's instrument, it is referred to as "oath-letter" (Ruth. *lyst prysjažnyj*) and also contains the

formula “my word.” It was not for the last time that the royal chancery would receive parallel instruments of peace sent separately by the khan and the qalga.

Sa’adet Giray’s instrument from 1527 is very unusual: on the one hand, if we accept Usmanov’s typology discussed above, by referring to his instrument as a *yarlıq*, the khan treated King Sigismund as his vassal; yet, on the other hand, the instrument contained numerous accusations and complaints that—at least in our eyes today—were not very fitting for the khan’s dignity and his image of an omnipotent suzerain;<sup>162</sup> the long repetitive narration also seemed superfluous for a solemn instrument of peace, which should merely invoke the past friendship and—eventually—the reasons of its subsequent breaking, express the will to restore the peace, enumerate the political conditions to be mutually observed, and refer to the document’s corroboration with the khan’s oath.<sup>163</sup> In fact, the instrument of Sa’adet Giray contained both typical elements of a treaty, such as the reference to the khan’s oath to keep peace with Sigismund, and numerous minor issues and complaints that were usually treated in separate correspondence.

Although much shorter than the khan’s instrument, the oath-letter of Islam Giray similarly stressed the author’s desire to maintain friendship with Sigismund and referred to the oath taken by the qalga and his retinue members. Islam Giray also invoked his intention to raid Muscovy. In return, he expressed the wish to receive royal gifts in the same amount as had been sent to Bahadır Giray, Islam’s late older brother and the qalga of their late father, Mehmed Giray.

Bahadır’s personage had apparently a strong and lasting appeal to Islam Giray. In 1532, when Islam at last managed to ascend the throne (although for a very short time), instead of issuing his proper instrument, he merely reconfirmed the contents of Bahadır’s “donation *yarlıq* cum *şartname*” from 1517, whose copy was submitted to him by a Lithuanian envoy. The text of Bahadır’s instrument, corroborated by Islam, is recorded in the Lithuanian Register. Curiously, it does not even contain an actual date. If not for the heading, provided by

<sup>162</sup> Cf. the khan’s accusation that Sigismund regarded him as a nobody as if there had remained nobody in the Crimean state, and as if this state had no foundation, being reigned by a petty ruler (*y vy mene, brata svoeho kak by za nyšto vydjačy, yžby v perekopskom pan’stve žadnoho človeka ne ostalo, any fundamentu net, kak by za maloho hospodarja majučy, tomu pan’stvu*); see Document 22.

<sup>163</sup> The above conclusion is drawn from the study of other Crimean documents of that period, which are not as “expressive.”

a copyist, and the fact that it is entered among the documents from 1532, and not 1517, one could mistakenly attribute it to Bahadır, and not Islam.

Two instruments are extant from the times of Sahib Giray (r. 1532–1551), drawn in the years 1539 and 1542. Their texts, today preserved in Polish, were apparently translated from Ruthenian, as is evidenced by the term *dokończenie*, unusual in Polish, by which both documents are referred to. The contents of the earlier instrument, issued shortly after the Ottoman annexation of Očakiv, reflect the rising Ottoman influence in the northern Black Sea steppes. Nevertheless, both Crimean instruments are traditionally shaped as “donation *yarlıqs* cum *şartnames*,” in analogy to the earlier documents of Mengli and Mehmed Girays. Usmanov, who noticed that also Sahib Giray’s *yarlıqs*, intended for domestic audience, retained a very traditional form, suggested that it reflected the khan’s conscious strive to emancipate himself from the Ottoman patronage by invoking the Genghisid tradition, in spite of the fact that he had owed his throne to Sultan Suleyman.<sup>164</sup> If it was so, Sahib Giray had a somewhat unexpected ally, who also valued the traditional form of Genghisid instruments. In the years 1534 and 1535, shortly after Sahib’s accession, the Lithuanian chancery twice prepared the ready formulas of the instruments expected from the new khan. Judged by the formula from 1535, whose text is preserved,<sup>165</sup> they invoked in form and contents Mehmed Giray’s “donation *yarlıq* cum *şartname*” from 1515, which was already invoked by Vilnius in its negotiations with Bahadır Giray (1517) and Islam Giray (1532).

The latest two “donation *yarlıqs* cum *şartnames*” origin from the times of Devlet Giray (r. 1551–1577) and were sent to King Sigismund Augustus in the years 1552 and 1560. The first one, preserved in a Ruthenian copy, is referred to within its text as both an “oath-letter” (*lyst prysjažnyj*) and an “agreement” (*dokončan’e*). The second one is preserved in a Polish copy, apparently translated from Ruthenian, and referred to as *dokończenie* like the instruments from 1539 and 1542.

As it has already been mentioned, the instruments of peace sent to Poland-Lithuania by Devlet Giray (1571), Mehmed II Giray (1579), and Islam II Giray (1585) are not preserved, hence we cannot draw

<sup>164</sup> Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, p. 287.

<sup>165</sup> See Document 27.



any conclusions about their shape and contents.<sup>166</sup> As if in compensation, in 1592 the new khan, Ghazi II Giray (r. 1588–1608), issued simultaneously two instruments of peace addressed to the new Polish king, Sigismund III (r. 1587–1632). Both documents, composed in Crimean Tatar mixed with Ottoman Turkish, are today preserved in the original.

The first document from 1592 contains the standard *yarlıq* formula: “my word,” and its contents are promulgated to all those present. Invoking the past Crimean-Polish friendship that dated back to the reigns of Hadji Giray and Casimir, the document yet does not mention the former territorial grants, made by the khans in favor of Lithuania (interestingly, Lithuania is not even mentioned!). Ghazi II Giray regrets the deterioration of mutual relations during the recent Polish interregna and formulates the conditions of lasting peace: the timely delivery of the royal gifts and the removal of Cossack brigands from the Dnieper. In return, the khan offers his military assistance against Muscovy and confirms the right of the royal subjects to extract salt and trade in his domains.

The terminology, by which the above document is referred to, is very interesting. In the corroboration, Ghazi II Giray announces: “we have stamped this ‘*ahdname*, our noble imperial *yarlıq*, with the golden *nişan*-like seal” (*bu ‘ahdname yarlıg-i şerif-i haqanimüzge altun nişanlıg mührini basub*), and again refers to his document in the *datatio* as “the ‘*ahdname*, the noble imperial *yarlıq*” (*‘ahdname yarlıg-i şerif-i haqani*). As to the term *yarlıq*, it has been thoroughly described above so in this place it only remains to be observed that it was still in use in the late 16th century. Yet, the term ‘*ahdname* requires an explanation because at that time it was commonly used in the Ottoman chancery, but not in the Crimean one. Composed from the words ‘*ahd* (Arabic عهد, “oath,” “promise,” “pact”) and *name* (Persian نامه, “letter” or “writing”), the term referred to the ruler’s written engagement confirmed with his oath.<sup>167</sup> Thus, in the Crimean document from 1592 the term ‘*ahdname* evidently substitutes for the term *şartname*, as the terms ‘*ahd* and *şart* were equivalent and both referred to the ruler’s oath. This is evidenced in the very text of the instrument, where the terms

<sup>166</sup> Cf. n. 139 above.

<sup>167</sup> For the discussion of the term and its former historiography, cf. Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 3–7.

*'ahd* and *şart* are repeatedly paired and treated as synonyms: Ghazi II Giray first demanded that the king should keep his engagement and stipulation (*'ahd ve şart üzerine turar bolsalar*), then twice referred to his own oath (*ant ve şart ve 'ahd*), taken in the presence of the Polish and Crimean envoys, and finally concluded that "it is necessary to keep this engagement, stipulation, and oath" (*bu 'ahd ve şart ve ant üzerine turulmaq kerekdir*).<sup>168</sup>

The second document from 1592, referred to within its text as a *yarlıq*, has a less formal character and is directly addressed to King Sigismund III. The khan again invokes the ancient friendship and blames the Poles for its recent deterioration. He also quotes his recent correspondence with Sultan Murad III and depicts himself as the defender and protector of Poland against the Ottoman wrath. In return for his goodwill, the khan expects that the Cossacks should be removed from the Dnieper and the royal customary gifts should be delivered on time, not only to the khan, but also to his qalga and the latter's twelve retinue members. Like Sa'adet Giray's instrument from 1527, which was described above, Ghazi II Giray's *yarlıq* is also very "expressive" and contains so many anecdotic details that one may hesitate whether it should be classified as a "treaty instrument." Yet, on the other hand it contains the khan's solemn engagement not to raid Poland, made "by God, with God, and through God," and lists several clauses whose observing is requisite for the peace to last. Therefore, it should be tentatively classified as an "oath-*yarlıq*," just like the instrument of Sa'adet Giray from 1527.

The mixed and confusing terminology, encountered in Ghazi II Giray's instruments from 1592, has been already observed by Usmanov. The Tatar scholar concludes that the syncretism, noticeable in the late sixteenth-century and later Crimean documents, naturally reflected the process of the amalgamation of the two chancery traditions: the Genghisid and the Ottoman, and should not be regarded as merely a passive adoption of the Ottoman models.<sup>169</sup>

Unfortunately, the Crimean instruments of peace, sent to the Polish king in the following three decades,<sup>170</sup> are preserved only in translations, hence it is hard to draw definite conclusions regarding the

<sup>168</sup> See Document 34.

<sup>169</sup> Usmanov, *Žalovannyye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, p. 283.

<sup>170</sup> The agreement of Țuțora (Pol. Cecora) from 1595 is not regarded here as a "Crimean instrument of peace" because it was corroborated by the khan on behalf of

changes in terminology. The instrument of Ghazi II Giray, sent in 1599 to Sigismund III and invoking the khan's oath to keep peace with Poland, is referred to in its extant Polish text as a "letter of agreement" (*list przemirny*). As in that period the Polish term *list przemirny* (or rather *list przymierny*) commonly applied to Ottoman *'ahdnames*, it is most likely that the lost Crimean original was termed an *'ahdname*, though the term *şartname* was possible as well.<sup>171</sup>

The two following instruments, sent by Ghazi II Giray to Sigismund III in 1601 and 1604, but not accepted by the royal side because their contents did not match the Polish expectations, are similarly referred to in their extant Polish translations as *list przemirny* and *przymierze*, respectively. Finally, the last instrument of Ghazi II Giray, containing his oath and dated in 1607, is referred to in its extant Latin translation as *foedera et pacis litteres*.<sup>172</sup>

Further on, the instrument of Selamet Giray from 1609, preserved in a Polish translation, is referred to as *pakta*, and the instrument of Djanibek Giray from 1611 again as a *list przymierny*. The latter term also appears on the ready formulas of the instruments of peace to be issued by Djanibek Giray, with which the royal chancery provided the Polish envoys going to the Crimea in the years 1619 and 1622.<sup>173</sup> As we remember, both efforts failed and Djanibek did not formally renew the peace until the end of his first reign, but in 1624 his successor, Mehmed III Giray, issued an instrument of peace that is again preserved only in a Polish translation. The translation was made by Samuel Otwinowski, the best translator of Oriental languages in the Royal Chancery of that time. Not surprisingly, Otwinowski referred

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the Ottoman sultan; nevertheless, it is discussed in the following section. Besides, it is also preserved only in a copy.

<sup>171</sup> See Document 37 (a scholar is not much helped by the fact that the term *list przemirny* or *list przemierny* was also used in reference to the royal instrument of peace, sent by Sigismund III to Ghazi II Giray in 1598; cf. Document 36). It is worth noting that the instrument issued roughly at the same time (1598) by Ghazi II Giray to the Transylvanian ruler is referred to as an *'ahdname*; see Ivanics, "Der Bündnisplan zwischen dem Chan Gazi Giray II. und dem Fürsten Sigismund Báthory," p. 198. Yet, one must remember that in the relations with their southern (i.e., Ottoman) and western neighbors the khans adopted the Ottoman language and forms earlier, while traditional Genghisid forms longer prevailed in their relations with the northern neighbors (especially Moscow). Hence, the term *'ahdname* used in a Crimean document addressed to Transylvania does not imply that the same term must have been used in a document addressed to Poland.

<sup>172</sup> See Documents 40–41 and 43.

<sup>173</sup> See Documents 44–47.

to the khan's instrument employing the term *list przymierny*, the standard Polish equivalent of the original Crimean term, whatever this term was.<sup>174</sup>

The earliest seventeenth-century Crimean instrument of peace that is preserved today in the Turkish original, is the one issued in 1632 by Djanibek Giray, during his second reign. Within its text, it is referred to as '*ahdname*' three times, but also once as *şartname*,<sup>175</sup> and once as *yarlıq* in the introductory formula.<sup>176</sup> Apparently the terms '*ahdname*' and *şartname* were regarded as equivalent, although the first one was already more widely used, at least in the Crimean-Polish diplomatic context. The following instrument, issued by Djanibek Giray in 1634, is referred to as *yarlıq* in the introductory formula, but as an '*ahdname*' in the text proper.<sup>177</sup>

The instrument of the next khan, Inayet Giray, issued in 1635, as well as the instruments of his successor, Bahadır Giray, and the latter's qalga, Islam Giray, both issued in 1637, are preserved only in Polish translations and referred to with the Polish term *list przymierny*. But in 1640, as many as three Crimean instruments of peace were sent to Poland and they are all extant today in the originals. These instruments were issued separately by the khan, Bahadır Giray, and his two younger brothers: the qalga, Islam Giray, and the nureddin, Qırım Giray. Interestingly, Bahadır Giray used the identical term: "imperial '*ahdname*'" (*'ahdname-i hümayun*) in reference to both his own instrument and the one issued three months earlier by the Ottoman sultan Ibrahim, whose contents the khan invoked. The term *yarlıq* appears as well in his document, in the introductory formula,<sup>178</sup> and besides, in reference to another letter of the khan, sent previously to the king and simultaneously referred to as *muhabbetname* (lit. "friendly letter").<sup>179</sup> Hence,

<sup>174</sup> See Document 48.

<sup>175</sup> In one place the khan refers to "this imperial '*ahdname*' and perpetual *şartname*" (*işbu 'ahdname-i hümayun ve şartname-i mü'ebbed-maqrun*); see Document 49.

<sup>176</sup> Cf. the introductory formula: "the message of the noble *yarlıq* [...] and the explanation of the transmission of the illustrious '*ahdname*' is that:" (*i'lam-i yarlıq-ı şerif ve ifham-i tebliğ-i 'ahdname-i münif oldur ki*); see Document 49.

<sup>177</sup> See Document 50.

<sup>178</sup> "The message of the noble monarchic *yarlıq* is that:" (*i'lam-i yarlıq-ı şerif-i hani oldur ki*); see Document 55.

<sup>179</sup> "We sent to you, our brother, and to your hetmans, our envoy and a number of our men along with our friendly letter [*muhabbetname*] and noble *yarlıq*, announcing friendship and brotherly affection" (*êlçimiz ve niçe kişilerimizni muhabbetname yarlıq-ı şerifimiz birle siz qardaşımızğa ve hetmanlarınuzğa dostluq ve qardaşlıq içün*

we may conclude that in that period the term *yarlıq* still applied to any document that publicly promulgated the will of a Genghisid sovereign or his co-ruling family member (see below), including, though not exclusively, an *‘ahdname*.

The qalga, Islam Giray, also referred to the khan’s instrument as an “imperial *‘ahdname*” and declared that his own oath (*‘ahd*) was based on the instrument of his “prosperous and mighty elder brother, the khan” (*‘ahdimiz sa’adetlü ve şevketlü ağaçamız han [...] hazretlerinin ‘ahdname-i hümayunları üzeredir*). Nevertheless, he also referred to his own instrument as “our present *‘ahdname* and *şartname*” (*işbu ‘ahdname ve şartnamemiz*). Moreover, although he was not the ruling sovereign, his instrument was referred to in the introductory formula as “the noble princely<sup>180</sup> *yarlıq*, accompanied by affection” (*yarlığ-i şerif muhabbet-redif-i sultani*).<sup>181</sup> Not to much surprise, we find that also the nureddin, Qırım Giray, referred to his instrument as “my imperial *‘ahdname*” (*‘ahdname-i hümayunum*), “our *‘ahdname*” (*‘ahdnamemiz*), and “the noble princely *yarlıq*” (*yarlığ-i şerif-i sultani*).<sup>182</sup>

While the instrument, issued in 1640 by Islam Giray as the qalga, is simultaneously referred to by all the three typical terms: *‘ahdname*, *şartname*, and *yarlıq*, his instrument from 1646, drawn after he ascended the Crimean throne, is referred to merely as an *‘ahdname*.<sup>183</sup> Interestingly, his following instrument, issued in 1649 in a military camp at Zboriv, does not contain any of these terms, although the term *‘ahd* is used when the khan engages not to break his oath (*naqz-i ‘ahd bizim tarafımızdan olmayup*). The omission is perhaps not accidental. At first sight, judging by its protocol and external form, especially the presence of the khan’s *tuğra* appended as its corroboration, the document appears to be a unilaterally granted privilege<sup>184</sup> that would fit the classical category of *yarlıqs* and *‘ahdnames*. Nevertheless, it also contains less usual elements: it was issued not in the khan’s palace but

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*cibergenmizde*); the difference between an *‘ahdname* and a *muhabbetname* is discussed below.

<sup>180</sup> Contrary to the Ottoman usage, in the Crimean context the title *sultan* applied to any prince from the Giray dynasty, but not to the ruling khan; therefore, the adjective *sultani* (lit. “sultanic”) is rendered here as “princely.”

<sup>181</sup> See Document 57.

<sup>182</sup> See Document 56.

<sup>183</sup> See Document 58.

<sup>184</sup> The fact that the *‘ahdnames* were usually exchanged between rulers renders their unilateral character questionable, yet they still cannot be described as bilateral treaties typical for our times.

on the battlefield and its contents stemmed from bilateral negotiations, whose results were mutually accepted by the plenipotentiaries of the two sides (although in fact the final instruments of the two sides contained substantial differences as well; cf. Part I). The mutual agreement is recalled in the khan's instrument, whose contents are referred to as "the conditions agreed upon between [us]" (*mabeyinde mün'aqıd olan şurut*).<sup>185</sup> By the way, the plural term *şurut* derives from the singular term *şart*, the component of the term *şartname*, though in the given context it is used in its primary meaning and refers to a "condition" (or "stipulation") rather than "oath." Notwithstanding all its peculiarities, we will nevertheless regard Islam III Giray's instrument from 1649 as an *'ahdname*.

The instrument of Mehmed IV Giray, sent to John Casimir in 1654, is again referred to as *'ahdname*, while the terms *şartname* and *yarlıq* are missing, just like in Islam III Giray's instrument from 1646. Interestingly, in the Crimean instrument from 1654 also the royal instrument of peace, brought to the khan by a Polish envoy, Mariusz Jaskólski, is referred to as *'ahdname*.<sup>186</sup> By referring to the royal instrument with the same term as to the khan's one, the Crimean chancery apparently departed from the concept of unequal relations, embodied by the Genghisid term *yarlıq*. This development ran counter to the development in the Ottoman chancery, witnessed in the same period.<sup>187</sup> Hence, one may conclude that the process of unilateralization, typical for the seventeenth-century Ottoman chancery, ran in parallel with the bilateralization in the Crimean chancery, which adopted a more realistic and less megalomaniac attitude towards its Christian neighbors.

<sup>185</sup> See Document 60.

<sup>186</sup> See Document 64. For the text of the royal instrument, brought to the Crimea by Jaskólski and extant today in a copy; see Document 61.

<sup>187</sup> In the 16th century, the Ottoman agreements with Poland-Lithuania used to be confirmed with royal instruments, to which the Ottoman chancery referred to as *'ahdnames*, using the very same term that applied to the instruments issued by the sultans. On the contrary, in the 17th century the Porte no longer expected that the peace "granted" to infidels by the omnipotent padishah be confirmed by infidel rulers; if the former insisted on sending their instruments to Istanbul, they were no longer referred to as *'ahdnames*. Simultaneously, Ottoman instruments of peace sent to Warsaw, Venice, and other European capitals assumed the form of *nişans*—diplomas granted unilaterally by the sultan. On the term *nişanization*, coined by Hans Theunissen in reference to the development in Ottoman-Venetian relations, and adopted in the context of Ottoman-Polish relations, see Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 75–78.

The ongoing process of bilateralization is also evidenced by the procedure adopted in 1667, during the pacification at Pidhajci (Pol. Podhajce). After the Polish and Crimean commissioners had agreed on the peace conditions, they composed a single instrument in Polish, whose two copies were then corroborated and exchanged.<sup>188</sup> Only a few months later, in April 1668, Khan Adil Giray, who had not participated in the negotiations of 1667, formally confirmed the peace with his own instrument.<sup>189</sup> The document invoked the khan's solemn oath taken in the presence of two Polish officers, who had remained in the Crimea as residents (or rather hostages) since 1667. Nevertheless, both to the contemporaries and to a modern historian, the khan's instrument was of secondary importance since the mutually binding decisions had already been taken at Pidhajci.

The term *yarlıq* did not entirely disappear from the Crimean documents, although it gradually lost its original meaning of a document granted by a sovereign to a vassal or subject. In the second half of the 17th century, the term still appeared, especially in the introductory formula, in the letters sent to Warsaw, Stockholm, and Copenhagen. It can also be found, admittedly only in the introductory formula, in the instruments of peace sent by Murad Giray to Moscow in 1681 and 1682, which were otherwise referred to as *'ahdname* and *şartname*, respectively.<sup>190</sup>

In the context of the Crimean-Polish formal peacemaking, the term *yarlıq* resurfaced one more time in the instrument, sent to Poland in 1742 by Selamet II Giray. After the long war of 1683–1699, in which Poland-Lithuania was a member of the Holy League while the Tatars fought side by side with the Ottomans, the Treaty of Karlowitz abolished the “gifts,” formerly paid by the Polish kings to the khans, and severely prohibited any Tatar raids of their northern neighbors' territories, making the Porte responsible for the khan's behavior. Moreover, the Polish-Crimean border became shorter due to the Russian

<sup>188</sup> The instruments and procedure of the pacification of 1667 are separately discussed below.

<sup>189</sup> See Document 69. The instrument is preserved in a corrupt Polish translation so we do not know how it was originally referred to by the Crimean chancery; nevertheless, we may safely classify it as an *'ahdname*.

<sup>190</sup> On these two instruments, see also n. 192 below; their introductory formulas read *i'lam-i yarlıq-i şerif 'ibret-redif-i hani bu dur ki* and *i'lam-i yarlıq-i şerif-i hani bu dur ki*, respectively.

annexation of the lands on the lower Dnieper (Zaporozhia), stipulated by the treaties between Moscow and Warsaw, and Moscow and Istanbul, in 1686 and 1700, respectively. The Tatars did not even participate in the peace negotiations as their interests were represented by the Ottoman plenipotentiaries, sent to the Congress of Karlowitz. All this, paired with the diminishing sovereignty of Warsaw and Baghchasaray in regard to their powerful neighbors, resulted in the loosening of their direct political contacts in the 18th century. Nevertheless, mutual interest revived in the years of wars and political crises, most notably in the years 1709–1714, 1733–1742, and 1767–1772. It was after the conflict over the Polish throne (1733–1736), which resulted in an armed Russian intervention and evolved into a European war, and after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1736–1739, in which the Crimean Khanate suffered subsequent Russian invasions and the ruin of the khan's capital, when Augustus III decided to send missions not only to Istanbul, but to Baghchasaray as well. On his part, the ambitious khan Selamet II Giray did not limit himself to sending an ordinary “friendly letter” (*muhabbetname*) and paying the usual lip service to the Karlowitz Treaty “that should be observed by the two parties,” but issued a proper instrument of peace that turned out to be the last in the history of the Polish-Crimean relations.

The instrument, provided with the khan's *tuğra* and containing seven articles that were discussed with the Polish envoy, is reminiscent of an *'ahdname*, although it is not referred to by this term and does not contain any reference to the khan's oath. Nevertheless, it is structured like the instrument of peace, in fact more developed than the seventeenth-century Crimean *'ahdnames*. Even though its language is already fully Ottomanized, it is referred to by the term *yarlıq*, apparently to invoke the glorious Genghisid past.<sup>191</sup>

In conclusion, we can affirm that the common crucial element of the *şartname*, the oath-*yarlıq*, and the *'ahdname*, was the solemn oath of its issuer—the khan, the qalga, or even the nureddin, invoked in the document and sometimes quoted *in extenso*. Only two extant instruments, addressed to Polish-Lithuanian rulers, can be classified as oath-*yarlıqs*, namely the instruments of Sa'adet Giray (1527) and Ghazi Giray (1592b). Their common feature is their “expressiveness”

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<sup>191</sup> See Document 71.



and loosely organized structure, but it is hard to conclude whether this was the rule. The standard Tatar/Turkish term that applied to Crimean oath-instruments issued by the late 16th century was *şartname*. This term appears in the unique instrument, preserved in the Turkish (Khwarezmian Turkic) original: the *şartname* of Mehmed Giray from 1520. The common usage of the term *şartname* is best evidenced by the loanword *şertnaja gramota*, which entered the Russian chancery language.

In the late 16th century, the Crimean chancery gradually adopted the term *‘ahdname*, which was equivalent to *şartname* and apparently entered the Tatar political vocabulary under the Ottoman influence. In the 17th century, the new term was already commonly used in the Crimean instruments of peace sent to Poland-Lithuania. Interestingly, this was not the case in the Crimean relations with Muscovy: the term *şartname* still prevailed in the seventeenth-century instruments sent by the khans to Moscow, although the term *‘ahdname* was known as well.<sup>192</sup> This “terminological conservatism” apparently resulted from the fact that the terms *şert’* and *şertnaja gramota* had been domesticated in the Russian chancery language and the recipients would regard with suspicion any terminological innovations on the part of their Muslim partners. Vilnius and Cracow could accept the change easier because the term *şert’* had not entered their domestic vocabulary; besides, their chancery clerks were familiar with the term *‘ahdname* as it already appeared in the instruments of Sultan Suleyman, addressed to the Jagiellonian kings.

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<sup>192</sup> The examination of eight instruments, sent by the khans to the tsars in the years 1624, 1630, 1634, 1636, 1646, 1647, 1681, and 1682, whose Turkish texts are preserved in the original or in copies, leads to the following conclusion: the instruments of 1624, 1646, 1647, and 1682 are referred to within their texts as *şartnames*; the instrument from 1636 is referred to three times as a *şartname* and once as an *‘ahdname*, while the one from 1634 two times as a *şartname* and once as an *‘ahdname*; in the instrument from 1630 an equilibrium is reached: each term appears once and besides a hybrid term *şart-‘ahdname* appears twice (for instance: *bu şart-‘ahdname hattına altun mühürümüzni qoyduq*); solely the instrument from 1681 is uniquely referred to with the term *‘ahdname*, but admittedly this instrument was issued on behalf of the Porte in the confirmation of the Ottoman-Russian treaty of Baghchasaray; significantly, in his following instrument from 1682, addressed to the young tsars, Ivan and Peter, Murad Giray referred to his previous instrument, addressed to their late older brother, Fedor (i.e., the one from 1681), as a *şartname*. For these documents, see RGADA, f. 123, op. 2, nos. 36, 39, 41, 43, 52, 54a, 62, 64; their texts are published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskogo xanstva*, pp. 20–24, 48–51, 100–104, 150–155, 355–359, 383–393, 651–653 (erroneously under the *tuğra* of Qalga Tokhtamış Giray), and 689–691.

The sole exception from the aforementioned typology is the instrument of Selamet II Giray from 1742, the unique eighteenth-century document in the present collection. Referred to as *yarlıq*, it is rather reminiscent of an *'ahdname*, although it does not contain any reference to the khan's oath.

Solemn instruments of the Crimean khans, confirmed with their oaths and referred to as oath-*yarlıqs* or *şartnames/'ahdnames*, are known to have been dispatched only to the rulers of Lithuania, Poland, Muscovy, and—in one case—Transylvania.<sup>193</sup> The subordinate position of the khans in their relations with Istanbul apparently prevented them from sending *'ahdnames* to the sultans. In 1469, Mengli Giray still did not hesitate to call Mehmed II “my brother” (*qarındaşım*),<sup>194</sup> although he did not go as far as his Genghisid cousin, Ahmed, the khan of the Great Horde, who addressed Mehmed II as if the latter were his vassal as late as 881 A.H. (1476/1477).<sup>195</sup> Yet, after the Ottoman invasion of the Crimea and Mengli's temporary imprisonment, his position vis-à-vis the Porte became weaker, even though Selim I, who was Mengli's son-in-law, still addressed the old khan “my father” (*babam*). In the following years, especially after the violent death of the ambitious khan Mehmed Giray, the Porte gradually turned the khans into its vassals, using such tools as the institution of hostages (*rehin*),

<sup>193</sup> An overview of the instruments sent to Moscow in the years 1474–1684 can be found in Fedor Laškov, “Krymskija šertnyja gramoty XVI–XVII vv. xranjaščijasja v Moskovskom Glavnom Arxive Ministerstva Inostrannyx Del,” pp. 191–208; the earliest instruments from the years 1474–1531, or rather their contemporary Russian copies and translations, are published in Malinovskij, “Istoričeskoe sobranie,” pp. 267–419 (due to a typographic error in pagination p. 278 is followed by p. 379, so in fact the edition is shorter than it appears to be); the remaining instruments, again only in Russian copies and translations, are published in *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*.... Edited by F. Laškov (the instruments earlier published by Malinovskij are only registered there). The *'ahdname* of Ghazi II Giray, addressed in 1598 to the Transylvanian ruler and preserved in the original in Vienna, is published along with the German translation in Ivanics, “Der Bündnisplan zwischen dem Chan Gazi Giray II. und dem Fürsten Sigismund Báthory,” pp. 192 and 198.

<sup>194</sup> Mengli's letter, preserved in the Topkapı Archives, is published in facsimile and French translation in *Le khanat de Crimée*, pp. 41–44; due to the ancient Chinese-Mongolian practice of “honorific elevation,” the name of the sultan is lifted above the main text of the letter and entered below the invocation; the translators unnecessarily divided the address *qarındaşım Sultan Mehmed* into two parts: *au sultan Mehmed*, entered above the mainbody, and *à mon frère*, entered within the text. On the “honorific elevation,” used also in the Ottoman chancery, cf. Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, p. 12.

<sup>195</sup> Il'ja Zajcev, “Pis'mo xana Bol'soj ordy Axmada tureckomu sultanu Mexmedu II Fatixu 881 goda xidžry,” *Vostočnyj Arxiv* 2–3 (1999): 4–15, esp. p. 10.

recruited from among the Giray princes who were always eager to replace the ruling khan, stipends (*salyane* etc.) for the khan and his retinue members, Ottoman troops sent to assist, but also to control the khan, and the Porte's direct contacts with the khan's subjects, who were at times encouraged to rise against their ruler. The khans came to be officially confirmed (*tasdiq*) on their thrones by the Ottoman sultans, who sent them the symbols of investiture. Admittedly, the process of vassalization was impeded by the repeated efforts of subsequent khans to loosen Istanbul's patronage, and was not completed until the late 17th century.<sup>196</sup> Nevertheless, the relations between Istanbul and Baghchasaray were formally regulated by solemn diplomas (*berats*), by which the sultans appointed the khans and sometimes even the qalgas, rather than by *'ahdnames*.<sup>197</sup>

While the position of the Ottoman sultan was apparently too high to enable a mutual exchange of peace instruments between Istanbul and Baghchasaray, the status of Ottoman tributaries, the hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, was probably too low, at least in the Crimean eyes. The khans repeatedly endeavored to extend their influence to the Danubian principalities and discussed their status in direct negotiations with Istanbul and Warsaw, as is evidenced by the contents of the Crimean-Polish agreements published in the present volume. Never-

<sup>196</sup> For similar opinions, see *Le khanat de Crimée*, pp. 3–10; Alexandre Bennigsen and Chantal Lemerrier-Quelquej, "Le khanat de Crimée au début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. De la tradition mongole à la suzeraineté ottomane d'après un document inédit des Archives ottomanes," *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 13 (1972): 321–337, esp. pp. 326–328; İnalçık, "Yeni vesikalara göre Kırım hanlığının Osmanlı tâbiliğine girmesi ve ahidname meselesi," pp. 228–229.

<sup>197</sup> The texts of the *berats* or imperial letters (*name-i hümayun*) of appointment, granted by the Ottoman sultans to the khans Djanibek Giray (1628), Adil Giray (1666), Hadji Giray (1683), Selim Giray (1684), Ghazi III Giray (1704), Kaplan Giray (1707), and to the qalgas Devlet Giray (1628), Feth Giray (1641), Qırım Giray (1666), Devlet Giray (1684), and Sa'adet Giray (1708), are preserved in copies and have been studied by Rypka, "Briefwechsel der Hohen Pforte mit den Krimchanen im II. Bande von Feridüns Münšeât," pp. 263–264; Zdenka Veselá, "Les rapports de la Porte Sublime avec le Khanat de Crimée (1676–1686)," in: *Rapports, co-rapports, communications tchécoslovaques pour le V<sup>e</sup> Congrès de l'Association Internationale d'Études du Sud-Est Européen* (Prague, 1984): 207–220, esp. pp. 216–217; and recently by Sándor Papp, who compares them with similar instruments granted to the rulers of Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, Hungary, and the Cossack Ukraine; see his paper, "Das Krimkhanat und die Beiden Donaufürstentümer als Vasallen des Osmanischen Reiches im 17. Jahrhundert," read at the conference: "Das frühneuzeitliche Krimkhanat zwischen Orient und Okzident," held in Munich on 31 March–1 April 2008 (to be published soon). I wish to thank the author for letting me quote this article before publication.

theless, they are not known to have issued *'ahdnames* to the hospodars, even though at times they collected tribute from both Moldavia and Wallachia. The Transylvanian rulers, who were Ottoman vassals as well, typically received from the khans letters referred to as *yarlıqs*, with the sole exception of the *'ahdname*, obtained by Sigismund Báthory from Ghazi II Giray in 1598. The khan's decision to send an *'ahdname* to the Transylvanian ruler can be explained by the latter's semi-independent role as a political actor in the region. Nevertheless, the *'ahdname* addressed to Sigismund Báthory is much more simple in form and content than Ghazi II Giray's *şartnames*/*'ahdnames* addressed at the same time to Poland-Lithuania and Moscovy, and probably remains the sole instrument of this type in the history of the Crimean-Transylvanian relations.<sup>198</sup>

Other capitals were too distant for regular bilateral relations to evolve. By maintaining relations with Isfahan, the khans in addition risked being accused of favoring the Shiite "heresy" by the Porte, for whom any rapprochement of Baghchasaray with the Safavids was equal to treason.<sup>199</sup> The contacts between Baghchasaray and Vienna, evidenced for the years 1598–1682, were irregular and conditioned by their crossing interests in Transylvania and Poland rather than by a necessity to maintain direct political or commercial relations. In their correspondence with the Habsburg emperors, the khans resorted to the category of less formal "friendly letters" (*muhabbetnames*), while no *'ahdnames* are known to have been issued.<sup>200</sup> The same can be said

<sup>198</sup> I am very grateful to Mária Ivanics for all the information regarding the Crimean-Transylvanian correspondence; Prof. Ivanics is currently preparing an edition of the Crimean letters addressed to the Transylvanian rulers, preserved in the Romanian, Hungarian, and Austrian archives. On the tributary relations imposed on the Moldavian and Wallachian rulers by the Crimean khans, see Vasile Mihoarea, "Raporturile Moldovei și Țării Românești cu tătarii în secolele XVI–XVIII," *Revista de Istorie* 32 (1979): 1069–1095.

<sup>199</sup> Nevertheless, embassies were at times exchanged between the khans and the shahs; for such exchange in the years 1607–1608 between Ghazi II Giray and Shah Abbas, see Kortepeter, *Ottoman Imperialism*, p. 228.

<sup>200</sup> Ivanics, "Posol'stva krymskix tatar pri Venskom dvore v 1598–1682 gg.," p. 230. It is symptomatic that very few Crimean letters sent to the Habsburg Imperial court had been preserved in the original, as is evidenced by the nineteenth-century manuscript catalogue of the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, and even those few originals could not be found during the present author's visit in Vienna in March 2009.

of Baghchasaray's relations with Stockholm,<sup>201</sup> or even more accidental contacts with Copenhagen and Berlin.<sup>202</sup>

To be sure, only few of the letters, sent by the Crimean rulers to Moscow, Vilnius, and Cracow (and then Warsaw) can be described as *şart-* or *'ahdnames*. Most of them were less formal ordinary letters, in the 17th century referred to as *muhabbetnames*. The division in contents between an *'ahdname* and a *muhabbetname* was not always sharp as both could refer to everyday matters and complaints, but also both could contain the khan's promise (though not a formal oath that was typically contained in an *'ahdname*) to keep the peace. Predictably, this leads to scholarly misunderstandings. For instance, Bohdan Baranowski refers to the letters of Mehmed IV Giray and his qalga, Feth Giray, sent in 1642 to Poland, as "oath-letters" (Pol. *listy przymierne*), while in fact they are both referred to within their texts as *muhabbetnames*. Again, the same scholar refers to Islam III Giray's document from April 1654 as an "oath-letter," while in reality it took almost another year until the meticulous procedure, initiated by Jaskólski's embassy in April 1654, resulted in the granting of an *'ahdname* by Islam III Giray's successor in November 1654.<sup>203</sup>

If a scholar, specializing in the Tatar history, can be entrapped by the nuances of the Crimean diplomatics, one should not expect more from the archival staff, especially in the countries where Crimean documents are an unusual rarity. In the Danish State Archives two *muhabbetnames*, sent by Adil Giray and Selim Giray to the kings Frederick III and Christian V, respectively, can be found today in the section named Traktater Tyrkijet.<sup>204</sup>

<sup>201</sup> On the history of Swedish-Crimean relations and the Crimean documents held in the Riksarkivet in Stockholm, see Zetterstéen, *Türkische, tatarische und persische Urkunden im Schwedischen Reichsarchiv*, pp. 78–128; Święcicka, "The Diplomatic Letters by Crimean Keräy Ladies to the Swedish Royal House," pp. 57–90.

<sup>202</sup> The khans' letters addressed to the Danish court in the 17th century are typically referred to as *muhabbetnames*, and sometimes also as *yarliqs* in the introductory formula; cf. Matuz, *Krimitatarische Urkunden im Reichsarchiv zu Kopenhagen*, p. 60; formal diplomatic relations with Copenhagen and Berlin were initiated by Baghchasaray in the years of the Crimean engagement in the Swedish-Polish war of 1655–1660; cf. *idem*, "Les relations étrangères du Khanat de Crimée (XV<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)," *Revue d'histoire diplomatique* 102 (1988): 233–249, esp. pp. 243–244. When in 1656 Mehmed IV Giray resolved to write to Frederick William, he asked a Polish envoy then present at his court to help compose the letter in Latin; see Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu w dawnej Polsce*, p. 128.

<sup>203</sup> On the letters from 1642 and 1654, cf. notes 441 and 473 in Part I.

<sup>204</sup> Copenhagen, Rigsarkivet, Traktater Tyrkijet, nos. 1–2.

*The oath formulas of the Crimean rulers and envoys  
and the written instruments of the envoys*

Apart from the oaths invoked or quoted *in extenso* in instruments of peace, the texts of the oaths, pronounced orally, were sometimes recorded separately. In 1513, after Mengli Giray had pronounced his oath in the presence of Lithuanian and Polish envoys, the text of his oath was recorded, brought to Vilnius and entered into the Lithuanian Register books.<sup>205</sup> Besides, Lithuanian and Polish chancery clerks recorded the oaths formulas, pronounced by Crimean envoys during their solemn audiences at the royal court.

In 1480, a solemn oath was pronounced in Vilnius by a Crimean envoy Hadji Baba, who swore to keep peace on behalf of his lord, Mengli Giray, the latter's younger brother and qalga, Yaghmurcha, as well as other Crimean dignitaries, including the powerful bey of the Shirin clan, Eminek.<sup>206</sup> In 1506, a similar oath was taken in Mielnik by the next Crimean envoy, Tevkel Ulan, who also promised that Mengli Giray would assist King Sigismund against Muscovy. The reference to the khan as the ruler of "the two hordes: the Trans-Volgine [i.e., the Great Horde] and of Perekop [i.e., the Crimean Horde]," contained in Tevkel's oath, reflected an effort to legitimize Mengli's claim to the entire heritage of the Golden Horde after his recent victory over Sheikh Ahmed.<sup>207</sup>

The next oath, recorded in the Lithuanian Register books, was taken in 1522 in Hrodna by Evliya Mirza, a prominent member of the Shirin clan, on behalf of Khan Mehmed Giray.<sup>208</sup> In 1535, another prominent Crimean noble, Devey Mirza from the Manghit clan, took an oath in Vilnius on behalf of Khan Sahib Giray. On Sigismund's request, the oath provided that also his son, the young king Sigismund Augustus, would be comprised in the future peace.<sup>209</sup>

Two instruments resulted from the embassy of Ali Hadji, a courtier (*içki bek*) of Khan Sahib Giray, who traveled to Poland and Lithuania in 1541. Having arrived at Cracow, Ali Hadji negotiated with the royal lords councilors a preliminary agreement that consisted of thirteen

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<sup>205</sup> See Document 13.

<sup>206</sup> See Document 5.

<sup>207</sup> See Document 7.

<sup>208</sup> See Document 21.

<sup>209</sup> See Document 25.

clauses: it reconfirmed the “granting” of lands to Lithuania according to the “donation *yarliqs*” of the previous khans and referred to such standard matters as the alliance against Muscovy, the regulation of embassies and trade, and the timely delivery of the royal gifts due each year to the khan. The Crimean envoy corroborated the instrument with an oath, taken on his behalf and on behalf of the khan, and promised that Sahib Giray would send a letter of agreement (*dokončan’e*, i.e., *şartname*) that would be “in accord with this draft [Ruth. *spysok*], but written more broadly, as the other letters of agreement [used to be written].”<sup>210</sup> Having finished his negotiations in Cracow, Ali Hadji then continued his travel to Vilnius, where King Sigismund stayed between May 1540 and May 1542. There, the Crimean envoy took another oath in the royal presence. His second oath was worded similarly to the one taken by Devey in 1535, but it contained a specific reference to the agreement negotiated in Cracow and an additional stipulation that Anikij Hornostaj, the royal envoy who was to accompany Ali Hadji on his way back to the Crimea, would not be detained there by the khan. Like his predecessor, Ali Hadji engaged that also the young king, Sigismund Augustus, would be comprised in the future peace.<sup>211</sup>

In 1599, a Crimean envoy, Djan Temir Agha, brought the khan’s instrument to the royal court. As the royal side was not satisfied with its contents, the envoy was made to issue a written guarantee in which he assured that the khan would issue an “amended” version in accordance with the royal request. The envoy’s instrument, written in his own hand, was corroborated with his seal.<sup>212</sup> Unfortunately, it is extant today only in contemporary Polish translation.

The next preliminary agreement, which was to be confirmed by a formal *ahdname* issued by the khan, was negotiated in 1654 by a Crimean envoy, Süleyman Agha, with King John Casimir and the dignitaries assembled for the Diet that was held in Warsaw. The nego-

<sup>210</sup> *maet’ vodluh toho spysku dokončan’e svoe do Eho Mylosty pryslaty, leč šyrej dokončan’e maet’ byty vypysano po tomu, jako y ynšye dokončan’ja*; see Document 29. Although the instrument was negotiated in Poland during the absence of the king, who was then in Lithuania, it was registered in the Lithuanian Register books.

<sup>211</sup> See Document 30.

<sup>212</sup> *Do którego listu mego własnymi rękami memi pisanego dla lepszej pewności pieczęci swe rękami swemi przycisnąłem* (“In order to render my present letter, written with my own hands, more trustworthy, I have impressed my seals with my hands”); it is not clear whether the envoy used one or more seals, as is literally stated in the text; see Document 38.

tiations resulted in an anti-Muscovian alliance, whose clauses were entered in an instrument, prepared in Polish by the royal chancery and corroborated by the king.<sup>213</sup> Apart from corroborating the document, John Casimir took a solemn oath to observe its contents, and analogous oaths were taken by the Polish chancellor and other dignitaries. In reciprocity, also Süleyman confirmed the agreement with his oath. While the texts of the oaths taken by the king and Polish dignitaries are extant today,<sup>214</sup> the text of Süleyman's oath, taken in the Royal Castle, has not been preserved, although the ceremony is well evidenced in Polish sources.<sup>215</sup>

The following oath of a Crimean envoy, preserved and recorded *in extenso*, origins from September 1666. It was taken in the Royal Castle in Warsaw by Dedesh Agha, an experienced Crimean diplomat who had frequently visited Poland before. On behalf of the new khan, Adil Giray, Dedesh swore to maintain the peace and alliance with King John Casimir and the Commonwealth.<sup>216</sup>

Finally, during the pacification at Pidhajci in October 1667, apart from composing peace instruments corroborated with their seals, the plenipotentiaries of the two sides also pronounced oaths, whose texts have been preserved. The oath of the Crimean plenipotentiaries, taken in the presence of Hetman Jan Sobieski, was recorded in Polish, although it is likely that in the original it was pronounced in Tatar. In March 1668, Sobieski submitted its written text, authenticated by his own signature, at the Senate meeting in Warsaw and it is today extant in the Polish archives.<sup>217</sup>

The oaths, by which Crimean diplomats corroborated preliminary agreements that were due to be confirmed by the khans' solemn instruments, are also well evidenced in the Crimean-Muscovian diplomatic practice. Several instruments, negotiated and sworn upon by Crimean envoys or plenipotentiaries, are today extant in the original in the Russian archives. For instance, in 1670 two Crimean envoys, Sefer Agha and Shahtemir Atalıq, negotiated and issued in Moscow an instrument of peace on behalf of the khan. It is composed in the Tatar language

<sup>213</sup> See Document 61; it is discussed below among the Polish-Lithuanian instruments.

<sup>214</sup> See Documents 62 and 63; they are also discussed below among the Polish-Lithuanian instruments.

<sup>215</sup> Cf. n. 698 below.

<sup>216</sup> See Document 65.

<sup>217</sup> See Document 67.



and referred to by the term *zapis* (زاپس), a loanword from Russian, whose meaning was “draft.” The instrument consists of seven sheets of paper, folded and sewn together, thereby making 28 pages, of which 19 are filled with writing in black ink. Of the ten folios, filled with the writing, nine (apart from the first one) are stamped with the seals of the two Crimean envoys, and the last folio is in addition corroborated with the same seals impressed in red wax.<sup>218</sup> The last folio contains the oath of the envoys, recorded at the instrument’s bottom, and ends with the words: “we have sworn on the Koran” (*Quran üstünde şart qılduq*). Interestingly, the document is dated according to the Byzantine era: “in Moscow, the castle of the great khan [i.e., tsar], on the 27th day of the month of April, in the year [7]178 [i.e., 7 May 1670]” (*han-i a‘zamın qal‘esi Mosqovda tarih-i yüz yetmiş sekizinci yılda Abril ayının yigirmi yedinci gününde*). It also contains a lengthy margin inscription made by a Tatar scribe named Abdullah, who thus corroborated the instrument with his handwriting on the order of the khan’s envoys.<sup>219</sup>

In October 1682, Veli-shah Bey from the Sulesh-oghlu clan,<sup>220</sup> who was made responsible for securing the exchange of embassies (Rus. *rozmen*) and escorting the Russian envoys sent to deliver the tsar’s gifts to the khan, issued a sworn instrument at the border meeting place named Perevolochnaja. The instrument, preserved in the original in Tatar, is referred to within its text as both *şartname* and *temessük*.<sup>221</sup> In its contemporary Russian translation both terms are rendered as *şertnaja zapis*’ (“oath-draft”). The Tatar instrument, again dated according to the Byzantine calendar (2 October 7191, i.e., 12 October 1682), is corroborated on the reverse side with a number of seals<sup>222</sup> and

<sup>218</sup> The inscriptions engraved on the seals read *bende-i Hüda Sefer Ağa bin Mehmed 1080* (“God’s servant, Sefer Agha, son of Mehmed, [in the year] 1080 [A.H.]”), and *bende-i Hüda Şah-temir Atalıq bin ‘Osman 1080*, respectively.

<sup>219</sup> See RGADA, f. 123, op. 2, no. 59; published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, pp. 584–592; its Russian translation is published in *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*.... Edited by F. Laškov, pp. 163–169. On the political contents of this instrument, referring also to Poland, see Part I.

<sup>220</sup> On the Sulesh-oghlu (*Suleševy* in the Russian sources) and their traditionally prominent role in the Crimean-Muscovian negotiations, cf. n. 167 in Part I.

<sup>221</sup> The term *temessük* referred to preliminary drafts also in the Ottoman chancery; even the instrument of the Karlowitz Treaty, issued by Ottoman commissioners, is referred to as a *temessük* because its clauses still had to be confirmed by the sultan; cf. Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 47–56.

<sup>222</sup> Today, only five seals are extant while the nineteenth-century edition of Vel’jaminov-Zernov and Faizxanov lists as many as nine seals, including the one of Veli-shah Bey that is today missing (*Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, p. 701);

the handwriting of a certain 'Ayvaz Mirza, who thus authenticated it "on behalf of those *mirzas*, who do not know the script" (*hatt bilmegen mirzalar içün*).<sup>223</sup>

Still more interesting instruments were issued by Veli-shah Bey and his two companions, Qutlu-shah and Dervish Mirza, during the next Crimean-Russian exchange of embassies (*rozmen*) that took place at Perevoločnaja in October 1683. Then, three instruments were issued in their name that were composed in Russian, each one stamped with their three seals. A corroborative note in Russian entered in the first instrument states: "they gave this writing in the presence of Timofej Protopopov" (*pered Timofeem Protopopovym se pismo dali*), referring to a Russian embassy member ranked as a *diak*, who was present at the exchange. A parallel corroborative note in Tatar confirms that "the bey [and] the *mirzas* inserted their seals" (*biy mirzalar mühürleri saldılar*). All the three instruments are written on long and narrow thin pieces of paper, which glued together once formed huge rolls (Rus. *stolbec*, lit. "column"), stored in the Muscovian archives. Today these pieces of paper are separated again, but they once formed three long documents, consisting of seven, six, and three pieces, respectively. The longest instrument once measured 236 x 17 cm, the middle one 196 x 15.5 cm, and the shortest one 83 x 16.5 cm. The author of all the notes in the Arabic script was a scribe named Abdulghaffar, who authenticated the instruments with his own handwriting. Interestingly, he adopted the Muscovian chancery practice, according to which long documents, consisting of several pieces of paper, were corroborated on their reverse by *diaks*, who marked the places where these pieces were glued together with their handwriting. One such note on the second instrument states accordingly: "[I], the scribe Abdulghaffar, have placed my hand" (*yazıcı 'Abdulğaffar qolum qoydım*).<sup>224</sup>

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apparently the upper part of the instrument, containing four seals, has been torn off and lost.

<sup>223</sup> See RGADA, f. 123, op. 2, no. 65; published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, pp. 696–701; its Russian translation is published in *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*... Edited by F. Laškov, pp. 187–192.

<sup>224</sup> See RGADA, f. 123, op. 2, nos. 66–68; since these documents are in Russian, they are not published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*; their Russian texts are published in *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*... Edited by F. Laškov, pp. 192–198, but all the Arabic-script entries are omitted. Whether or not some of the Crimean envoys might have been illiterate (see above), the practice of signing documents by scribes only was probably borrowed from the Muscovian chancery, where only one clerk (i.e., *diak*) authenticated a document with his handwriting (cf. the bureaucratic

The comparison with the rich material preserved in Moscow proves that the Crimean envoys and plenipotentiaries, appointed to negotiate with the Russian or Polish-Lithuanian authorities, were not limited to giving oral oaths on behalf of the khans, but also issued written instruments, corroborated with their seals and/or handwriting and sworn upon in the presence of the dignitaries of the opposite side. The written preliminary instruments negotiated and sworn upon by the Crimean envoys in Poland in 1541 and 1599 were probably not the only ones, though only they are preserved, and only in copies. The Ruthenian term *spysok*, used in 1541, was analogous to the Russian terms *zapis*’ or *šertnaja zapis*’, used in the following century. All these terms, along with their Tatar equivalents: *temessük*, *zapis*, and *šartname* (the universal meaning of the latter term was discussed earlier), referred to a common category of instruments, issued by Crimean envoys.

#### *Other instruments*

What remains to be discussed are the instruments that do not fit any of the categories proposed above. At the outset, it must be explained why two instruments have not been included, namely the instruments issued in 1595 at Țuțora (Pol. Cecora), and in 1676 at Žuravno (Pol. Żurawno). They were corroborated by the khans, sent to Poland, and they certainly must be classified as international treaties.

In 1595, a pending military conflict between the Polish and the Ottoman-Crimean troops, assembled on the Moldavian plain on the Prut river, was evaded thanks to timely negotiations, which resulted in a compromise. Its mutually accepted clauses were recorded in two instruments, exchanged on 22 October. The Polish instrument, composed in Polish, was corroborated by Jan Zamoyski, the grand hetman and chancellor, his deputy Stanisław Żółkiewski, the field hetman, and two other prominent nobles: Jan Stanisław Gólski,<sup>225</sup> the castellan of Halicz and the *starosta* of Bar, and Jan Tomasz Drohojowski,

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formula: *ruku dat*’, Rus. “to give one’s hand”), whereas higher dignitaries (e.g., boyars) corroborated it merely with their seals; cf. Juzefovič, *Put’ posla*, p. 274.

<sup>225</sup> Gólski signed his documents alternatively as Jan or Stanisław which sometimes causes scholarly confusion; cf. his biography by Kazimierz Lepszy in *PSB*, vol. 8 (Wrocław etc., 1959–1960), pp. 230–231, where only his second name is given. He is referred to with the two names in Adam Boniecki, *Herbarz polski*, pt. I, vol. 6 (Warsaw, 1908), p. 194.

the Crown referendary and the *starosta* of Przemyśl. The instrument of the Muslim side was composed—to quote a contemporary Polish relation—“in Ruthenian [i.e., Cyrillic] letters in Serbian” (*ruskimi literami po serbsku*). Unfortunately, today it is preserved only in a Latin-script copy, whose language does not resemble Serbian, being in fact broken Ruthenian with some Polish and very few Southern Slavic elements.<sup>226</sup>

While the leadership of Zamoyski in the Polish troops was undisputable, the hierarchy in the Muslim camp was less obvious. The Muslim troops consisted of an Ottoman contingent, commanded by Ahmed Bey, the *sandjakbey* of Bender and Kilia and the would-be Ottoman governor of Moldavia, and of a Crimean contingent, led in person by Khan Ghazi II Giray and his brother, Qalga Feth Giray. Although the khan was a vassal of the Ottoman sultan, he—as well as his brother—had the Genghisid blood in his veins and stood higher in hierarchy than an Ottoman bey. In the 16th century, the khans still considered themselves equal only to Ottoman sultans and looked down even at Ottoman grand viziers.<sup>227</sup> The Porte, which needed the khan’s military support at the outset of its war with the Habsburgs, could not jeopardize the Muslim unity by secondary issues of prestige. Consequently, in the instruments issued at Țuțora the names of the khan and the qalga precede the name of the Ottoman official. Nevertheless, it is clearly stated that the khan acted on behalf of the Ottoman sultan, being charged and entrusted by the latter to settle the Moldavian crisis. Therefore, the instrument of 1595 should be regarded rather as an Ottoman one, even though it was issued by the Crimean khan, perhaps even by his chancery clerks. To be sure, the pacification at Țuțora was often invoked in subsequent documents exchanged between the khans

<sup>226</sup> See Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, p. 52; published in *ibidem*, pp. 298–299. I wish to thank Andrij Danylenko for the linguistic consultation of this document.

<sup>227</sup> A century later, in 1681, the Ottoman grand vizier, Kara Mustafa Pasha, dared to address Khan Murad Giray “our brother” (*karındaşımız*). According to Halil İnalcık, even that late such familiarity must have been resented by the proud Genghisid ruler and contributed towards the well known antagonism, whose results could be seen during the campaign of 1683; see *idem*, “Power Relationships between Russia, the Crimea, and the Ottoman Empire as Reflected in Titulature,” in: *idem*, *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire. Essays in Economy and Society* (Bloomington, 1993): 369–411, esp. p. 385 [the article was originally published in: *Passé Turco-Tatar présent soviétique. Études offertes à Alexandre Bennigsen*. Edited by Ch. Lemerquier-Quelquejay, G. Veinstein, S. E. Wimbusch (Louvain-Paris, 1986): 175–211].

and the kings and played an important role not only in Warsaw's relations with Istanbul, but also in those with Baghchasaray.

An analogous event occurred in 1676, when a pacification was reached near Žuravno (Pol. Żurawno) between the Polish-Lithuanian army, commanded by King John III Sobieski, and the Ottoman-Crimean army, commanded in liaison by an Ottoman *serasker*, Sheytan Ibrahim Pasha, and Khan Selim Giray. Although the Ottoman instrument of peace invoked the khan's name at the prominent first place in its *narratio*, the document was corroborated only by the monogram (*pençe*) and seal of Ibrahim Pasha.<sup>228</sup>

In fact, a situation when the khan issued an instrument of peace on behalf of the Ottoman sultan was by no means unusual. Long before Istanbul and Moscow began to directly negotiate peace agreements, the Porte had entrusted its northeastern policy to the khans, while the direct correspondence between the sultans and the tsars had been irregular and limited to trade issues and ceremonial matters. Even when the first Ottoman-Russian treaty was negotiated in the years 1680–1681, the negotiations took place in Baghchasaray and the khan acted as a mediator. The treaty conditions were first confirmed by a solemn instrument, issued by Khan Murad Giray in January 1681,<sup>229</sup> then, a month later, by an instrument of the Ottoman grand vizier,<sup>230</sup> and finally, after some hesitations that lasted over a year, by an '*ahdname*' of Sultan Mehmed IV.<sup>231</sup>

<sup>228</sup> Published in Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 520–527.

<sup>229</sup> See the '*ahdname*' of Murad Giray, dated 3 January 1091 A.H. (i.e., 13 January 1681); RGADA, f. 123, op. 2, no. 62; published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, pp. 651–653. Although composed in January, the document was sealed and given to the Russian envoys only on 4/14 March 1681, after the official confirmation of its conditions came from the Porte; see "Spisok s statejnago spiska Velikago Gosudarja Ego Carskago Veličestva poslannikov: stol'nika i polkovnika i namestnika perejaslavskogo Vasil'ja Mixajlova syna Tjapkina, d'jaka Nikity Zotova." Edited by N. Murzakevič, in: *Zapiski Odesskago obščestva istorii i drevnostej*, vol. 2, otdelenie vtoroe i tretie (1850): 568–658, esp. p. 638.

<sup>230</sup> See the *temessük* of Kara Mustafa Pasha, dated 22 Muharrem 1092 A.H. (11 February 1681); RGADA, f. 89, op. 3, no. 2 (another copy is held along with Murad Giray's instrument in RGADA, f. 123, op. 2, no. 62); published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, pp. 660–662; its Russian translation is published in *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*.... Edited by F. Laškov, pp. 178–180.

<sup>231</sup> See the '*ahdname*' of Mehmed IV, dated in the third decade of Rebi II 1093 A.H. (29 April–7 May 1682); RGADA, f. 89, op. 3, no. 3; another copy was published in: Feridun Bey, *Münşe'atü's-Selatin*, vol. 2, pp. 396–399. On the difficulties with obtaining an '*ahdname*' directly from the sultan, and not merely from the khan, faced by the

A document that stands alone for a whole category is the Tatar instrument issued on 16 October 1667, in result of the Polish-Crimean negotiations at Pidhajci. Three seventeenth-century peace agreements, which terminated the major confrontations between the Polish and Crimean troops, figure prominently in the Polish history textbooks, namely the treaties of Zborów (1649), Żwaniec (1653), and Podhajce (1667). Unlike in the years 1595, 1621, 1672, and 1676, when the Tatars acted as Ottoman allies, in the campaigns mentioned above they fought and negotiated on their own. To be sure, each time they were assisted by the Cossacks who had rebelled against the Commonwealth—led by Bohdan Xmel’nyč’kyj in 1649 and 1653, and by Petro Dorošenko in 1667. Yet, the Tatars did not treat the Cossacks as their peers and patronized them, especially when they no longer needed their military assistance. In result, although in all the three cases pacifications resulted from military confrontations between three parties: the Commonwealth, the Crimean Khanate, and the Cossacks, the Cossack hetmans were not admitted as equals to the negotiations and barely concealed the feeling of being deceived.

The patronizing attitude of the Tatar elites towards the Cossacks resulted from religious as well as social reasons. The Crimean chronicler, Hadji Mehmed Senai, acquitted the heavy losses of the Cossack troops (then the Tatar allies) during the siege of the Polish garrison of Zbaraż (1649) by a Persian verse:

ز هر طرف که شود کشته سود اسلا مست

(“from whichever side [a man] is killed, it is to the profit of Islam”)<sup>232</sup>

A telling statement is also contained in a letter by Islam III Giray, sent to John Casimir on the eve of the negotiations that resulted in the agreement of 1653: “I am the lord and monarch of the great Crimean hordes, and Your Royal Majesty is also the mighty lord and monarch of these lands [here]. Almighty God sees that I do not wish Your Royal Majesty anything wrong, [especially as you are] in such dire straits, because I ought to respect you, as one monarch should [respect] another monarch.”<sup>233</sup> Notwithstanding political exigencies,

Russian diplomacy, see Nikolaj Smirnov, *Rossija i Turcija v XVI–XVII vv.* (Moscow, 1946), vol. 2, pp. 165–168.

<sup>232</sup> Senai, *Historia chana Islam Gereja III*, pp. ۴۴ (original) and 122 (Polish translation: “z którejkolwiek strony trup padnie, pożytek odnosi islam”).

<sup>233</sup> AGAD, Dz. tat., k. 62, t. 19, no. 350.

on the social level the khans certainly preferred to familiarize with the kings than with the Cossacks, presented in the Polish propaganda as rebellious serfs. Similarly, the Crimean *mirzas*, who often formed formal brotherhood ties (Pol. *pobratymstwo*) with the Polish nobles, are not known to have entered similar ties with the Cossacks. A somewhat indifferent attitude of both the Tatar and Polish nobles towards the Ukrainian Orthodox “natives” is perhaps best reflected by the tacit consent of the Polish negotiators, repeated in the years 1649, 1653, and 1667, allowing the Tatars to drive home the enslaved Ruthenian peasants. To be sure, in all the above cases the military situation of the Polish troops was desperate, so not much could have been done to prevent this anyway. The clause was never entered in official peace instruments as it was deeply humiliating for the prestige of the Polish king, and economically ruining for both the Crown treasury and the local nobles. Yet, in the same period, Polish diplomats are known to have fought much more fervently to secure the freedom of the captured Catholic nobles and soldiers.

As it has been argued above, the Polish-Crimean treaties of 1649, 1653, and 1667 were concluded in similar circumstances. Yet, the instruments that resulted from the negotiations are different. In 1649, both monarchs were present in the opposite camps, so the clauses, negotiated between the Polish chancellor, Jerzy Ossoliński, and the Crimean vizier, Sefer Ghazi Agha, were entered in separate instruments, issued and corroborated by Islam III Giray (in Turkish) and John Casimir (in Polish). Especially the khan’s instrument, provided with a *tuğra*, is reminiscent of a unilaterally granted *‘ahdname*, in spite of the fact that it resulted from bilateral negotiations.

In 1653, John Casimir and Islam III Giray were again present in opposing camps. They appointed to the negotiations such prominent personages as the Crimean vizier, Sefer Ghazi Agha, and on the Polish side Chancellor Stefan Koryciński, Grand Marshal Jerzy Lubomirski, and the future field hetman, Stanisław Lanckoroński. Yet, both sides resolved not to draw any written documents, so the commissioners merely confirmed the former treaty of 1649 by oral engagements. In result, no instrument of the treaty of 1653 has ever existed.

Finally, in 1667 the Polish and Crimean armies were commanded by Jan Sobieski, the field hetman and future king, and Qırım Giray, the khan’s brother and qalga. Neither King John Casimir nor Khan Adil Giray participated in the campaign. It could be thus expected that the instruments of agreement would be issued by the hetman and the

qalga. It so happened, indeed, yet the Tatar instrument is not reminiscent of the instruments issued by the past qalgas, which had been provided with sumptuous *tugras* and solemn invocations.<sup>234</sup> Instead, both sides negotiated a single common instrument, composed in Polish, whose two copies were then corroborated with seals and exchanged. The copy, provided with the seals of the Polish plenipotentiaries, was given to the qalga, while another copy (also in Polish), provided with the seals of the Crimean plenipotentiaries, was given to the hetman. Furthermore, the agreement was confirmed with oral oaths, pronounced by the plenipotentiaries of the two sides. It is worth noting that both the Polish and the Crimean instruments were corroborated and sworn upon not merely by the two commanders, but collectively by a number of dignitaries and nobles present in the two camps. Apart from the qalga, the Crimean instrument is sealed by two other Giray princes, the leader of the Shirin clan, one agha, one bey, and four *mirzas*, including a member of the powerful Mansur (i.e., Manghit) clan. The seal of the Shirin leader—Mengli Giray, whose given name already invoked the clan's affiliations with the ruling dynasty—is especially interesting, since its form and inscription disclose his unabashed political ambitions.<sup>235</sup> This fact seems to fairly reflect the political culture then prevalent among the Polish and Crimean nobilities. Even though the nobles accepted the predominance of the monarchs in the political systems of the Commonwealth and the Khanate, they jealously guarded their rights of political participation, especially if the monarch was absent and replaced by a representative, be it a hetman or a qalga.

The last Crimean instrument, included in the present collection, is the one issued by Selim Giray at Žvanec' on 23 October 1672. Its dating and place of issue are not accidental: on the same day and in the same place, the Ottoman sultan Mehmed IV crowned his victorious campaign against Poland-Lithuania by issuing a solemn *'ahdname*. Although the Tatars participated in the campaign, no separate agreement was negotiated between Warsaw and Baghchasaray and the khan had to satisfy himself with the respective clause of the Ottoman *'ahdname*, which confirmed his right to the customary royal gifts.

<sup>234</sup> In 1640, Qalga Islam Giray even issued his own *'ahdname* and sent to Poland along with the *'ahdname* of his brother, Khan Bahadır Giray; cf. Document 57.

<sup>235</sup> See Document 66, esp. n. 13.



Nevertheless, the Polish commissioners sent to the Ottoman camp had offered Selim Giray a supplement of the yearly gift, counting on his mediation and aiming to prevent future Tatar raids. In return, they demanded a written guarantee. Such a document, composed in Polish and provided with the khan's seal, but without his *tuğra*, was issued accordingly and is extant in the Polish archives. In fact, it can hardly be regarded as a treaty instrument. In spite of the khan's sumptuous *intitulatio*, it reflects the diminishing position of the Crimean Khanate on the political map of Eastern Europe in the last decades of the 17th century.<sup>236</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> See Document 70.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### THE DIPLOMATIC SECTIONS AND A PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE CRIMEAN INSTRUMENTS

##### *Invocatio*

Medieval and early modern rulers, both Christian and Muslim, typically commenced their documents with religious formulas. The Genghisid rulers, who adopted Islam, also began to employ such formulas, although pre-Islamic Mongolian documents did not contain an *invocatio*. According to Grigor'ev, after their conversion to Islam, the khans still did not enter religious formulas in their documents issued in other scripts than Arabic as it was believed that only the Arabic script and language were fitting to praise God.<sup>237</sup> This usage calls to mind a similar practice known from the Ottoman chancery, which issued documents in Italian, Latin, and other "infidel" languages, but did not provide them with religious formulas that appeared only in the Ottoman documents drawn in Arabic script.<sup>238</sup>

Although generally correct, Grigor'ev's hypothesis does not apply to all the extant cases. For instance, Mengli Giray's document from 1514, preserved in the Italian original, contains an *invocatio*. Moreover, at least some documents, preserved today in Ruthenian copies, were also originally composed in Ruthenian, and yet they contain invocations to God and Prophet Muhammad. Interestingly, such formulas are regularly missing from the documents addressed to Moscow that are today preserved in Russian translations. Apparently they were consciously omitted by the Muscovian chancery clerks who translated or copied the now lost originals.<sup>239</sup> The thesis proposed by Usmanov, according to which the *invocatio* was consciously ignored by Sahib Giray, cannot be supported by the present study as the two *yarlıqs* of this khan addressed to King Sigismund contain invocations.<sup>240</sup>

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<sup>237</sup> Grigor'ev, *Mongol'ska diplomatika XIII–XV vv.* (Leningrad, 1978), p. 16.

<sup>238</sup> Cf. Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, p. 8.

<sup>239</sup> Cf. Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, pp. 185–186.

<sup>240</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, p. 185, and Documents 28 and 31, whose invocations recorded in contemporary Polish translations are quoted below.

The invocations entered in the Crimean instruments sent to Poland-Lithuania were as follows:

- 1480 *Во имя Божье*  
 (“In the name of God”)
- 1507 (*yarlıq*) *Починаю, Господи, в Твое имя!*  
 (“I commence, oh Lord, in Your name!”)
- 1513 (December) *Починаем, [Господи], въ Твое имя, который  
 жо щасте даетъ и жалзеть, Онъ есть, ино  
 братство наше в правдѣ твердо держати  
 и слово свое в правде мети, без кождого  
 хитланъства сполнати со всим чистым  
 сердцем!*  
 (“We commence in Your name, [oh God,] He who  
 exists, who gives and grants felicity, and [we prom-  
 ise] to keep our brotherhood firmly and in truth,  
 and treat our word sincerely, and fulfill it without  
 any fraud and with an entirely pure heart!”)<sup>241</sup>
- 1514 (June) *Почал есми в божѣ имя, што счастье роздае  
 и жалуетъ тых, которые братство верне  
 держатъ, и правдѣ и слово свое полнят безо  
 лести и безъ хитрости, с чистого сердца!*  
 (“I have commenced in the name of God, who  
 gives and grants felicity to those who faithfully  
 keep brotherhood, and who fulfill their oath and  
 word without any deceit or fraud and with a pure  
 heart!”)
- 1514 (October) [1] *Починаемъ великого Бога именемъ! Онъ  
 поживене даетъ и жалзеть! Нѣтъ инъшого  
 бога нежли ѿдинъ Богъ, а Мухамъметъ посол  
 его!*  
 (“We commence in the name of the great God! He  
 gives and grants nourishment! There is no god but  
 the only God, and Muhammad is His prophet!”)

<sup>241</sup> The original tenor of the Tatar document must have been slightly changed by the translator; the document from the following year, preserved in the original in Italian, begins with the invocation: “We commence in the name of God, who gives felicity [...] to those who [...] keep brotherhood [...] and observe [their] word;” cf. Document 16.

- [2] *На божѣ имѧ!*  
 (“In the name of God!”)
- 1514 (November) *Al nome de Dio incomenciamo, lo quale da felicitate et ogni bene ac quelli chi ben se adoprano, et chi con verace et fedelmente la fraternita e ll'amicicia coltevano, et la parola de la veritate fermamente sencza dolo et sencza fraude observano.*
- 1517 *Божѣимъ именемъ починаемъ, которыи щасте дает и милость тым, которыи братскую приязнь правдиве держать и слово свое правдивое сполняют без вбмылы, съ чистого серъца своего.*  
 (“We commence in the name of God, who gives felicity and love to those who truly keep brotherly friendship and fulfill their sincere word, without any deceit, from their pure heart.”)
- 1520 (*şartname*) [1] *Hüve 'l-mu'izu 'l-mu'in*  
 (“He, the Exalter, the Helper!”)  
 [2] *Bismillahi 'r-rahmani 'r-rahimi! Bi 'l-quvveti 'l-ehadiye ve 'l-mu'izati 'l-muhammediye!*  
 (“In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful! By the strength of oneness [of God] and the miracles of Muhammad!”)
- 1532 *Починаю, Боже, во имѧ Твое свѣтое, што щастѣе даетъ и жалуетъ тых, хто братство в правде держыть, свое слово полнить без хитрости, справедливымъ серцемъ!*  
 (“I commence in Your holy name, oh God, who gives and grants felicity to those who truly keep brotherhood and fulfill their word without any fraud and with an honest heart!”)<sup>242</sup>
- 1539 *W imię boże i z łaski bożej ja, Sahipgirei car poczynam, bracką przyjaźń sprawiedliwie trzymać, i słowo nasze w sprawiedliwości mieć!*

<sup>242</sup> The instrument reiterates the contents of Bahadır Giray's instrument from 1517 so the minor variations between their invocations should be perhaps attributed to the invention of their copyists or translators.

- (“I, Sahib Giray Khan, commence in the name of God and by the grace of God, [and engage] to justly keep brotherly friendship, and to respect our word!”)
- 1542 *Poczynamy bożym imieniem i prorocstwa Jego Miłości Machometa Proroka!*  
 (“We commence in the name of God and [invoke] the prophecy of His Excellency, Prophet Muhammad!”)
- 1552 [1] *Пан Бог початѣкомъ естъ в каждой речи справедливой!*  
 (“God is the beginning of every just matter!”)  
 [2] *Починаемъ напередъ божѣимъ именемъ!*  
 (“We commence in the name of God!”)
- 1592 (‘ahdname) [1] *Hüve*  
 (“He!”)  
 [2] *Bi`l-quvveti`l-ehadiye ve`l-mu`cizati`l-muhammediye*  
 (“By the strength of oneness [of God] and the miracles of Muhammad!”)  
 [3] *Allah ve Hüday İzim ve İzed ve uğan Tèngri ta`ala hazretlerinin vahdaniyeti ve `azameti birlen başlansun*  
 (“Let us commence with [invoking] the oneness and greatness of God, Lord, my [divine] Master, Deity, and omnipresent Heaven—may He be exalted!”)
- 1592 (oath-yarlıq) *Hüve*  
 (“He!”)
- 1601 *Za pomocą bożą, a za prorocstwem Machometowym!*  
 (“By the assistance of God and the prophecy of Muhammad!”)
- 1624 *Wielka dzięki i wielka chwała onemu, który wszelkie stworzenie według wolej swej uczyniwszy, człowieka z niszczego prawie stworzywszy żywotem obdarzył, i nad nimi wszystkiemi, czyny swojemi przełożył i wywyższył; <takie> [także] ustawiczne i bez przestanku pozdrowienie niechaj będzie onemu, który jest między rodzajem ludzkim*

*najchwalebniejszy, a z świata tego wybrany; niechaj będzie więc i tym wszystkim, którzy z jego rodzaju i linii idą, i którzy jego współpracownikami Zakonu były, pozdrowienie i pokój boży niech na wieki nad nimi będzie!*

(“Let the great gratitude and great praise be pronounced to the One, who created all creatures according to His will, and who, having created a man from nothing, endowed him with life and placed him above all his creatures; and let the permanent and unending salutation be pronounced to the one, who is the most praiseworthy among mankind and the chosen from this world;<sup>243</sup> also, let the salutation and divine peace be upon all his descendants and those, who assisted him in [designing his] Law!”)

1632 *Hüve at-tavfiq an-nasir al-mübin*

(“He, the Guidance, the Helper, the Manifest!”)

1634 *Hüve al-ğani al-muğni al-mu’ti al-mu’in*

(“He, the Wealthy, the Enricher, the Bestower, the Helper!”)

1637 *Niechaj będą Panu Bogu wielkie nieskończone zawsze dzięki oddawane, który z wszechmocności swej stworzywszy tak piękne niebo z niczego, po tym świat i człowieka stworzył, i onego nad wszystkie bydła rozumu daniem wywyższywszy, wszelkie stworzone rzeczy pod moc dał. Niechaj będą nieskończone dzięki Bogu najwyższemu, uprzejme chęci i dzięki oddawane, że z opatrności Jego stany wszelkiego stworzenia tak dobrze są sporządzone. Ale niemniej i za to niechaj wieczna i nieskończona sława Jego słyń, że za pomocą [proroków] świętych w rozmaitych krajach wszystkie narody wiarą są oświecone, przez którą za rządzeniem Jego, prawa wszyscy ludzie pewne na się przyjęli, którymi się wszyscy prawie monarchowie od wieku wiązać i przyjaźń jednoczyć zwykli.*

(“Let the great and infinite gratitude be permanently pronounced to God, who through His almightiness created such beautiful heaven from nothing, and then created the world and a man, whom He elevated above all the animals by giving him reason and placed all the creatures under his power. Let infinite gratitude be pronounced to the highest God, who so

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<sup>243</sup> The adjectives “praiseworthy” (Ar. *muhammad*) and “chosen” (Ar. *mustafa*) are obvious references to the two names of Prophet Muhammad.

perfectly arranged the creation through His providence. Moreover, thanks to His eternal and infinite glory, all the nations in different countries were enlightened with faith by holy prophets and, by His ordonance, received firm laws which all the monarchs used to respect and through which they had united in friendship since the ancient times.”)

- 1637 (qalga) *Panu Bogu najwyższemu niechaj wieczna chwała i dzięki oddawane będą, że z wszechmocności swej z niczego świat i ziemię, i wszystkie rzeczy na nim będące stworzył, a człeka rozumu daniem przysłuchawszy nad wszystkie stworzone rzeczy wywyższył. Niechaj będą Stwórcy temu wieczne i nieskończone oddawane dzięki, że On z wszechmocności swej tak na niebie między gwiazdami i planetami, jako i na ziemi między wszystkimi stworzonemi rzeczami, sam przez się i przez zacne święte proroki swe wszelki porządek postanowił i różne narody wiarą swą świętą uczcił i ubogacił, aż do czasów szczęśliwych naszych.*

(“Let the eternal praise and gratitude be pronounced to the highest God, who through His almightiness created the world, earth, and all things from nothing, and elevated the man above the whole creation by giving him reason. Let the eternal and infinite gratitude be pronounced to the Creator, who through His almightiness created order in heaven, among stars and planets, and on earth, among all the created beings, Himself or through noble and holy prophets, and has ennobled and enriched various nations with His holy faith, and continues doing so until our fortunate times.”)

- 1640

[1] *Hüve al-mu'in*

(“He, the Helper!”)

[2] *Allahu tebareke ve ta'ala hazretine köb şükürler ve peygamberimiz Hazret-i Muhammad 'aleyhi's-salavat hazretlerine köbdin köb salavat ve tahiyat qılğanmızdın soñra*

{“After we have pronounced many thanks to His Excellency, God (may He be blessed and exalted!), and great many prayers and salutations to his excellency, our prophet Muhammad (prayers be upon him!) [...]”}

- 1640 (qalga) *Hüve al-mu'in*  
 ("He, the Helper!")
- 1640 (nureddin) [1] *Hüve al-mu'in*  
 ("He, the Helper!")  
 [2] *Allahu tebareke ve ta'ala hazretine köb şükürler ve peygamberimiz Hazret-i Muhammad 'aleyhi's-salavat hazretlerine köpdin köb salavat ve tahiyat qilğanımızdın sonra*  
 {"After we have pronounced many thanks to His Excellency, God (may He be blessed and exalted!), and great many prayers and salutations to his excellency, our prophet Muhammad (prayers be upon him!) [...]"}  
 1646 [1] *Hüve al-mu'in*  
 ("He, the Helper!")  
 [2] *Hamd-i sipas ve şükr-i bi-qıyas ol Haliq-i biçun ve Rezzaq-i halife-i rub'-i meskun celle celalehü ve ta'ala 'amme nevalühü ve tevali hazretleriğe bolsun taqı tahiyat bi-hadd ve salavat bi-'adol habib-i Hüda Muhammad Mustafa 'aleyhi't-tahiye ve's-sena ve çar yar ba safa ve al ve ashab ba vefa rızvanu'llahi ta'ala 'aleyhim ecma'in hazretleriğe bolsun*  
 {"Let the grateful praise and incomparable gratitude be pronounced to His Excellency, the eternal Creator and the Provider of the needs of the caliph of the inhabited portion of the earth (may His glory be exalted and may He be exalted!), whose beneficence is universal and continuous; also, let unlimited salutations and uncounted prayers be pronounced upon their excellencies: God's beloved, Muhammad Mustafa<sup>244</sup> (may salutation and praise be upon Him!), and [his] four sincere helpers,<sup>245</sup> family and loyal companions (may the approbation of God—may He be exalted!—be upon them all!)"}  
 1649 *Hüve*  
 ("He!")

<sup>244</sup> Mustafa (lit. "the Chosen") is the second name of Prophet Muhammad.

<sup>245</sup> I.e., the first four caliphs, venerated by the Sunni Muslims: Abu Bakr, Omar, Osman, and Ali.



1654 [1] *Hüve*  
 (“He!”)

[2] *Hamd-i firavan ve şükr-i bi-payan ol Haliq-i biçun ve Raziq-i rub'-i meskun celle şane hü ve ta'ala ve 'amme nevalühü ve tevali hazretlerine olsun taqı salat bi-'ad ve tahiyat bi-hadd ol müfahhar-i mevcudat ve server-i ka'inat hatimü 'l-enbiya şefi'-i ruz-i ceza a'ni hazret-i Muhammad el-Mustafa salla 'llahu ta'ala 'aleyhi ve sellem üzerine olsun ve al ve evlad ve ashab kezeyyene rızvanu 'llahi ta'ala 'aleyhim ecma'in üzerine olsun*  
 {“Let the abundant praise and endless gratitude be pronounced to His Excellency, the eternal Creator and the Provider of the needs of the inhabited portion of the earth (may His fame be exalted and may He be exalted!), whose beneficence is universal and continuous; also, let uncounted prayers and unlimited salutations be pronounced upon the exalted of the universe, the prince of all creation, the seal of the prophets, the intercessor [for sinners] on the Day of Punishment, namely his excellency Muhammad el-Mustafa<sup>246</sup> (may God—may He be exalted!—commend and salute him!), and upon [his] family, descendants, and companions (may the approbation of God—may He be exalted!—embellish them all!)”}

1668 *Chwała Bogu Najwyższemu, który stworzył wszystkie narody, i nasze [sic] według naszych proroków biszurmański[ej] wiary!*  
 (“Glory to the highest God, who created all nations, by our prophets of the Muslim faith!”)

1742 *Hüve*  
 (“He!”)

Typically, the instruments drawn in Arabic script contained on their very top the customary reference to God: *Hüve* (“He!”) or its more sophisticated version. This formula was also used by the Ottoman chancery. Besides, one encounters the second *invocatio*, which could also be found in documents drawn in Latin or Cyrillic scripts. It typically contained the khan’s proclamation that he had commenced his writing from invoking God’s name. This maxim evidently derived from the customary Arabic initial formula: *bismillahi* (“in the name of God!”). Sometimes it was further developed and referred to God

<sup>246</sup> Mustafa (lit. “the Chosen”) is the second name of Prophet Muhammad.

as the provider of humanity and to Prophet Muhammad as well. The document from October 1514 also contains the two *shahadas*, i.e., the Muslim declaration of creed, asserting that there is no god but the only God, and Muhammad is His prophet. The most developed sixteenth-century *invocatio* consists of three separate sections and can be found in the *'ahdname* from 1592.

While the upper *Hüve* formula had remained unchanged for the following two centuries, in the early 17th century the Crimean chancery replaced its standard lower invocation with a new one, reminiscent of the baroque wording typical for the Ottoman documents of the same period. It contained the developed formula of praise to God, Prophet Muhammad, and sometimes the first four Sunni caliphs as well.

### *Legitimatio*

Crimean instruments could be corroborated in three ways: by impressing a *nişan*, drawing a *tuğra*, or appending a seal, stamped or attached with a string. While *tuğras* were always drawn at the top of the document, *nişans* could be impressed either at its top or at its bottom, and seals were typically appended at the bottom. In order to follow the changes in the use of different marks of corroboration, all these marks are treated below in one section:

#### a) *tamğa/nişan*

Only three instruments, published in the present volume, contain original *nişans*, hence the reader may be advised to consult the thorough study by Usmanov, which is based on a far larger sample of documents, originating from various Genghisid chanceries and addressed to various recipients.<sup>247</sup>

Square seals, occasionally made of precious metals and adorned with precious stones, were used in the Genghisid chanceries from China to Iran to Eastern Europe. Their original term *tamğa* disclosed their initial use as property marks, common among the Turkic peoples (e.g., for branding cattle) well into the modern times.<sup>248</sup> In the 14th century,

<sup>247</sup> Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, pp. 143–167.

<sup>248</sup> For their use among the Crimean Tatars, see Osman Akçokraklı, “Kırım’da Tatar tamgaları,” *Emel. İki Aylık Fikir-Kültür Dergisi* 135 (1983): 161–204.

the term was already used in parallel with its Persian equivalent *nišan* (نشان, “sign”). The inscriptions on the *tamğas* were initially engraved in Uighur script, but the Golden Horde chancery already used Arabic script, precisely its square variant named *Kufi* that is also found in the engravings of medieval coins as well as monumental inscriptions.

The earliest Crimean instrument of peace, preserved in original, is the one from 1514, issued by Mengli Giray. Although it is drawn in Italian, it also contains three *nišans* with inscriptions in Arabic script. Apart from using his own *nišan*, impressed at the top, Mengli Giray corroborated his document with the *nišan* of his father, Hadji Giray, which is impressed twice at the bottom. Already in 1467, during his first reign, Mengli Giray corroborated a document with his father’s *nišan*, which is impressed four times while Mengli’s proper *nišan* is missing entirely. This earlier case may be explained by the fact that perhaps, having recently ascended the throne, Mengli did not have the time for his proper *nišan* to be made and, besides, he felt insecure on the throne so he needed to invoke the authority of his late father.<sup>249</sup> Yet, such an explanation would make no sense in 1514 as Mengli had been in power for almost fifty years by then. What seems even more strange, the *nišan* of Hadji Giray was still used by the latter’s grandson, Sa’adet Giray, who in 1524 corroborated his document with three impressions of his grandfather’s *nišan*, and one impression of his proper signet seal.<sup>250</sup> Like Mengli in 1467, Sa’adet certainly felt insecure as his rights to the throne were instantly challenged by his nephew, Islam Giray, and perhaps he also had no time to order his proper *nišan* to be made. Yet, one can still ask why did he not use the *nišan* of his father, Mengli, instead? A hypothetical answer is that the latter might have been lost in 1523, when the Nogays had ambushed and killed Mengli’s oldest son and Sa’adet’s predecessor, Mehmed Giray. To return to Mengli’s instrument from 1514, sent to Poland, the khan’s decision to impress his father’s *nišan* might have been thought as a conscious invocation of the past friendship that had lasted in Hadji’s times but had been disturbed in the more recent period.

The impression of Hadji Giray’s *nišan* on Mengli’s instrument from 1514 measures 12 × 11.5 cm., but probably the *nišan* itself measured

<sup>249</sup> Cf. Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, pp. 33 and 67.

<sup>250</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 38.

12.5 × 12.5 cm. as is evidenced by its other impressions recorded by Usmanov. Its engraved inscription consists of four parts:

[outer frame]

I. the *basmala*, i.e., the opening verse of the Koran:

*Bismillahi`r-rahmani`r-rahimi!*

(“In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful!”)

II. the Koranic verse from the 3rd sura (al-‘Imran), chosen as the motto of the khan:

*Quli`llahumma Malika`l-mulki tu`ti`l-mulka man taşa`u*

(“Say: ‘O God, King of the kingdom! Thou givest the kingdom to whom Thou pleasest.’”)

[middle frame]

III. the two *shahadas*, i.e., the Muslim declaration of creed:

*La ilaha illa`llah Muhammadun rasul`llah*

(“There is no god but God! Muhammad is the Prophet of God!”)

IV. the khan’s title and name:

*as-sultan Hacı Giray Han*

(“The sultan, Hadji Giray Khan”)

Furthermore, the inner frame of the *nişan* is filled with the trident-shaped family mark (*tamğa*) of the Girays that with time has become the emblem of the Crimean Khanate, known as the *taraq tamğa*.

The impression of Mengli Giray’s *nişan* on the same instrument measures only 5.5 × 5.5 cm, again slightly less than the impressions recorded by Usmanov, measuring 5.7 × 5.7 cm., or even, in one case, 6 × 6 cm. Its engraved inscription consists of merely three parts:

[outer frame]

I. the *basmala*:

*Bismillahi`r-rahmani`r-rahimi!*

(“In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful!”)

II. the two *shahadas*:

*La ilaha illa`llah Muhammadun rasul`llah*

(“There is no god but God! Muhammad is the Prophet of God!”)

III. the khan’s title and name:

*as-sultanu`l-a‘zam al-haqan*

[here the inscription in the middle frame begins]

*Mengli Gërey Han bin Hacı Gërey Han*

(“The greatest sultan and the khaqan, Mengli Giray Khan, son of Hadji Giray Khan”)

Again, the inner frame is filled with the trident-shaped emblem of the Girays.<sup>251</sup>

The following instrument preserved in the original is the one of Mehmed Giray, drawn in 1520 in Khwarezmian Turkic. It is corroborated with the khan’s *nişan* impressed at the top, though not the very top: it is placed below the invocation and the first line of the *intitulatio*. Its dimensions are slightly larger than the ones proposed by Usmanov: 6.5 × 6.5 cm. against 6.3 × 6.3 recorded by the Tatar scholar on the basis of another document issued by Mehmed Giray in 1515. The engraved inscription of Mehmed Giray’s *nişan* consists, like the one of his father, of merely three parts:

[outer frame]

I. the *basmala*:

*Bismillahi`r-rahmani`r-rahimi!*

(“In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful!”)

II. the two *shahadas*:

*La ilaha illa`llah Muhammadun rasul`llah*

(“There is no god but God! Muhammad is the Prophet of God!”)

III. the khan’s title and name:

*as-sultanu`l-a`zam al-haqanu`l-ekrem*

[here the inscription in the middle frame begins]

*Mehmed Gërey Han bin Mengli Gërey Han`azze nasruhu*

(“The greatest sultan and the most noble khaqan, Mehmed Giray Khan, son of Mengli Giray Khan, may his victory be glorious!”)

The inner frame is again filled with the trident-shaped emblem of the Girays.<sup>252</sup>

The last and latest instrument, preserved in the original and corroborated with a *nişan*, is the one issued by Ghazi II Giray in 1592. The document is provided with two invocations, a proto-*tuğra* bearing

<sup>251</sup> See Document 16 and Facs. I; on these two *nişans*, cf. Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, pp. 144–145, 148, and 153.

<sup>252</sup> See Document 20 and Facs. II; on this *nişan*, cf. Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, pp. 145, 149 and 153.

the khan's name and the *sözüim* formula (on the *tuğra*, see below), and, at the fourth place from the top, the *nişan*. Its size ( $5.7 \times 5.7$  cm.) is identical with the one recorded by Usmanov and also almost identical with that of the *nişan* of Mengli Giray. Yet, its engraved inscription is erroneously reversed and can be read only against the light. Like in the *nişans* of Mengli and Mehmed Girays, it consists of three parts, although the invocation "Islam!" has been entered between the *shahadas* and the khan's name:

[outer frame]

I. the *basmala*:

*Bismillahi`r-rahmani`r-rahimi!*

("In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful!")

II. the two *shahadas*:

*La ilaha illa`llah Muhammadun rasul`llah*

("There is no god but God! Muhammad is the Prophet of God!")

III. the khan's name and lineage (preceded by the invocation "Islam!"):

*Ġazi Ġerey Han bin Devlet Ġerey Han*

[here the inscription in the middle frame begins]

*bin Mübarek Ġerey Sultan bin Mengli Ġerey Han*

("Ghazi Giray Khan, son of Devlet Giray Khan, son of Mübarek Giray Sultan, son of Mengli Giray Khan")

Like in the earlier *nişans*, the inscription ends with the trident-shaped emblem of the Girays, but the text is written in such a dense manner that one cannot distinguish a third, inner frame. This is caused, in part, by the khan's desire to draw his ancestry three generations back to Mengli Giray, apparently due to the latter's esteem, but also due to the fact that Ghazi's grandfather, Mübarek Giray, had not been the khan. Still, the engraver could save space by using smaller letters and not entering the untypical expression "Islam!" before the khan's name. There is also no excuse for making the engraving reverse. Usmanov treats its sloppy execution as proof that by the late 16th century the *nişan* had gone into disuse.<sup>253</sup>

<sup>253</sup> See Document 34 and Facs. III; for other preserved impressions of the *nişan* of Ghazi II Giray, see Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, pp. 146, 149, 152 and 154.

There is no apparent chronological tendency regarding the changing size of the Crimean *nişans*. The largest ones are known to have been used by Hadji Giray (12.5 × 12.5 cm.) and Sahib Giray (13.5 × 13.5 cm.), while the smallest ones by Mengli Giray (5.5 × 5.5 cm.) and Ghazi II Giray (5.7 × 5.7 cm.). Sahib, Devlet, and Mehmed II Girays are known to have used *nişans* of different sizes simultaneously.<sup>254</sup>

It is equally difficult to establish a hierarchy of colors, used for the ink in which the *nişans* have been impressed. Usmanov provides semantic arguments, supported by the evidence from extant documents, according to which the gold (*altun*) and blue (*kök*) colors should be regarded as more honorific, used in the most solemn documents, while the red or reddish color (*al*, hence the Russian and Ruthenian loanword *alyj*) would be less valued and rather used in documents addressed to lower ranking recipients. Nonetheless, the Tatar scholar treats this hierarchy as “ideal” and admits that it was not always consistent.<sup>255</sup> Still, these nuances were correctly perceived in Moscow and in 1563 Ivan IV categorically forbade his envoy to accept from the khan an instrument that would bear a red *nişan* (*alyj nişan*).<sup>256</sup>

Although few Crimean documents, addressed to Polish-Lithuanian rulers, have been preserved in the originals adorned with *nişans*, additional information can be gained from the documents preserved in copies as their texts often refer to the fact of their corroboration with *nişans*:

<sup>254</sup> The largest *nişan* used by Sahib Giray is known from the time when he was the khan of Kazan; his documents issued in the Crimean chancery were corroborated by two smaller *nişans* measuring 8.7 × 8.7 cm. and 5.7 × 5.7, alternatively; other Crimean *nişans*, whose sizes are recorded by Usmanov, are known from the reigns of Devlet Giray (three types: 10.5 × 10.5 cm., 8 × 8 cm, and 6.5 × 6.5 cm. or 6.2 × 6.2 cm.) and Mehmed II Giray (two types: 7.8 × 7.8 cm. and 6 × 6 cm.); see *ibidem*, pp. 39, 43, 45, 48, 144–146, and 176.

<sup>255</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 91, 147, 169–170, 173–176.

<sup>256</sup> See Vinogradov, *Russko-krymskie otnošenija*, vol. 2, p. 84, n. 78; Filjuškin, “Proekty russko-krymskogo voennogo sojuza,” pp. 311–312; cf. also Juzefovič, “Russkij posol’skij obyčaj XVI veka,” *Voprosy istorii* (1977), no. 8: 114–126, esp. p. 114, and *idem*, *Put’ posla*, pp. 23–24. Juzefovič correctly interprets the cultural context of the tsar’s instruction, but he mistakenly identifies the *nişan* with the khan’s signet seal and attributes the adjective *alyj* (“red”) to the color of the signet stone and not the ink in which the seal was impressed; admittedly, the term *perstennyj nişan* (“signet *nişan*”) can be found in Sa’adet Giray’s letter from 1523, sent to Cracow and preserved in a Ruthenian copy (see RGADA, f. 389, no. 7, p. 885), so it is possible that at times the Tatars themselves referred to signet seals as *nişans*, but in the given context Ivan IV evidently had in mind a solemn large square seal impressed in red ink.

Table 1. References to the *nişans* found in the texts  
of the Crimean instruments

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ca. 1462 and ca. 1473 (the same text is repeated)

*I daliśmy ten nasz list pod złotą pieczęcią.*

(“We have given our present letter under the golden stamp.”)

1507 (*yarlıq*)

*под золотым нишаном и подъ алыми платны тарлыкъ*

(“the *yarlıq* under the golden *nişan* and under the red stamp”)

1507 (*şartname*)

*сигнетом и печатью нашою синею запечатавъ, дали есмо [...] подъ  
сигнетом и подъ синею печатью [...] листъ;*

(“we have given [...] the letter under the signet ring and under the blue stamp,  
having stamped it with our signet ring and blue stamp;”)

1513 (December)

*на то алымъ платномъ а <з> золотымъ нишаномъ притоптавъ  
послали есмо;*

(“we have sent [this letter of agreement] having stamped [lit. trodden] it with  
the red stamp and the golden *nişan*;”)

1514 (June)

*зъ золотымъ нишаномъ а алою томъзгою тарлыкъ*

(“the *yarlıq* with the golden *nişan* and the red *tamğa*”)

1514 (October)

*сес доконъчалънии листъ наш, подъ золотымъ знамен и подъ  
черлеными печатми*

(“our present letter of agreement under the golden stamp and under the red  
seals”)

1514 (November)

*havemo ad questa nostra lectra patente stampati li nostri sigilli de oro, e li  
sigilli rossi;*

1515 (Mehmed Giray’s instrument quoted in the copy issued in 1517 by his  
son, Bahadır Giray)

*сесъ мои есми листъ далъ, зъ золотою печатью ему есмо дали;*

(“[I have] given him my present letter with the golden seal;”)

1515 (the same instrument quoted in Islam Giray’s instrument issued in  
1532)

*листъ нашъ сес [...], под золотымъ<и> нишаномъ а под алою тамъзгою*  
(“our present letter under the golden *nişan* and under the red *tamğa*”)



Table 1 (*cont.*)

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1520 (*yarlıq cum şartname*)

*И золотомъ докончане и[з] золотою печатю послали есмо.*

(“And we have sent the golden letter of agreement with the golden seal.”)

1520 (*şartname*)

*bu şartnamemüznüing cınlığı üçün altunlı şartname altun nişan basub*

(“for the sake of authentication of our present *şartname*, we have stamped the golden *şartname* with the golden *nişan*.”)

[contemporary Ruthenian translation: *сее докончане для правды золотомъ написано, и под печатью золотою...*]

1539

*I pieczęciem swoje przyłożył.*

(“And I have appended my seals.”)

1542

*I daliśmy ten nasz list pod złotą pieczęcią naszą.*

(“We have issued our present letter under our golden seal.”)

1552

*дали есьмо [...] сес нашъ листъ присажными [...] золотомъ написаныи, печати золотыи вытиснувшии;*

(“we have given [...] our present oath-letter [...] written in gold, having impressed the golden seals;”)

1560

*I posyłam [...] ten nasz list złotem napisany, pieczęci złote przyłożywszy.*

(“And I send [...] our present letter written in gold, having stamped it with the golden seals.”)

1592 (*ahdname*)

*bu ‘ahdname yarlıg-i şerif-i haqanimüzge altun nişanlıg mührini basub*

(“we have stamped this *‘ahdname*, our noble imperial *yarlıq*, with the golden *nişan*-like seal;”)

1607

*signis coccineis et ceruleis consignari aureumque nostrum sigillum illis imprimi curavimus;*

1609

*złotą pieczęcią naszą przypieczętowawszy*

(“having stamped it with our golden seal”)

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Only in three cases we are able to check the veracity of such clauses by comparing the above descriptions with the extant original documents from 1514 (November), 1520 (*şartname*), and 1592. The first one is provided with the golden *nişan* of Mengli Giray impressed at the top, and the two reddish *nişans* of Hadji Giray impressed at the bottom, hence the Italian reference to *li nostri sigilli de oro, e li sigilli rossi* is correct. The second instrument is provided with the golden *nişan* of Mehmed Giray, so the Khwarezmian Turkic reference to the *altun nişan* is correct, too.<sup>257</sup> Finally, the third instrument is provided with the golden *nişan* of Ghazi II Giray, so the Turkish reference to the *altun nişanlığ* is again correct.

Having assured ourselves of the reliability of the narrative descriptions, we may assume that the instrument of Hadji Giray from ca. 1462 was indeed provided with a golden *nişan*. Mengli Giray's *yarlıq* from ca. 1473 was also provided with a single golden *nişan*, but his *yarlıq* from 1507 and his four instruments from 1513–1514 were corroborated with both his golden *nişans* and, in addition, the reddish *nişans* of his late father.<sup>258</sup> Mehmed Giray's instrument from 1515 is recorded only in later copies, by which his sons, Bahadır and Islam, confirmed the peace with Poland-Lithuania. Unfortunately, the evidence provided by these copies is contradictory: Bahadır's instrument from 1517 refers merely to "the golden seal," while Islam's instrument from 1532 refers to both "the golden *nişan* and the red *tamğa*." The fact that the two later instruments of Mehmed Giray from 1520 were provided merely with his golden *nişan* suggests that also his instrument from 1515 was provided only with one, golden *nişan*. Since the copy sworn in 1532 by Islam Giray was probably drafted in Vilnius, it is possible that the Lithuanian chancery "embellished" its text by referring to both the golden *nişan* and the red *tamğa* in analogy to Mengli Giray's instruments, issued at the end of his reign.

From the vague references in the instruments of Sahib and Devlet Girays, preserved only in copies, we may assume that they were also corroborated with golden *nişans*. Moreover, the "golden seals"

<sup>257</sup> Admittedly, the document is also provided with a small oval black signet seal that is not referred to in the corroborating formula; on this seal, see below.

<sup>258</sup> Perhaps the instruments from January and June had one golden and one reddish *nişan* each, while the instruments from October and November had one golden and two reddish *nişans* each; this hypothesis can be supported by the fact that in the two latter instruments reddish *nişans* are referred to in the plural and the instrument from November is indeed provided with the two reddish *nişans*.

appended to the instruments from 1552 and 1560 are referred to in the plural, but it is uncertain whether these instruments were indeed corroborated with more than one golden *nišan* each. Although Devlet Giray is known to have corroborated his documents with double *nišans*, these *nišans* were of different colors, typically blue and reddish.<sup>259</sup>

The usage of more than one square seal, typically of different color, in the corroboration of the Crimean khans' documents, is now confirmed by the evidence drawn from both their domestic and foreign correspondence. Eighty years ago, confronted with the confusing references to "the golden *nišan* and the red *tamğa*" (*zolotoj nišan i alaja tamga*) in the corroborating formulas of Mengli Giray's letters sent to Moscow, Aleksandr Samojlovič could not check their veracity because these letters were preserved only in copies. Therefore, he proposed to regard only the term *alaja tamga* as referring to the square seal, while the term *zolotoj nišan* as referring to the handwritten invocation or inscription containing the khan's name, entered in golden ink at the top of the document.<sup>260</sup> Today, we can dismiss the above interpretation by invoking the fact that Mengli's document from 1514, addressed to King Sigismund and preserved in the original, contains the square seals that are indeed golden and reddish.

The use of blue color is mentioned only twice: Mengli Giray's *şartname* from 1507 was reportedly sealed with a blue *nišan* as well as the khan's personal signet seal (on signet seals, see below), and in the corroborating formula of Ghazi II Giray's instrument from 1607, preserved in a Latin translation, all the three colors, commonly used in the khan's chancery, are mentioned, namely scarlet (*coccineum*) i.e., reddish, blue (*ceruleum*), and golden (*aureum*). The latter reference, if true, contradicts Usmanov's argument, according to which the *nišan* went into disuse by the late 16th century, after the missed experiments with the carelessly executed *nišans* known from the early reign of Ghazi II Giray. Although Usmanov encountered a much later corroborating formula in Selamet Giray's *yarlıq* from 1608, preserved in a copy, which refers to "the red *nišan* and the blue seal" (*krasnogo nišana i sinej pečati*), he dismissed it as unreliable.<sup>261</sup> Yet, the dismissal

<sup>259</sup> Cf. Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, pp. 43–46.

<sup>260</sup> See the paragraph entitled "O terminax tamğa, nišan, mühr, bajsä v dokumentax Džučieva ulusa," in Samojlovič, "O 'pajza'—'bajsä' v Džučievom uluse (K voprosu o basme xana Axmata)," pp. 1115–1116.

<sup>261</sup> Cf. Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, p. 152.

seems to be made too hastily, especially in the light of the corroborating formula, found in the Polish copy of Selamet Giray's instrument from 1609, which refers to the "golden seal." To be sure, the *nişans* gradually went into disuse, but it is probable that they survived one or two decades longer, at least until the reign of Selamet Giray (d. 1610).

b) *signet seal*

Unlike the Ottoman sultans, whose documents were typically corroborated merely by the *tuğras*, the Crimean khans used personal signet seals along with (or instead of) the *nişans* already in the 15th century. Mengli Giray is known to have corroborated several letters sent to the Muscovian rulers "having stamped [them] with the signet ring and with the blue *nişan*" (Rus. *zapečatav žikovinoju da s sinim nišanom*), just as he later corroborated his *şartname*, sent in 1507 to Sigismund "under the signet ring and under the blue stamp" (*pod syhnetom y pod syneju pečatju*; see above). Less solemn documents were stamped only with Mengli's signet ring, without impressing the *nişan*.<sup>262</sup>

Mengli's son and successor, Mehmed Giray, also corroborated at least some of his documents with both his *nişan* and his signet seal. His black oval signet seal is impressed at the bottom of his *şartname* from 1520, which is corroborated at the top with his golden *nişan*.

Signet seals were used by Crimean princes, too. In 1517, when Mehmed's son and heir apparent, Bahadır Giray, arrived at Čerkasy and swore on behalf of his father and on his own behalf to keep peace with Poland-Lithuania, he confirmed the instrument, issued previously by his father, by corroborating its copy with his own signet seal (*s toho lysta dokončannoho kopeju vypysavšy dal esmy pod pečatju svoeho perstenja*).<sup>263</sup>

Admittedly, Bahadır was not the khan so he could not use a *nişan*, but the next khan, Sa'adet Giray, also corroborated his instrument (*jarlyk prysjažnyj*), sent in 1527 to Cracow, merely with his signet seal (*pod perestennenju pečat'ju*). It is hard to determine whether this "devaluation in prestige" was deliberate and related to the cooling of mutual relations, or was it perhaps caused by the fact that the document was issued in Perekop and not Qırq Yer, far away from the

<sup>262</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, p. 173.

<sup>263</sup> See Document 18.

Crimean chancery.<sup>264</sup> Naturally, also the instrument of Qalga Islam Giray, sent to Cracow in the same year, was provided merely with his signet seal (*pod perestennju pečat'ju*).<sup>265</sup>

The terms *syhnet*, *persten'/peresten'*, and *žikovina*, found in contemporary Slavic translations, all refer to signet rings, whose inscriptions, engraved in metal, usually contained the names of the owner and his father.<sup>266</sup> The engravings of the khans' seals also contained the trident-shaped emblem of the Girays (*taraq tamğa*) that was missing in the seals of other dynasty members. After the signet had been smoked over the fire, it was impressed on paper leaving a black imprint of its inscription. The signets of the Genghisids, including the Giray family members, typically assumed an almond-like form and came to be known in Turkish as *bademi mühür* ("almond-like seal").<sup>267</sup> The division between the almond-like seals of the dynasty members and oval seals used by non-Genghisids, observed in the later centuries and stressed in historiography today, was perhaps less sharp in the times of the early Girays: the earliest preserved signet seal, impressed by Mehmed Giray on his *şartname* sent to Poland in 1520, is oval but not almond-like. Admittedly, the signet seal of Sa'adet Giray, preserved in his original document from 1524, is already almond-like.<sup>268</sup>

We may conclude that the sixteenth-century Crimean instruments were corroborated with signet seals typically in two cases:

- a) when an instrument was issued by a Giray prince who did not have his own *nişan*;
- b) when the khan wanted to strengthen his instrument with his personal seal, impressed along with the *nişan* (Mengli Giray's and

<sup>264</sup> See Document 22; it is also possible that Sa'adet Giray did not have his proper *nişan*; the only document from his reign, provided with a *nişan*, originates from 1524, but the *nişan* is not his own but his grandfather's, Hadji Giray's; on this issue, cf. n. 250 and the discussion above.

<sup>265</sup> See Document 23.

<sup>266</sup> Devlet Giray's seal also invoked his grandfather, Mengli Giray; apparently for legitimizing reasons Devlet traced his ancestry further back because his father, Mübarek Giray, was not the khan; the same concern probably prompted Devlet's son, Ghazi II Giray, to fill his *nişan* with the unusually long inscription that traced his ancestry three generations back, again to Mengli, who was Ghazi's great grandfather (cf. above).

<sup>267</sup> Cf. Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, pp. 140–143 and 171–173.

<sup>268</sup> For the description and pictures of Sa'adet Giray's seal and several sixteenth-century seals from the later period, see Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, pp. 140–141.

Mehmed Giray's *şartnames* sent to Poland-Lithuania in 1507 and 1520; many other cases known from the Crimean-Muscovian correspondence).

Less usual cases, when the khans' instruments were corroborated merely with signet seals instead of *nişans*, typically occurred when the instruments in question were of lesser importance or when the khan was away from his capital (like Sa'adet Giray in 1527), especially on a military campaign. Devlet Giray's letter, sent in 1562 from a military camp on the Samara river, is provided merely with his signet seal,<sup>269</sup> although this khan is known to have corroborated numerous documents with *nişans*. When in 1599 Ghazi II Giray issued an instrument of peace for Poland-Lithuania while campaigning in Hungary, its corroborating formula contained a specific explanation: "because we lacked our great seal, which is normally impressed on letters of agreement, as we were in route, therefore we have impressed our signet ring" (*A iż wielkiej pieczęci naszy, która bywa u przemirnych listów przykładana, na ten czas przy nas jako w drodze nie było, tedyśmy sygnet nasz do niego przycisnęli*).<sup>270</sup>

The above quotation sheds a further doubt in regard to Usmanov's thesis, according to which the *nişans* went into disuse by the late 16th century. As we see, as late as 1599, Ghazi II Giray still acknowledged that a proper instrument of peace should be corroborated with a *nişan*. In 1607, when he was no longer campaigning, the khan apparently corroborated his new instrument, issued in Baghchasaray, with a number of solemn *nişans*, using the traditional reddish, blue, and golden colors. The custom was also followed by his successor and brother, Selamet Giray, although the latter more modestly used only the golden color.

After the final demise of the *nişan* or rather its replacement with the *tuğra*, in the 17th and 18th centuries the instruments of peace, sent to Poland-Lithuania by the khans, qalgas, and nureddins (one case) were typically corroborated with both signet seals and *tuğras*. In two

<sup>269</sup> Cf. n. 292 in Part I.

<sup>270</sup> See Document 37. The fact that the khan used a signet seal instead of the great golden *nişan* (*nie mając wielkiej złotej pieczęci przy sobie, sygnetem zapieczętował*) caused reservations among the royal councilors who advised to wait with the formal pacification until the khan returned to the Crimea and provided his instrument with "the golden seal, according to the custom" (*gdy poprawa wedle potrzeby w tym przy mierzu będzie i pieczęć zawieszona według zwyczaju złota*); see Bibl. Czart., ms. 97 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), p. 918 (cf. also n. 340 in Part I).

cases, the Crimean instruments were corroborated merely with signet seals, but these exemptions can be easily explained by the fact that both instruments, issued in 1667 and 1672 respectively, were issued on military campaigns.<sup>271</sup>

The reluctance of the Crimean khans to take along *nişans* on military campaigns is well understandable. Since 1393, when Tokhtamış had sent Jogaila his *yarlıq*, provided with the golden *nişan*, from his camp on the Don river, shortly before his army was routed by Tamerlane, it must have happened many times that Tatar chanceries fell prey to their enemies, who could even use the captured artefacts to legitimize their own claims. Signet seals were certainly more handy and easily replacable if lost.

The oldest Crimean signet seals, whose imprints are preserved in the original documents, belonged to Mehmed and Sa'adet Girays and were used in 1520 and 1524 respectively. The first one is oval and measures 2.3 cm. in diameter, while the second one is almond-like and its height is 1.9 cm.<sup>272</sup> The dimensions of the signet seals of the Giray family members, found on the documents published in the present volume, are as follows:

<i>year</i>	<i>seal's owner</i>	<i>seal's height (in cm.)</i>
1592 (2 documents)	Ghazi II Giray (khan)	1.7
1632	Djanibek Giray (khan)	1.7
1634	Djanibek Giray (khan)	1.7
1640	Bahadır Giray (khan)	2.2
1640	Islam Giray (qalga)	2.2
1640	Qırım Giray (nureddin)	1.5
1646	Islam III Giray (khan)	2.3
1649	Islam III Giray (khan)	2.3
1654	Mehmed IV Giray (khan)	2.0
1667	Qırım Giray (qalga)	2.0
	Inayet Giray	2.0
	Takht Giray	1.8
1672	Selim Giray (khan)	2.6
1742	Selamet II Giray (khan)	2.3

<sup>271</sup> See Documents 66 and 70; besides, these instruments were composed in Polish so perhaps the Tatars did not find fitting to embellish them with *tuğras*, although such a precedent would not be unusual; Latin script documents provided with *nişans* or *tuğras* are known to have been issued by Muslim chanceries.

<sup>272</sup> On these seals, cf. Document 20 and n. 268 above.

All the above seals are almond-like, but only the khans' seals contain the trident-shaped emblem of the Girays. One would expect that the khans' seals should be larger than the seals of other Girays, yet this is not always the case. Khan Islam III Giray's seal from 1646 is slightly larger than his seal from 1640, when he was only the qalga, but then, in 1640, his seal was not smaller than that of his older brother, Khan Bahadır Giray. There is also no clear-cut tendency regarding the changing size of the khans' seals, though the late seventeenth-century ones are in average larger than those a century earlier.<sup>273</sup> Apart from the usual reference to the names of the owner and his father, Mehmed IV Giray's seal also contains the year of his accession—1064 A.H.

The instrument from 1667, corroborated collectively by the Crimean plenipotentiaries at Pidhajci, contains ten seals altogether: four almond-like and six oval. Apart from the three seals of the Giray princes, already listed above, the fourth almond-like seal (1.9 cm. in height) belonged to the Shirin clan leader. The fact that he used an almond-like seal, otherwise reserved for the Giray dynasty members, becomes less unusual after we notice further details: the Shirin bey was named after Mengli Giray, the past Crimean khan, and in the legend of his seal, in the place where one expects to find the name of his father, we find instead a reference to "his forefather" (*ceddühü*), Hadji Giray Khan. All these elements combined reflect the grandiose ambitions of the Shirin clan, whose members regarded themselves as equal to the Girays and strengthened their claims by the fact of the frequent past intermarriages between the members of the two families. A Shirin tradition, recorded after the Russian annexation of the Crimea, claimed that already Tokhtamish had granted the right to use an almond-like seal to the Shirin leader of his time, Ruktemir. Usmanov, who quotes this tradition, convincingly dismisses it as spurious and his arguments can be further strengthened by the fact that—as we have seen—the distinction between almond-like and oval seals was apparently not perceived as important until the early 16th century, when Mehmed Giray used an oval seal himself. Yet, the tradition must have been "invented" long before the coming of the Russians and the usage of almond-like

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<sup>273</sup> The height of the almond-like seals of the khans Devlet Giray (1.8 cm.) and Mehmed II Giray (2.0 cm.) is given by Usmanov; cf. n. 268 above. Murad Giray's seal, preserved in a document from 1682, measures 2.2 cm. in height; cf. RGADA, f. 123, op. 2, no. 64.



seals by the Shirins in the 17th century can be now confirmed.<sup>274</sup> The claims of the Shirin leader, expressed by the legend and shape of his seal, were especially telling during the reign of Adil Giray (1666–1671), a descendant of the Choban branch of the Giray dynasty, whose legitimacy was questioned by other Girays and numerous members of the Tatar aristocracy.

The remaining seals, found in the instrument of 1667 and belonging to Crimean commanders and functionaries, are oval and usually smaller than the almond-like ones.

c) *baysa or hanging seal*

Usmanov flatly rejects any possibility that the Djochid rulers could use hanging seals known from the Muscovian and other European chanceries.<sup>275</sup> His conviction must be related to the fact that he focuses on the period before 1600 when such seals were yet unknown in the Crimean chancery. Nevertheless, already Samojlovič correctly identified the term “golden *baysa*” (*altun baysa*), encountered in the corroborating formulas of several seventeenth-century Crimean documents preserved in the Russian archives, with a “hanging seal” (Rus. *vislaja pečat*), though he admitted that he had not been able to find such a seal.<sup>276</sup>

In the early Genghisid states, the Chinese term *p'ai-tzū* (hence Mongolian *baisa*) referred to oval or round “tablets of authority,” given to high officials as “badges of rank,” or to envoys as safe conduct, entitling their bearers to provisions and horses on their journey. Depending on the rank of recipient, tablets were made of wood, iron, copper, silver, or gold. One such silver “tablet,” found in the Crimea near Simferopol, measures 29.7 × 8.8 cm. and bears a typical Uighur-script inscription in Mongol, referring to Keldi Beg, a fourteenth-century khan of the Golden Horde: “By the strength of eternal Heaven and by the protec-

<sup>274</sup> Cf. Document 66, notes j and 13; the same almond-like seal can be found in the letters of Mengli Giray Bey, sent to the Polish king and chancellor in the years 1661–1664.

<sup>275</sup> Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, pp. 178–179.

<sup>276</sup> Samojlovič, “O ‘pajza’—‘bajsa’ v Džučievom uluse (K voprosu o basme xana Axmata),” p. 1117.

tion of the great might and radiance. An edict [*yarlıq*] of Keldi Beg. Any person, who shall not respect [this], shall be slain and die.”<sup>277</sup>

The term *baysa* then reappears in a number of Crimean documents, sent in the 17th century to Moscow. In 1624, Mehmed III Giray concluded his *şartname* with a corroborating formula: “we have added our golden *baysa*-like seal” (*altun baysalu mührümüzni salduq*).<sup>278</sup> In 1630, his successor, Djanibek Giray, referred more vaguely to his “golden seal” (*altun mührümüz*), but his document, preserved in the original, has three holes at its bottom, evidently left by the string with which this seal was once attached. This fact is confirmed by a contemporary note in Russian, preserved along with the document, which states that it had been sent along with a golden seal (*gramota šertnaja [...] prislana [...] za zolotoju pečatju*). Today only the black imprint of the khan’s signet seal is visible below the main text and the aforementioned golden seal is no longer extant.<sup>279</sup> In his following instrument from 1634, Djanibek Giray already referred to his “golden *baysa*” (*altun baysamız*), hence apparently the explanatory term “seal” (*mühür*) was no longer needed, because it had become commonly known that *baysa* was synonymous to seal.<sup>280</sup>

More information, regarding the shape and contents of a *baysa*, can be gained from Inayet Giray’s instrument, sent to Moscow in 1636. Its corroborating formula: “we have appended our golden *baysa* to our present *şartname*” (*bu şartname hattımızğa öz altun baysamıznı tahturduq*), is also extant in a contemporary Russian translation: *k sej šertnoj gramote zolotuju svoju pečat’ privesili*, whereas the Turkish verb *tahturduq*<sup>281</sup> is rendered by the Russian verb *privesili* (“we have attached hanging”). Although the instrument is preserved in the original, no holes left by the string are visible, unlike in the *şartname* from

<sup>277</sup> Nikolay Münküjev, “A new Mongolian *p’ai-tzū* from Simferopol,” AO ASH 31 (1977): 185–215, esp. p. 208.

<sup>278</sup> Cf. RGADA, f. 123, op. 2, no. 36; the document, preserved in a contemporary Turkish copy, is also published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, pp. 20–24.

<sup>279</sup> Cf. RGADA, f. 123, op. 2, no. 39; the Turkish text is published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, pp. 48–51.

<sup>280</sup> Cf. RGADA, f. 123, op. 2, no. 41; published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, pp. 100–104 (in the text: *altun basamız [sic] taqdiq*, “we have appended our golden *baysa*”); due to its bad state of preservation, I was unable to consult the original document.

<sup>281</sup> Cf. below for an alternative form *taqtur-*; its English equivalent, proposed by the Redhouse dictionary, is “to append” or “to attach.”

1630. The lower part of the document, which apparently contained such holes, has been probably ripped or cut off. A note in Russian, preserved with the original document, also refers to the engravings made on both sides of the *baysa*: a large circle on the obverse contained the names of the khan and his father: *‘Inayet Gërey Han bin Ğazi Gërey Han*, while the names of Inayet’s two brothers, the qalga Hüsam Giray Sultan and the nureddin Sa’adet Giray Sultan, were engraved in two smaller circles on the reverse, both with references to their father, Khan Ghazi II Giray.<sup>282</sup> This *baysa*, containing the names of the khan, the qalga, and the nureddin, who are also referred to in the text of the instrument, was apparently appended to all the solemn documents, issued during the reign of Inayet Giray.

The following reference to the contents of a *baysa* can be found in the instrument of Islam III Giray, sent to Moscow in 1646. In its corroborating formula, the khan proclaims: “we have ordered to append our golden *baysa* to our present *şartname*” (*bu şart hattımızğa altun baysamızı taqtururğa buyurduq*). The document is preserved in a contemporary Arabic-script copy that also contains a unique testimony in regard to the *baysa* inscriptions. We read there: “on one side of the golden *baysa* it has been written: ‘There is no god but God! Muhammad is the Prophet of God!’; and on another side it has been written: ‘Islam Giray Khan, son of Selamet Giray Khan’” (*ve altun baysanın bir tarafında La ilaha illa ‘llah Muhammadun ar-rasul ‘llah [sic] deyib yazılğandır ve bir tarafında İslam Gërey Han bin Selamet Gërey Han deyib yazılğandır*).<sup>283</sup>

<sup>282</sup> *A na zolotoj pečati s odnu storonu v krugu vyrezano: Anoët Girej car’, Kazy Gireev carev syn. A na drugoj storone pečati v odnom krugu vyrezano: Xusam Girej carevič, Kazy Gireev carev syn. A v drugom krugu na toj že storone vyrezano: Saadet Girej carevič, Kazy Gireev carev syn*; cf. RGADA, f. 123, op. 2, no. 43; the Turkish text is published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, pp. 150–155; the Russian translation along with the description of the *baysa* is published in *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*... Edited by F. Laškov, pp. 73–76.

<sup>283</sup> Cf. RGADA, f. 123, op. 2, no. 52; the Turkish text is published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, pp. 355–359; the Russian translation along with the description of the *baysa* are published in *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*... Edited by F. Laškov, pp. 106–110. The Turkish description of the *baysa* remains unpublished; it is recorded along with the document’s main text on the typical narrow and thin Muscovian chancery paper (*stolbcovaja bumaga*), written by the same hand in nice *divani* script. According to a note published by Laškov, the copy was made in the Crimea and sent to Moscow by the Russian envoys before the original document arrived. The copy was apparently prepared in the Russian embassy quarters as that would explain

The authenticity of the above description, including the unusual form of the *shahada* (*ar-rasul`llah* instead of *rasul`llah*), can be confirmed by the contents of the *baysa* of Mehmed IV Giray, sent to Warsaw in 1654 (see below). By the time of his predecessor, it seems that *baysas* were only appended to the Crimean instruments sent to Moscow. In 1646, when Islam III Giray sent the aforementioned *şartname* to the tsar, he also sent an *ahdname* to the Polish king, but the latter document was not provided with a *baysa*: its preserved original copy is devoid of any reference to the khan's *baysa* and does not contain any holes left by the string, with which a *baysa* would have been attached.

The usage of the *baysa* is also confirmed by the corroborating formulas of the instruments sent to Moscow by Islam III Giray in 1647, and by Murad Giray in 1681 and 1682.<sup>284</sup> Besides, a contemporary Russian translation of the document from 1681 refers to the engravings on Murad Giray's *baysa*: "at this letter there is a golden seal attached with a string; on its one side it has been engraved: 'There is one God, and Muhammad is God's messenger'; on the other side it has been engraved: 'The sultan, son of the sultan, the valiant [Rus. *xrabroj*] sultan Murad Giray Khan, son of Mübarek Giray Sultan, [and] Mübarek Giray Sultan [was the] son of Selamet Giray Khan.'"<sup>285</sup>

The fragment, rendered in the Russian translation as *saltan saltanov syn*, *saltan xrabroj* ("the sultan, son of the sultan, the valiant sultan") is reminiscent of similar phrases, by which the Ottoman chancery

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the use of the Russian paper, or perhaps it was rewritten in Moscow by a chancery translator, who must have been fluent in the *divani* script.

<sup>284</sup> Cf. RGADA, f. 123, op. 2, nos. 54a (*bu şartname hattımızğa altun baysamızı taqturup yiberdik*, "we have sent this *şartname* having appended to it our golden *baysa*"), 62 (*altun baysalı mührimiz bilen 'ahdnamemiz*, "our *ahdname* with our golden *baysa*-like seal"), and 64 (*altun baysalı mührimiz birlen şartnamemiz*, "our *şartname* with our golden *baysa*-like seal"); all the three documents are published (with slight orthographic changes) in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskogo xanstva*, pp. 383–393, 651–653, and 689–691. The original of Murad Giray's instrument from 1682 contains holes left by the string, like the document from 1630. It is worth noting that in the two later documents from the years 1681–1682 we again find the explanatory term "*baysa*-like seal" (*baysalı mühür*), as if the term *baysa* were no longer as common as in the mid-century.

<sup>285</sup> *U toj že gramoty privešena na snurku pečat' zolotaja, a na odnoj storone vylito: Bog edin est Bog, a Magamet poslannoj Božej; na drugoj storone vyrezano: Saltan saltanov syn, saltan xrabroj Murad Girej xan, Mubarek Girej saltanov syn, Mubarek Girej saltan, Seljemet Girej xanov syn; cf. RGADA, f. 123, op. 2, no. 62; published in Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij... Edited by F. Laškov, p. 178.*

referred to Ottoman sultans. The complete original inscription of the *baysa* probably read on its one side: *La ilaha illa 'llah Muhammadun rasul' llah* [or *ar-rasul' llah*], and on the other: *sultan ibn sultan sultan al-Ġazi Murad Ġerey Han bin Mübarek Ġerey Sultan bin Selamet Ġerey Han*. Like in the analogous cases, described above, Murad Giray was not satisfied with mentioning his father, Mübarek Giray, who had not been the khan, but traced his ancestry further back to his grandfather, Selamet Giray Khan.

By 1681, the contents of the *baysa* had become standardized: the two *shahadas* on the obverse, and the khan's name on the reverse. The engravings of Inayet Giray's *baysa* from 1636, described above, contained only the names of the khan and his two brothers. But already in 1642, during his first reign, Mehmed IV Giray provided his instrument sent to Moscow with a golden *baysa* that looked like the later *baysas*. The document is preserved only in a Russian translation, but this translation refers to the *baysa* and confirms that it contained the two *shahadas* and the khan's name.<sup>286</sup> A similar *baysa* was used by Mehmed IV Giray during his second reign, as is evidenced by his instruments from 1654 sent to Moscow<sup>287</sup> and Warsaw (see below).

The latest *baysa*, whose inscription is recorded, was attached to Selim Giray's instrument sent to Moscow in 1684. The inscription was analogous to the one of Murad Giray's *baysa* from 1681. Reconstructed on the basis of a Russian contemporary description, it read on one side: *La ilaha illa 'llah Muhammadun rasul' llah* [or *ar-rasul' llah*], and on the other: *sultan ibn sultan sultan al-Ġazi Selim Ġerey Han bin Bahadır Ġerey Han*. Unlike Murad, Selim Giray did not need to trace his ancestry back to his grandfather, because his father, Bahadır Giray, was the khan. The Russian description of Selim's document also

<sup>286</sup> *A na zolotoj pečati vyrezano: Veruju vo edinago Boga i v proroka Magmetja; a na drugoj storone u toe pečati vyrezano: Magmet Ġirej car Salamat Ġireev carev syn*; cf. RGADA, f. 123, op. 2, no. 50; published in *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij...* Edited by F. Laškov, p. 102.

<sup>287</sup> The document sent to Moscow is preserved in a Russian translation that again refers to the *baysa* and its contents: "a hanging golden seal is attached to the original letter, and the seal is inscribed: Mehmed Giray Khan, son of Selamet Giray Khan" (*a u podlinnye gramoty privešena zolota pečat', a v pečati napisano: Magmet Ġirej car' Salam [sic] Ġireev carev syn*); apparently the Russian translator disregarded the obverse side that probably contained the two *shahadas*; cf. RGADA, f. 123, op. 2, no. 56; published in *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij...* Edited by F. Laškov, p. 140.

records that the *baysa* was attached with a silver, or rather silvered, string (*na serebrjanom snurku*).<sup>288</sup>

From among the Crimean documents, sent to Poland-Lithuania, only one is known to have been corroborated with a golden *baysa*, namely the instrument of Mehmed IV Giray from 1654, referred to within its text as “our ‘*ahdname*, provided with the golden *baysa*” (*altun baysalu ‘ahdnamemiz*). Paradoxically, unlike all the *baysas* sent to Moscow that had been long lost by the times of Samojlovič, the *baysa* of the “Polish” document was still extant in the 1970s, but unfortunately it is lost today. It is still visible on the microfilm, made on 10 March 1976 and held in the archives, and its dimensions can be measured by comparing its size with the size of the extant almond-like seal that is visible on the same microfilm. The *baysa*’s inscriptions were studied by Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, whose notes are preserved in the archives along with the original document. These notes allow one to learn the text of the engravings, both on the side visible on the microfilm but illegible, and on the opposite side. The obverse contained the two *shahadas*, written in the same unusual orthography as those of Islam III Giray’s *baysa* from 1646: *La ilaha illa ‘llah Muhammadun ar-rasul ‘llah* [sic], while the reverse merely contained a short inscription: ‘*ahdname-i Mehmed Gërey Han* (“the ‘*ahdname* of Mehmed Giray Khan”). The round *baysa*, visible on the black-and-white microfilm, measured 4.8 cm. in diameter. Today, only the silvered string with which it was attached, is preserved.<sup>289</sup>

All the *baysas*, described above, were once attached to the solemn instruments sent by the Crimean khans to Moscow and Warsaw. Unfortunately, none of them is known to have been preserved. We may conclude that in the 17th century the Crimean chancery began to corroborate its documents with hanging seals made of gold (perhaps gilded silver) and attached with silvered strings. The new usage, introduced first in the correspondence with Moscow, and then with Warsaw, was apparently adopted under the influence of the Russian and Polish chanceries, with which Baghchasaray maintained regular

<sup>288</sup> *Da u toj že gramoty privešena pečat’ zolotaja na serebrjanom snurku, a na nej vyrezano, na odnoj storone: Bog’ edin’, a inogo Boga nest’, Magomet že poslan-nyj ot Boga; na drugoj storone: Sultan sultanov syn, sultan xrabryj Selim Girej xan, Bagadyr Gireev xanov syn; cf. RGADA, f. 123, op. 2, no. 69; published in Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij.... Edited by F. Laškov, p. 201.*

<sup>289</sup> See Document 64.

diplomatic contacts. Nevertheless, the new seal was “baptized” by a Mongolian term that invoked the ancient Genghisid tradition. In turn, the Arabic inscriptions engraved on the seals stressed the Muslim identity of their owners, and the titles referring to the khans were coined under the influence of the Ottoman chancery.

d) *introductory sözüm/sözümüz formula and the development of the Crimean tuğra*

A typical introductory formula of Genghisid documents, especially of the *yarlıq*s, consisted of the khan’s name followed by the expression “our word” (Tur. *sözümüz* < Mong. *üge manu*), alternatively rendered in the singular as “my word” (Tur. *sözüm*). Summarizing the long scholarly discussion on its meaning and proper translation, Usmanov regards this formula as equivalent to the *intitulatio*.<sup>290</sup> In his book written in Russian, the Tatar scholar proposes to render a model Turkic formula *Toqtamış sözüm* (whereas this khan’s name can be substituted with any other) as *Moe Toktamyševo slovo*, regarding such translation the most neat and precise. Unfortunately, its English equivalent: “My, Tokhtamış’s word,” would sound awkward, so in the present volume the form “Tokhtamış: my word:” has been preferred instead. In the cases when “*sözüm* formulas” are preserved in contemporary Ruthenian or Polish translations, our English translation is based on

<sup>290</sup> Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, pp. 186–205; cf. *idem*, “Termin <<jarlyk>>,” pp. 238–240; also Inalcık regards the *sözüm* formula as “the old Turco-Mongol *intitulatio*,” cf. *idem*, “Power Relationships between Russia, the Crimea, and the Ottoman Empire as Reflected in Titulature,” p. 410, n. 93. Such classification is somewhat misleading because the *sözüm* formula typically does not contain any titles but only the khan’s name. This modesty is not accidental: Genghis Khan specifically forbade his successors to use lofty titles that in his times were common among the Muslim rulers; cf. Bertold Spuler, *Geschichte der Mongolen, nach östlichen und europäischen Zeugnissen des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts* (Zürich, 1968), p. 50. Besides, the word *sözüm* has a legitimizing character that is absent from a typical *intitulatio* of Western chancery documents. The confusion partly results from the fact that the Turco-Persian term *sername* is typically identified with the Latin *intitulatio* while in fact these terms differ: the term *sername* merely refers to the inscription found at the top of the document, and such an inscription does not have to contain the issuer’s titlature that is implied by the Latin term. Lajos Fekete refers to the *sername* with the German term *Kopfteil*; see *idem*, “Arbeiten der grusinischen Orientalistik auf dem Gebiete der türkischen und persischen Paläographie und die Frage der Formel *sözüm*,” p. 13. Hence, while the *sözüm* formula can be certainly identified with the *sername*, I would hesitate to call it *intitulatio*.

these translations and does not aim to fully reconstruct the hypothetical original Turkic form.<sup>291</sup>

The introductory “*sözüm* formulas,” recorded in the Crimean instruments sent to Poland-Lithuania by 1600, were as follows:

- ca. 1462 *Chadzigireia cara slowo to jest:*  
 (“This is the word of Hadji Giray Khan.”)
- 1507 (*yarlıq*) *Великое Урды великого царя Мендликгиреево слово:*  
 (“The word of Mengli Giray, the great khan of the Great Horde.”)
- 1513 (December) *Великого царя Мендликгиреево слово:*  
 (“The word of the great khan Mengli Giray.”)
- 1514 (June) *Царя Менликгиреево слово:*  
 (“The word of Mengli Giray Khan.”)
- 1514 (November) *Questa dunche è la fedel parola del Serenissimo Menligueri, per la gracia de Dio imperatore de la Grande Orda, de tucta la Tartarea et de la Gazarea signore et herede et cetera, et del gran consiglio de la destra et senestra mano sua, zoe de li legionarii, millenarii, centorioni, decurioni, et de tucti loro satrape, duchi, et cetera.*<sup>292</sup>
- 1517 *Деда моего Мелли Кириа слово, утца моего Магмет Кириа слово, Багатырь солтаново слово, брата моего Алп Кирей солтаново слово:*  
 (“The word of my grandfather Mengli Giray, [also] the word of my father Mehmed Giray, the word of [mine,] Bahadır Sultan,<sup>293</sup> [and] the word of my brother, Alp Giray Sultan.”)

<sup>291</sup> For instance, the formula rendered in Polish: *Chadzigireia cara slowo to jest* is translated: “this is the word of Hadji Giray Khan” and not “Hadji Giray Khan: my word,” even though the lost original (provided that the document was originally composed in Khwarezmian Turkic and not Ruthenian) probably read: *Hacı Girey Han sözüm*.

<sup>292</sup> This phrase seems to combine the “*sözüm* formula” proper (*Questa dunche è la fedel parola del Serenissimo Menligueri*) with a fully developed *intitulatio* introduced by the *formula devotionis* (*per la gracia de Dio*); on this development, see below.

<sup>293</sup> The instrument was issued by Prince Bahadır Giray and based on the instrument of his father, Mehmed Giray, issued in 1515; as we see, apart from his own authority



- 1520 (*yarlıq cum şartname*) *Божьею милостью Магъмет Кирей цар, Деист-и Сипчокъ всимъ землямъ господарь, татарскимъ с предков своихъ господарь, слово мое то есть:*  
 ("By the grace of God, Mehmed Giray Khan, the lord of all the lands of the Kipchak Steppe and the hereditary lord of the Tatars, this is my word:")
- 1520 (*şartname*) *Ulu Ordanung ulu hanı Deşt-i Qırçaq barça Moğul padişahı Muhammed Gërey Han sözü:*  
 ("The great khan of the Great Horde, the padishah of the Kipchak Steppe and all the Mongols, Muhammed<sup>294</sup> Giray Khan: my word:")
- 1527 (khan) *Великое Врды великого царя Садегъ Кирей слово нашо то есть:*  
 ("This is our word, [the word] of the great khan of the Great Horde, Sa'adet Giray:")
- 1527 (qalga) *Великое Врды великого царя Садегъ Кирева брата Слагаль Кгево слово:*  
 ("The word of Islam Giray, the brother of Sa'adet Giray, the great khan of the Great Horde:")
- 1532 *Деда моего, цара Менъ Кгиреево слово, и втца моего, цара Магмет Киреево слово, Богатырь солтаново слово, брата моего, Алъ Кирей солтаново слово:*  
 ("The word of my grandfather, Mengli Giray Khan, and the word of my father, Mehmed Giray Khan, [also] the word of [mine,] Bahadır Sultan,<sup>295</sup> [and] the word of my brother, Alp Giray Sultan:")
- 1539 *Iż z łaski bożej na miescu ojca naszego carem zostałem, ojca naszego, cara Menligireya słowo, i brata naszego starszego cara słowo, i nas, Sahib-kireya słowo to jest:*  
 ("As by the grace of God I have become the khan in the place of our father, this is the word of

(i.e., word), Bahadır invokes the authority of his late grandfather, Mengli Giray, his father, Mehmed Giray, and his younger brother, Alp Giray.

<sup>294</sup> An Arabicized form of the name Mehmed.

<sup>295</sup> The instrument was nominally issued by Islam Giray but in fact literally reiterated the contents of Bahadır Giray's instrument from 1517.

- my father, Mengli Giray Khan, and of my elder brother,<sup>296</sup> and of us, Sahib Giray:”)
- 1552 *Великое Урды великии царъ Давлетъ Кирей цар слово:*  
 (“The word of Devlet Giray Khan, the great khan of the Great Horde:”)
- 1592 (‘*ahdname*) *Uluğ O[r]du uluğ hanı Ğazi Ğerey Han sözüm:*  
 (“The great khan of the Great Horde, Ghazi Giray Khan: my word:”)
- 1592 (oath-*yarlıq*) *Ebü’l-feth el-ğazi Ğazi Ğerey Han sözüm:*  
 (“The conqueror and ghazi, Ghazi Giray Khan: my word:”)

In regard to the remaining instruments, from which the “*sözüm* formula” is missing, it must be remembered that its absence from their extant translations does not necessarily imply that it was missing from the originals as well. For example, it is unlikely that Mengli Giray’s *yarlıq* from ca. 1473, based on the *yarlıq* of his father, did not contain such a crucial element. Similarly, the extant Polish translation of Sahib Giray’s instrument from 1542 does not contain the “my word” formula, but without this formula the document’s introductory paragraph does not make sense; besides, this formula is present in Sahib Giray’s earlier instrument from 1539.<sup>297</sup>

The evidence from the Crimean instruments, sent to Poland-Lithuania, only in part confirms the typology of Usmanov, who regarded the “*sözüm* formula” as characteristic for a *yarlıq* (see above). The formula figured indeed in the *yarlıqs*, but also in several *şartnames*, such as the instruments from 1514 (November) and 1520. Admittedly, its presence in *şartnames* was probably less requisite than in *yarlıqs*.

Ghazi II Giray’s documents from 1592 reflect the development which began already during the reign of Devlet Giray, when the “*sözüm* formula” adopted the shape of a monogram analogous to the Ottoman *tuğra*.<sup>298</sup> The “*sözüm* formulas” of the two documents from 1592 are

<sup>296</sup> I.e., Mehmed Giray.

<sup>297</sup> Cf. Document 31, n. 2.

<sup>298</sup> Already Devlet Giray’s letter, sent to Sigismund Augustus in June 1572 (dated 1 Safer 980 A.H. and referred to as a *yarlıq*), is topped with a large inscription *Devlet Ğerey Han sözüm* (دولت کرای خان سوزم), which resembles a *tuğra*, especially since the Arabic letter *lam* in the word *Devlet* and the two *elifs* in the words *Ğerey*

written in gold ink in very large *divani* script, below the invocation but well above the main body of the text. In the first document, which is also provided with a golden *nišan*, the “*sözüm* formula” is placed above the *nišan*.<sup>299</sup> Although these inscriptions still cannot be properly labeled as *tuğras*, I would tentatively refer to them as proto-*tuğras*.

In the Ottoman Empire, the *tuğra* developed in the 14th century and the earliest extant specimens belong to Sultan Orhan. By the 16th century, the initially simple monogram of the sultan had developed into a highly artistic feature, drawn by a special calligrapher known as *tuğrakeş*, and used to corroborate all the documents issued in the name of the sultan.<sup>300</sup>

The Crimean *tuğra* fully developed only in the 17th century and was inspired by the Ottoman model. Like the Ottoman one, it contained three vertical strokes that symbolised horse-tail standards. Yet, it usually lacked two loops, sometimes referred to as wings, which made it resemble the monogram of Ottoman viziers and pashas, known as *pençe*, rather than the *tuğra* of the Ottoman sultan.<sup>301</sup> For that reason, some scholars had referred to them as *pençes* rather than *tuğras* until their dignity has been fully restored by Sagit Faizov.<sup>302</sup> The Tatar

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and *Han* are lengthened and shaped like the three horse-tail standards of the Ottoman *tuğra*; see AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 65, t. 8, no. 584. Usmanov states that the development of the Crimean *tuğra* was completed in the second half of the 16th century after the reign of Sahib Giray (*posle Saxib-Giraja*), but he does not provide any examples; see *idem*, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, pp. 134–135. The earliest Crimean *tuğra* known to Faizov is the one of Qalga Mehmed Giray from 1576, published by Mária Ivanics; cf. Faizov [Faiz], *Tuğra i Vselennaja. Moxabbat-name i šert-name krymskix xanov i princev v ornamental'nom, sakral'nom i diplomatičeskom kontekstax* (Moscow-Baghchasaray, 2002), pp. 4–5 (for an earlier example, preserved in Mehmed Giray's letter sent to Poland in 1574, see AGAD, Dz. tat., k. 65, t. 116, no. 692). Unlike Faizov, I refer to these early, sixteenth-century examples as proto-*tuğras* rather than *tuğras*.

<sup>299</sup> Admittedly, the “*sözüm* formulas” were placed above the *nişans* also earlier, for instance in the documents of Tokhtamış (1393) and Mehmed Giray (1520).

<sup>300</sup> On the Ottoman *tuğra*, see Jan Reychman and Ananiasz Zajączkowski, *Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomats* (The Hague-Paris, 1968), pp. 141–143; Ernst Kühnel, “Die osmanische Tughra,” *Kunst des Orients* 2 (1955): 69–82; and especially Suha Umur, *Osmanlı padişah tuğraları* (Istanbul, 1980).

<sup>301</sup> To be sure, some *tuğras* drawn on the Crimean documents held in Moscow contain two loops, like the Ottoman *tuğra*, but such exceptions are rare: the *tuğra* of Khan Djanibek Giray from 1628 (albeit most of his extant documents contain typical *tuğras* without the loops), the *tuğra* of Qalga Hüsam Giray from 1635, and the *tuğra* of Khan Inayet Giray, drawn on his *şartname* sent to the tsar in 1636 (see RGADA, f. 123, op. 2, no. 43); for the color reproductions of these three *tuğras*, see Faizov, *Tuğra i Vselennaja*, pp. 38 (ill. 3), 42–45 (ill. 9–10), and 50–51 (ill. 15–16).

<sup>302</sup> On the Crimean *tuğras*, see Sagit Faizov, “Tuğry krymskogo xanskogo dvora XVII—načala XVIII st. v protokole i xudožestvennoj strukture gramot xanov i princev,”

scholar has persuasively demonstrated that unlike the *pençe*, placed on the margin of a document, the Crimean *tuğra* is drawn, like the Ottoman one, over the main text, directly below the invocation. It symbolically represents the ruler as the mediator between his subjects and God, and is sometimes believed to be shaped after a bird that also “mediates” between earth and heaven. Unlike the *pençes* of Ottoman dignitaries, the *tuğras* of the Crimean khans, and even of the Crimean *qalgas* and *nureddins*, were drawn in various colors that further stressed their solemn character.

The inscription in a *tuğra* of an Ottoman sultan consisted of his monogram along with the name of his father, followed by two words: *muzaffer* (“victorious”), entered directly below the horse-tail standards (whereas the lengthened vertical stroke of the Arabic letter ط in the word مظفر made the middle standard), and *da’ima* (“ever”), written separately to the left of the *tuğra*.<sup>303</sup> Since the Crimean *tuğra* was shaped after the Ottoman one, some of its features resembled the inscriptions of the latter (e.g., the word *muzaffer*), but in fact these features were redundant. On the other hand, the Crimean chancery clerks charged with drawing the *tuğra* sometimes left out words that did not fit the visual composition even though these words should figure in the monogram. For instance, in the *tuğras* of Khan Bahadır Giray and his brother, Nureddin Qırım Giray, the surname *Gerey* in the name of their father, Selamet Giray, is missing (cf. below). The inscription of Islam III Giray’s *tuğra*, appended to his instrument from 1649, is especially corrupt and can only be reconstructed by comparing with his earlier *tuğra* from 1646. As the document from 1649 was issued in a military camp far from the Crimean capital, we may surmise that the clerk who had usually drawn the *tuğra* was absent and his task was entrusted to a less gifted substitute.

The only fragment easily decipherable in all the Crimean *tuğras* is the term *sözümüüz* (سوزمن, “our word”), written to the left of their main

in: *Mappa Mundi. Zbirnyk naukovykh prac’ na pošanu Jaroslava Daškevyča z nahody joho 70-riččja* (L’viv-Kiev-New York, 1996): 427–434; *idem*, “Xudožestvennye dostoinstva opublikovannykh Xusainom Faixxanovym gramot krymskix xanov i princev,” in: *Xusain Faixxanov. Žizn’ i nasledie. Istoriko-dokumental’nyj sbornik*, pp. 149–151; and especially *idem*, *Tugra i Vselennaja*; the latter publication contains color reproductions of some fabulous seventeenth-century *tuğras* drawn on the Crimean documents preserved in the Russian archives.

<sup>303</sup> For instance, the *tuğra* of Murad III (r. 1574–1595) read: *Murad-şah bin Selim-şah han muzaffer da’ima* (“Murad-shah, son of Selim-shah, the ever victorious khan”).

bodies, in the place where the Ottomans inscribed the word *da'ima*. The inscriptions of the Crimean *tuğras* drawn on the documents published in the present volume are as follows:

1632	Canibek Gërey Han sözümüz
1634	Canibek Gërey Han sözümüz
1640	Bahadır Gërey Han bin Selamet [Gërey] Han sözümüz <sup>304</sup>
1640 (qalga)	İslam Gërey Sultan hazretlerimiz sözümüz
1640 (nureddin)	Qırım Gërey Sultan bin Selamet [Gërey] Han sözümüz <sup>305</sup>
1646	İslam Gërey Han bin Selamet Gërey Han sözümüz
1649	İslam Gërey Han bin Selamet Gërey Han sözümüz
1654	Mehmed Gërey Han bin Selamet Gërey Han sözümüz
1742	Selamet-Gërey <sup>306</sup> Han bin el-Hacc Selim Gërey Han sözümüz

As we can see, the Crimean *tuğra* simply adopted the “*sözüm* formula,” removing any details of the khan’s *intitulatio* that had been sometimes inscribed in this formula, and preferring the possessive plural to the possessive singular (*sözümüz* and not *sözüm*). By the mid-17th century, the name of the owner’s father had been added to the inscription, though the clerks charged with drawing the *tuğra* initially had trouble with finding a place for the second *Gërey* within its text.

The limited sample analyzed in the present study does not allow one to draw general conclusions about the development of the Crimean *tuğra* in the 17th and 18th centuries. Yet, one may safely assume that the lavish colors and impressive size of Djanibek Giray’s *tuğras* must have been inspired by the Ottoman *tuğras* from the same period that were also of impressive size and came in a variety of colors.<sup>307</sup> Depending on where they were issued and to whom they were addressed,

<sup>304</sup> This *tuğra* is more simple than the *tuğra* of Bahadır Giray drawn on his *şartname* and other letters sent to Moscow; for color reproductions of the latter, see Faizov, *Tuğra i Vselennaja*, pp. 46–49, 52–55, ill. 12–14, 18, 20–22.

<sup>305</sup> Faizxanov read this *tuğra* differently: *Qırım Gërey Sultan hazretlerimiz sözümüz*; cf. *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, p. 256.

<sup>306</sup> Written together: *سلامتکرای*.

<sup>307</sup> On the Ottoman *tuğras* drawn on the instruments addressed to Poland-Lithuania, see Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 10–11 and 43–44.

Table 2. Color and size of the *tuğras* on Crimean instruments sent to Poland-Lithuania

<i>Date</i>	<i>Colors used</i>	<i>Height (cm.)</i>	<i>Width (cm.)</i>
1632	gold, blue, green, greyish, red	23	26
1634	gold, brown, red, orange, blue	25.5	29
1640	gold	13.5	21.5
1640 (qalga)	gold on the black background	12.5	21
1640 (nureddin)	gold	12.5	23
1646	gold	13.5	28.5
1649	black	9	25.5
1654	gold	15	29
1742	gold	20	29.5

*tuğras* of the same khan could differ in size and artistic quality. For instance, Islam III Giray's *tuğra* from 1649, drawn in a military camp near Zboriv, whose illegibility has been already deplored, is smaller than his *tuğras* from 1646, and even from 1640, when he was only the qalga. Besides, the *tuğra* from 1649 is the only one drawn in black, while the others are drawn in gold and sometimes additional colors as well.

A constant practice in the Crimean chancery, already mentioned above, was the corroboration of the khan's instrument with his personal signet seal, used not instead but along with the *nişan*, *baysa*, or *tuğra*. Unlike the Ottoman sultans, who avoided attaching personal seals to their letters sent to foreign rulers, the khans did not perceive such a personal touch to be below their dignity. Perhaps they even regarded it useful for creating the liaisons of intimacy between the sender and the addressee. Such an attitude is explicitly worded in the instrument of Mehmed III Giray from 1624, whose corroborating formula, recorded in a Polish translation, reads: "and in order to further raise its validity, we have impressed the seal with our own brotherly hand."<sup>308</sup>

<sup>308</sup> *A żeby to ważniej było, ręką swą własną i braterską pieczęć przycisnęliśmy*; see Document 48. The Polish translation, which records the inscription of the khan's signet seal, does not refer to his *tuğra*, but we may safely assume that the instrument was also provided with a *tuğra* or at least proto-*tuğra*.

*Intitulatio*

Few fifteenth- and sixteenth-century documents that lack the *sözüm* formula contain in its stead an *intitulatio*, which is analogous to the one used in the contemporary European and Ottoman chanceries:

- 1467 *Nordulath magnus imperator Tartharorum*  
 1507 (*şartname*) *Великое Урды великии цар Менздикгиреи цар*  
 (“Mengli Giray Khan, the great khan of the Great Horde”)  
 1514 (October) *Мендли Гиреи цар, божю милостью Великое Урды великии цар, всихъ Кипъчаковъ, и Туркменъ, и татарскийи господарь*  
 (“[I,] Mengli Giray Khan, by the grace of God the great khan of the Great Horde, all the Kipchaks and Turkomans, and the lord of the Tatars”)

Nevertheless, the *intitulatio* fully developed in the Crimean documents only after the *sözüm* formula had been incorporated into the *tuğra* that had been detached from the main text and elevated to the top of the instrument.<sup>309</sup> While the early proto-*tuğras* of Ghazi II Giray from 1592 still recorded both the khan’s name and his titles, apparently for practical and aesthetic reasons such lengthy inscriptions ceased to be inscribed within the *tuğras* proper. Therefore, while the *tuğra* inscription was limited to the khan’s monogram, his full elaborated title was transferred to the *intitulatio*. This development is already manifest in Ghazi II Giray’s instrument from 1599, preserved in a Polish translation. Its text opens with a short inscription “Ghazi Giray Khan” (*Car Kazigierey*) that apparently belonged to the proto-*tuğra* (the Polish translator probably left out the formula *sözüm*), but then follows a

<sup>309</sup> Consequently, the expression *sözüm* (or *sözümüz*), absorbed into the *tuğra*, could no longer be found in the main text; still, in Islam III Giray’s instrument sent in 1646 to Moscow one finds the *sözüm* formula twice: in the *tuğra*, and again in the main text, after the lofty *intitulatio* which ends with the words: *sözümüz oldur kim*; see RGADA, f. 123, op. 2, no. 52 (the document is preserved in a contemporary copy); published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, p. 355; this *intitulatio* is quoted in Inalcık, “Power Relationships between Russia, the Crimea, and the Ottoman Empire as Reflected in Titulature,” p. 387.

longer inscription that apparently opened the main text and can be classified as an *intitulatio*:

- 1599 *Z łaski i miłości bożej, Wielkiej Ordy wielki car Kazigierey*  
 (“By the grace and love of God, the great khan of the Great Horde, Ghazi Giray”)

Further *intitulatio*s found in the Crimean instruments are as follows:

- 1601 *Wielkiej Ordy wielki car, distkypczacki, petihorski, nohaiski, i nad niezliczonymi Tatary wolny hospodar, Car Kazy Girei*  
 (“The great khan of the Great Horde, the free<sup>310</sup> lord of the Kipchak Steppe,<sup>311</sup> of the Circassians,<sup>312</sup> Nogays, and innumerable Tatars, Ghazi Giray Khan”)
- 1604 *Wielkiej Ordy wielgi car, czerkaski, nogaiski, saneski,<sup>313</sup> i inszych wszystkich narodów tatarskich dziedziczny cham [sic], Gazi Gierey sułtan*  
 (“The great khan of the Great Horde, the hereditary khan of the Circassians, Nogays, innumerable [Tatars], and all other <Tatar> nations, Ghazi Giray Sultan”)<sup>314</sup>
- 1607 *Magnae Ordae magnus et excellentissimus caesar Destkiperiach,<sup>315</sup> Crimi et Cerkassiae, infinitimorum Nogaiorum et innumerabilium Tartarorum magnus et absolutus princeps et chanus Kazigierey Han*

<sup>310</sup> The expression *wolny hospodar* (“free lord”), also found in Ruthenian sources (cf. Document 10, n. 3), reflects the ancient Mongol-Tatar notion of sovereignty.

<sup>311</sup> The Turkish term *Deşt-i Qıpçaq* (Kipchak Steppe) is rendered in Polish by the adjective *distkypczacki*.

<sup>312</sup> The Polish and Ruthenian term *Petyhorcy* (i.e., “those of the Five Mountains”) was analogous to the Russian term *Pjatigorcey* (cf. the name of the modern town of Pjatigorsk) and referred particularly to the Kabardinians, inhabiting the region extending between the Elbrus range and the Kuma river. Nevertheless, it sometimes applied to other Circassian tribes as well; cf. Aleksandr Nekrasov, *Meždunarodnye otnošenija i narody Zapadnogo Kavkaza*, pp. 27–29.

<sup>313</sup> It should read *nad niezliczonymi Tatary* (“[the lord] of innumerable Tatars”) like in the instrument from 1601. The Polish translator apparently did not understand the Turkish word *sansız* (“innumerable,” hence *sansız Tatarın*, “of innumerable Tatars”), so he invented a nonexistent Polish adjective *saneski* (“of the Sans”).

<sup>314</sup> The title of sultan was apparently entered by mistake. While in the Ottoman Empire it referred to the ruler, in the Crimea it referred to the princes but not to the khan himself.

<sup>315</sup> Corrupt for Tur. *Deşt-i Qıpçaq*, i.e., the Kipchak Steppe.



- 1609 *Wielkiej Ordy wielki wolny car, deskiczapski, petihorski, tatarski, i wielu nahayskich narodów mocny i wielki car Salamet Gierey* ("The great, free khan of the Great Horde, the mighty and great khan of the Kipchak Steppe, of the Circassians, Tatars, and numerous Nogay peoples, Selamet Giray")
- 1611 *Wielkiej Ordy wielki wolny car, destkypczacky, wielki newiysky wieliu nacji, pietiorski, bez liczby wielie Tatar wielki car będący Dziambegier*  
 ("The great, free khan of the Great Horde, being the great khan of the Kipchak Steppe, numerous Nogay peoples,<sup>316</sup> the Circassians, and innumerable Tatars, Djanibek Giray")
- 1624<sup>317</sup> *Wielkiej Ordy i wielkiego państwa, i pól lipciackich [sic], i stolice krymskiej, i wiele Tatarów, i bez liczby Nahayczyków, i prawej strony i lewej strony, i sto tysięcy Tatarów, i wielu w górach siedzących Cerkiesów, i Tatów wielki cesarz i wielki chan, podobny Ferydunowi, zacnością jako słońcem oświecony, możności i sprawiedliwości pełny, najjaśniejszy krymski chan Mechmed Gyray chan (któremu niech Bóg pomocnikiem będzie i niech go błogosławi na długie czasy!)*  
 ("[I,] the great emperor and great khan of the Great Horde and great state, the Kipchak Steppe, the Crimean throne, numerous Tatars and innumerable Nogays, the right side and the left side, one hundred thousand Tatars, numerous Circassians dwelling in the mountains, and the Tats,<sup>318</sup> the illus-

<sup>316</sup> Recorded in a slightly corrupt form as: *wielki newiysky wieliu nacji*.

<sup>317</sup> Strangely, this *intitulatio* can be found in the middle of the document and in fact belongs to the *narratio*.

<sup>318</sup> The term *Tat* appears already in the eighth-century Turkic Orkhon inscriptions denoting "a subjected foreign people." In the seventeenth-century Crimean context, it probably denoted various peoples of foreign (i.e., non-Turkic) origin living under the khan's rule, especially the Greeks, Italians, and the remnants of the Goths and Alans inhabiting the mountainous southern section of the Crimea; cf. Edmond Schütz, "The *Tat* people in the Crimea," *AO ASH* 31 (1977): 77–106, esp. pp. 77–84 and 89–97; Ivanics, "Formal and linguistic peculiarities of 17th century Crimean Tatar letters addressed to princes of Transylvania," pp. 217–218; Alexander Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), p. 193. In the now lost original document in Turkish, the reference to the Tats was probably accompanied by a reference to the Tavgaches, like in the later Crimean documents and in the almost contemporary *şartname* sent by Mehmed III Giray to Muscovy, dated 11 September 1624; cf. RGADA, f. 123, op. 2, no. 36, fol. 5a; published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, p. 21 (the Turkish copy reads: *Tat bile Tavgaçnıñ*, whereas in the contemporary Russian translation both terms are left out as they were apparently unknown to the translator; cf. *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*... Edited by F. Laškov, p. 47). Samuel Otwinowski, the

trious Crimean khan Mehmed Giray Khan (may God assist and bless him for a long time!), similar to Feridun,<sup>319</sup> enlightened with righteousness like with sunlight, full of power and justice”)

- 1632 *Uluğ orda ve uluğ yurtñıñ ve taht-i Qırımñıñ ve Deşt-i Qıpçaqñıñ ve sansız hem Tatarñıñ ve sağıssız köp Noğayñıñ ve tağ çığlay Çerkesñıñ ve Tat bile Tavgaçñıñ ve din-i mübin ve islam-i din-i mü'mininñıñ uluğ padişahı ve uluğ hanı 'azametlü Canibek Gërey Han hazretlerinñ edame'llahu ta'ala ila yevmi'l-mizan eyyam-i nusretindin*

{“From his excellency, the great padishah and great khan of the Great Horde and great country [yurt], the Crimean throne, the Kipchak Steppe, innumerable Tatars and countless<sup>320</sup> Nogays, mountain Circassians, Tats and Tavgaches,<sup>321</sup> and of the faithful of the manifest religion of Islam, great Djanibek Giray Khan (may God—may He be exalted!—prolong his [i.e., my] victorious days until the Day of Judgment!) [...]”}

- 1634 *Uluğ orda ve uluğ yurtñıñ ve Deşt-i Qıpçaqñıñ ve taht-i Qırımñıñ ve sansız köp Tatarñıñ ve sağıssız Noğayñıñ ve Tat bile Tavgaçñıñ ve tağ ara Çerkeçñıñ ve cümle-i mü'minin ve*

author of the extant Polish translation, was probably familiar with the term *Tat*, but not with *Tavgaç*, so he left it out. On the Tavgaches, see n. 321 below.

<sup>319</sup> Feridun was the legendary ancient Persian hero and king.

<sup>320</sup> The Turkish word *köp* (“many”), often paired in the *intitulatio* with the terms *sağıssız* (“countless”) or *sansız* (“innumerable”), is left untranslated because the phrase “innumerable many Tatars” or “countless many Nogays” would sound awkward in English.

<sup>321</sup> On the Tats and on the earliest known reference to the Tavgaches in the Crimean context, see n. 318 above. In the Old Turkic context the term *Tabyač* or *Tavyač* referred to a Mongolian speaking tribe in northern China, while in the Karakhanid state it referred to Central Asia. It is doubtful whether the term *Tavgaç*, adopted by the Crimean chancery in the 17th century, referred to any ethnic or religious group. It rather stressed the dynasty's historical roots, harmonizing in juxtaposition with the word *Tat*; cf. Edmond Schütz, “The *Tat* people in the Crimea,” pp. 98–100 (the author overlooked the earliest reference from 1624 and attributed the introduction of the formula “Tats and Tavgaches” to Djanibek Giray); Ivanics, “Formal and linguistic peculiarities of 17th century Crimean Tatar letters addressed to princes of Transylvania,” pp. 217–218. The vague meaning of the formula, not referring in the Crimean context to any specific ethno-religious community, is confirmed by an entry in *Drevnetjurkskij slovar*, where the expression *tat tavyač* is explained as *vsjakie inozemcy* (“all kinds of aliens”); see *Drevnetjurkskij slovar* (Leningrad, 1969), p. 541.

*müsliminin uluğ padişahı ‘azametli ve rif‘atlı ve şevketli uluğ han-i a‘zam ve haqan-i mu‘azzam Canibek Gërey Han edame’llahu ta‘ala eyyame ‘ömrihi ve devletihi ila yevmi’l-mizan hazretlerinden*

{“From his excellency, the great padishah of the Great Horde and great country [yurt], the Kipchak Steppe, the Crimean throne, innumerable Tatars and countless Nogays, Tats and Tavgaches, mountain Circassians,<sup>322</sup> and all the faithful and pious ones [i.e., Muslims], the majestic, eminent, mighty and exalted khan, and the esteemed khakan, Djanibek Giray Khan (may God—may He be exalted!—prolong the days of his [i.e., my] life and reign until the Day of Judgment!) [...]”}

1635 *Wielkiej Ordy, wielkich narodów, stolice krymskiej, pól kypczackich, niezliczonych Tatarów, niezmiernych Nachayców i między górami będących Czerkiesów, i bez osiedla żyjących Tatów, prawej i lewej strony <i> stu, dziesięci, tysięcy, tumanów wielki car i wielki krymski chan, wywyższony, ogromny, ozdobny, najjaśniejszy, wielmożny, miłosierdzie nad ludem pospolitym trzymający, Inaiet Giray chan (którego wielmożności niech Pan Bóg do dni wolej swojej szczęśliwie dopomaga!)*

{“The great tsar of the Great Horde and great nations, the Crimean throne, the Kipchak Steppe, innumerable Tatars, countless Nogays, mountain Circassians,<sup>323</sup> unsettled Tats,<sup>324</sup> and the hundreds, tens, thousands, and tens of thousands [tümens] of the right and the left side, the great Crimean khan, the elevated, great, decorous, illustrious, magnificent, extending his grace unto the common people, Inayet Giray Khan (may God assist his majesty with prosperity until the day of His will [i.e., the khan’s death!])”}

<sup>322</sup> Lit. “Circassians [living] among mountains.”

<sup>323</sup> Lit. “Circassians dwelling among mountains,” a literal translation of the Turkish expression *tağ ara Çerkes*.

<sup>324</sup> On the Tats, see n. 318 above. The description “unsettled” (Pol. *bez osiedla żyjących*) apparently results from a misunderstanding, as the Tats were not nomads. Since in the khan’s *intitulatio* the Tats were typically paired with the Tavgaches and the latter term was unknown to Otwinowski (cf. n. 318), the Crown translator perhaps mistook *Tavgaç* for *Tav-göç*, “wandering in the mountains,” and erroneously applied this term to the Tats (“wandering” > “leading unsettled life” > “unsettled”).

- 1637 *My, wielkich państw i Wielkiej Ordy, i stolice krymskiej, wielkich [pól] <gór> kipczackich i cerkieskich [gór] <pól>, i niezliczonych wojsk tatarskich i nachayskich na prawej i lewej stronie wielki car i chan Bahadyr Gierey chan, syn Selamet Gierey chanów, syna Dewlet Gierejowego*  
 ("We, the great tsar and khan of the great states and Great Horde, the Crimean throne, the Kipchak Steppe and the Circassian mountains, and the innumerable Tatar and Nogay troops of the right and the left side, Bahadır Giray Khan, son of Selamet Giray Khan, son of Devlet Giray")
- 1637 (qalga) *My, Wielkiej Hordy i wielkich państw krymskich, wielkich gór i szerokich pól tackich i nachayskich, cerkieskich, po lewej i prawej stronie wielkich wojsk wiary musułmańskiej wielki carowicz i kałga krymski, Islam Gieray sołtan*  
 ("We, the great prince [carowicz] of the Great Horde and the great Crimean domains, the great mountains and wide fields [i.e., steppes] of the Tats, Nogays, and Circassians, the great Muslim troops arranged into the left and the right side, the Crimean qalga, Islam Giray Sultan")
- 1640<sup>325</sup> [1] *Uluğ orda uluğ yurtñıñ taht-i Qırımñıñ uluğ han 'azimü'-ş-şanı Bahadır Gërey Han hazretlerindin*  
 ("From his [i.e., my] excellency, the great and most glorious khan of the Great Horde, the great country [yurt], and the Crimean throne, Bahadır Giray Khan")  
 [2] *Uluğ orda uluğ yurtñıñ ve Deşt-i Qıpçaqñıñ ve taht-i Qırımñıñ ve sansız köb çerivñıñ ve sağışsız Noğayñıñ ve Tat bile Tavgaçñıñ ve tav ara Çerkeçñıñ ve ong qolñıñ ve sol qolñıñ uluğ han 'ali-şanı Bahadır Gërey Han hazretlerindin*  
 ("From his excellency, the great illustrious khan of the Great Horde and great country [yurt], the Kipchak Steppe, the Crimean throne, innumerable troops

<sup>325</sup> Strangely, the fragment referring to the sender and the addressee is repeated so this document in fact contains two *intitulatio*s and two *inscriptio*s.

and countless Nogays, Tats and Tavgaches, mountain Circassians, the [troops of the] right wing and the left wing, Bahadır Giray Khan”)

1640 (qalga)

*Uluğ ordanıñ ve uluğ yurtınıñ ve taht-i Qırımınıñ ve Deşt-i Qıpçaqınıñ ve sansız köb Tatarınıñ ve sağışsız köb Noğayınıñ ve Tat bile Tavgaçınıñ ve tağ ara Çerkeçiniñ ve oñ qolınıñ ve barça ümmet-i Muhammedniñ ve yüz on min tükmeniniñ uluğ padişahı ve hem uluğ qalğa sultanı bolğan halefii `s-selatini `l-`uzamşerefii `l-havaqini `l-kiram sa`adetliü ve şeca`atlu mèn qağılgay İslam Gèrey Sultan edame `llahu ta`ala ömrehü ve devletehü ve nasara a`vanahu ve ansarahu hazretlerimizden*

(“From our excellency, me, the prosperous and brave qalga Islam Giray Sultan (may God—may He be exalted!—prolong his [i.e., my] life and reign, and may He grant victory to his [i.e., my] allies and auxiliaries!), the successor of great sultans and the glory of munificent khakans, who am the great padishah and also the great qalga of the Great Horde and great country [yurt], the Crimean throne, the Kipchak Steppe, innumerable Tatars and countless Nogays, Tats and Tavgaches, mountain Circassians, the [troops of the] right wing,<sup>326</sup> the whole community of Muhammad [i.e., the Muslims], [commanding over] hundreds, tens, thousands, and tens of thousands [tümens]”)

1640 (nureddin)<sup>327</sup>

*[1] Uluğ yurtınıñ ve taht-i Qırımınıñ uluğ nureddin Qırım Gèrey Sultan dame fi hıfzı Rabbina `l-müste`an hazretlerimizdin*

{“From our excellency, the great nureddin of the great country [yurt] and the Crimean throne,

<sup>326</sup> *ve oñ qolınıñ*; in the edition of Vel’jaminov-Zernov and Faizxanov this fragment is mistakenly “corrected” by the addition of a redundant phrase *ve sol qolınıñ* (“and of the left wing”); cf. *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, p. 260. While the khan was officially titled the commander of the troops “of the right wing and the left wing,” the qalga commanded over the right wing only; see also n. 438 in Part I.

<sup>327</sup> Like the khan’s document from the same year, this instrument contains two *intitulations* and two *inscriptions*; cf. n. 325 above.

Qırım Giray Sultan (may he last under protection of our Lord, whose aid is implored!)”}

[2] *Uluğ orda ve uluğ yurtñıñ ve Deşt-i Qıpçaqñıñ ve taht-i Qırımñıñ ve sansız köb Tatarñıñ ve sağışsız köb Noğayñıñ ve Tat bile Tavgaçñıñ ve tağ ara <Tavgaçñıñ ve>*<sup>328</sup> *Çerkeçñıñ oñ qolñıñ ve sol qolñıñ uluğ nureddin Qırım Gërey Sultan hazretlerindin*

(“From his excellency, the great nureddin of the Great Horde and great country [yurt], the Kipchak Steppe, the Crimean throne, innumerable Tatars and countless Nogays, Tats and Tavgaches, mountain Circassians, the [troops of the] right wing and the left wing, Qırım Giray Sultan”)

- 1646 *Uluğ yurtñıñ ve taht-i Qırımñıñ ve Deşt-i Qıpçaqñıñ ve sansız köp Tatarñıñ ve sağışsız Noğayñıñ ve tağ-ara Çerkesñıñ ve Tat bile Tavgaçñıñ uluğ padişahı bolğan ‘ali-hazret ma‘ali-rütbet Hurşid-tal‘at ‘Utarid-fıtnat İslam Gërey Han edame‘llahu eyyame devletihi mü‘ebbedeten ila yevmi‘l-mizan hazretlerindin* (“From his excellency of exalted dignity and great rank, of sunny appearance and mercurial intelligence [i.e., clever], Islam Giray Khan (may God eternally prolong the days of his reign until the Day of Judgment!), being the great padishah of the great country [yurt], the Crimean throne, the Kipchak Steppe, innumerable Tatars and countless Nogays, mountain Circassians, and Tats and Tavgaches”)

- 1649 *Tengri tebareke ve ta‘ala hazretleriniñ ruhmi ve ‘inayeti milen uluğ orda uluğ yurtñıñ ve taht-i Qırımñıñ ve tağ-ara Çerkesñıñ ve köp Tatarñıñ ve barça Noğayñıñ ve Deşt-i Qıpçaqñıñ ve bi-hesab çerüvñıñ uluğ padişahı olan sa‘adetlü ve devletlü ve maha-betlü ve şeca‘atlu mën uluğ İslam Gërey Han dame devletühü ila yevmi‘l-mizan hazretlerindin*

(“From his excellency, me, the great, prosperous, illustrious, majestic, and brave Islam Giray Khan (may his [i.e., my] reign last till the Day of Judgment!), who am—by the compassion and grace of His Excellency, God (may He be blessed and exalted!)—the great padishah of the Great Horde, the great country [yurt], the Crimean throne, mountain Circassians, numerous Tatars, all the Nogays, the Kipchak Steppe, and countless troops”)

<sup>328</sup> Apparently repeated by mistake; cf. the *intitulatio* in other documents.

- 1654 *Uluğ orda ve uluğ yurtnın ve Deşt-i Qıpçaqnın ve taht-i Qırımın ve sansız köb Tatarın ve sağışsız köp Noğaynın ve tağ-ara Çerkeçnıñ ve Tat bile Tavgaçnıñ uluğ padişahı olan ‘ali-hazret ma‘ali-rütbet Hurşid-tal‘at ‘Utarid-fitnat mên uluğ Mehmed Gêrey Han dame devletühü ila yevmi ‘l-mizan hazretlerindin*  
 (“From his excellency of exalted dignity and great rank, of sunny appearance and mercurial intelligence [i.e., clever], me, the great Mehmed Giray Khan (may his [i.e., my] reign last until the Day of Judgment!), being the great padishah of the Great Horde and great country [yurt], the Kipchak Steppe, the Crimean throne, innumerable Tatars and countless Nogays, mountain Circassians, and Tats and Tavgaches”)
- 1668 *Wielkich Ord, wielkiego państwa, stolice krymskiej, i ord kupczackich, i bez licby ordy, i Nahaiów, Tatów i Tumanów, w górach cerkieskich wielki car, wielki Adilgierey chan*  
 (“The great khan of the Great Horde, the great state, the Crimean throne, the Kipchak horde and countless hordes, and the Nogays, Tats and [Tavgaches],<sup>329</sup> and the mountain Circassians, the great khan Adil Giray”)
- 1672 *Sielim Giray z bożej łaski chan krymski, oczakowski, perekopski, białogrodzki, budziacki, czerkieski, kipczacki, tumiński, baszkurtski, Wielkiego i Małego Nogaiu dziedziczny chan*  
 (“Selim Giray, by the grace of God the Crimean khan, the hereditary khan of Oçakiv, Perekop, Akkerman, Budjak, Circassia, the Kipchak [Steppe], Tiumen,<sup>330</sup> the Bashkirs,<sup>331</sup> and the Great and Little Nogay [hordes]”)

<sup>329</sup> The Polish text reads: *Tatów i Tumanów* (lit. “of the Tats and Tumans”). Although the word *Tuman* could make sense here and refer either to a traditional Turco-Mongolian army unit (*tümen*, i.e., “ten thousand”) or the town of Tiumen in Siberia (cf. n. 330 below), most likely the original document referred to the Tavgaches, who were typically paired with the Tats in the official *intitulatio* of the Crimean khans. As the term *Tavgaç* was probably uncommon to the Polish translator or copyist, it was replaced by *Tuman*.

<sup>330</sup> Apparently a reference to Siberia, in the instrument of Mehmed IV Giray referred to as Tura (cf. Document 64, n. 8). Tiumen (or Tümen) was a Russian town, founded in 1586 in the place of Chingi-Tura, the former capital of the Siberian Khanate. Admittedly, there was also another Tümen in Daghestan; see Zajcev [Zaitsev], “The Khanate of Sibir,” in: *The Turks* (Ankara, 2002), vol. 2, pp. 860–866, esp. p. 864.

<sup>331</sup> This is the sole mention of the Bashkirs and Bashkortostan in the documents published in the present volume. Nevertheless, it is known that during the Bashkir uprising against the Russian rule in the years 1662–1664, Mehmed IV Giray envisioned a broad anti-Muscovian coalition, composed of the Poles, Ukrainian Cossacks,

- 1742 *Cenab-i tebareke ve ta'ala hazretlerinin 'avn-i 'inayet-i ehadiye ve lutf-i hidayet-i ezeliyesiyle 'ali-hita-i hazra-i ğabra-i Qırım ve Or ve Bucaq ve Quban ve Çerakise-i kuhestan ve 'amme-i 'aşair-i Noğayluyan-i sahra-neşinanın han-i a'zamı celadetlî celaletlî 'inayetlî şahametlî biz Selamet Gërey Han hazretimizden* (“From our excellency, the brave, majestic, gracious, and val-  
orous Selamet Giray Khan, [being]—by the aid of the mono-  
theistic grace and by the favor of the eternal spiritual guidance  
of His Majesty [God] (may He be blessed and exalted!)—the  
greatest khan of the exalted sphere between the sky and earth,  
of the Crimea, Or [i.e., Perekop], Budjak, Kuban,<sup>332</sup> the moun-  
tain Circassians, and all tribes of the Nogays, dwelling in the  
steppe”)

The *intitulatio*s of the instruments from 1514, 1599, 1649, 1672, and 1742 also contain the *formula devotionis*, referring to the grace of God that enabled the khan to ascend and hold his throne. Corresponding to the Latin *Dei gratia*, the formula was also used by the Ottoman chancery, apparently in result of its contacts with Christian states.<sup>333</sup> It is hard to resolve whether the Crimean chancery adopted the *formula devotionis* through the Ottoman medium<sup>334</sup> or rather due to direct borrowing from the Christian neighbors. Nonetheless, the formula had never become fully “domesticated” and is absent from the majority of the khans’ documents published in the present volume.

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Tatars, Nogays, Bashkirs, and even Kalmyks, although the latter had no wish to join it; see Michael Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met. The Russian State and the Kalmyk Nomads, 1600–1771* (Ithaca-London, 1992), p. 98.

<sup>332</sup> The territory on the right shore of the Kuban River, inhabited mainly by the Nogays, bordering on the south with Circassia and on the north with Cossack settlements along the Don; on its place in the Crimean-Russian relations in the years 1739–1774, see Kočekaev, *Nogajsko-russkie otnošenija v XV–XVIII vv.*, pp. 133–191; Tamara Feofilaktova, “Kubanskij vopros v russko-tureckix otnošenijax v 1768–1774 godax,” in: *Voprosy istorii i filologii* (Rostov-na-Donu, 1974): 69–74. For a Russian map of Kuban from the late 18th century, see Khodarkovsky, *Russia’s Steppe Frontier*, p. 219.

<sup>333</sup> On the adoption of the *formula devotionis* by the Ottoman chancery, cf. Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 11–14.

<sup>334</sup> Such opinion is voiced by Inalcık in *idem*, “Power Relationships between Russia, the Crimea, and the Ottoman Empire as Reflected in Titulature,” p. 387. Yet, the documents invoked by Inalcık origin from the 17th century while the earliest occurrence of the *formula devotionis* attested in the present study origins from 1514; in that period an import of chancery models from Vilnius, Moscow, or former Italian colonies in the Crimea was no less likely than from Istanbul.



As by the late 16th century the role of the *intitulatio* in the Crimean documents was usually played by the *sözüm* formula,<sup>335</sup> in order to follow the changes in the khan's official title one must examine both the *sözüm* formulas and the *intitulatios*.

Mengli Giray's victory over Sheikh Ahmed in 1502 had a great impact on his *Weltanschauung*. Mengli's envoy, sent in 1506 to Lithuania, referred to his lord as the ruler of "the two hordes: the Trans-Volgine and of Perekop" (*obejux tyx ord, Zavolskoe y Perekopskoe*).<sup>336</sup> According to Usmanov, it is after 1502 that Mengli Giray officially adopted the title of "the great khan of the Great Horde."<sup>337</sup> Although this view is nuanced by Collins, who reminds that *any* khan could refer to his encampment and army as the "great horde,"<sup>338</sup> both scholars agree that the year 1502 should be regarded as the turning point after which Mengli Giray became the strongest Genghisid ruler in Eastern Europe who could *de facto* and *de iure* claim his rights to the heritage of the Golden Horde.

In the early 16th century, the most typical element of the khan's title was the formula: "the great khan of the Great Horde" (*Ulu Ordanung ulu hanı*), whereas in Ruthenian documents the term "great khan" was rendered as *velykyj car*,<sup>339</sup> and in the Italian one as *imperatore*. Less regularly, the khans were also referred to as the rulers of the Kipchaks (1514) or the Kipchak Steppe (1520), the Turkomans (1514), and the Tatars (1514, 1520). In Mehmed Giray's *şartname* from 1520, preserved in the Khwarezmian Turkic original, one finds the lofty title: "the padishah of the Kipchak Steppe and all the Mongols" (*Deşt-i Qıpçaq barça Moğul padişahı*), which apparently reflected this khan's inflated ambitions, though admittedly the term "Mongols" might have

<sup>335</sup> On the problematic identification of the *sözüm* formula with the *intitulatio*, see n. 290 above. Even in the 15th and 16th centuries, some Crimean documents contained *intitulatios* that were distinctly different from *sözüm* formulas; in the 17th and 18th centuries the *sözüm* formula, incorporated into the *tuğra*, and the *intitulatio*, were entirely separated.

<sup>336</sup> See Document 7.

<sup>337</sup> Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, p. 62.

<sup>338</sup> Collins, "On the Alleged 'Destruction' of the Great Horde in 1502," pp. 361–362, n. 1.

<sup>339</sup> In the East European chanceries the Turkic term *han* was commonly rendered with the Slavic term *car*; cf. Inalcık, "Power Relationships between Russia, the Crimea, and the Ottoman Empire as Reflected in Titulature," p. 371; see also Document 20, published in the present volume in the Turkic original along with the contemporary Ruthenian translation.

been simply a substitute of the more common term “Tatars,” found in the analogous place in other Crimean documents from that time.<sup>340</sup> In Mengli Giray’s document from 1514, drawn in Italian by a former inhabitant of Caffa, we also find the term *Ghazaria*, well known from the medieval Genovese documents and referring to the territories extending between the Black and the Caspian seas, which had once belonged to the Khazar Kaganate (in fact roughly identical with the Turkic *Deşt-i Qıpçaq*).

In Ghazi II Giray’s document from 1601, the khan is also, for the first time, referred to as the ruler of the Circassians and Nogays. Moreover, in Ghazi II Giray’s document from 1607, preserved in a Latin translation, we encounter, for the first time, the term “Crimea,” apparently identical with “the Crimean throne” (Tur. *taht-i Qırım*) found in the later documents preserved in Turkish.

No later than in 1624, the Crimean khans also adopted the title of the rulers of the Tats and Tavgaches. Both terms were of ancient Turkic origin, but in the seventeenth-century Crimean context they referred to any non-Turkic subjects of the khans. The term *Tavgaç*, which still causes scholarly discussions, was also alien to the contemporary translators in Warsaw and Moscow, hence it was often left out from their translations or mistranslated.<sup>341</sup>

In a fully developed seventeenth-century *intitulatio*, the khan was also referred to as the great padishah of the great country (*yurt*), of the Muslims, and of the troops of the right and the left wing arranged into tens, hundreds, thousands, and tens of thousands (*tümens*). Such *intitulatio* also contained hyperbolic references that compared the khan with the Persian legendary king Feridun and attributed him various qualities associated with the sun and planets.<sup>342</sup> Interestingly, the *intitulatio* of Qalga Islam Giray, contained in his instrument from 1640, was more elaborate than the *intitulatio* of his older brother, the khan, contained in the latter’s instrument sent in the same year,

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<sup>340</sup> Even in the contemporary Ruthenian translation of Mehmed Giray’s *şartname* from 1520, the expression *Deşt-i Qıpçaq barça Moğul padişahı* is simply rendered as *Dest-y Kypčak vsym zemljam tatarskym hospodar’*; see Document 20: Appendix.

<sup>341</sup> Cf. notes 318, 321, and 324 above.

<sup>342</sup> See also the khan’s *intitulatio*s contained in the seventeenth-century Crimean letters sent to Transylvania and Denmark, studied by Ivanics, “Formal and linguistic peculiarities of 17th century Crimean Tatar letters addressed to princes of Transylvania,” pp. 215–216; and Matuz, *Krimtatarische Urkunden im Reichsarchiv zu Kopenhagen*, pp. 69–70.

though admittedly the qalga modestly titled himself the commander of the troops of merely the right wing of the Crimean army.<sup>343</sup>

New and atypical elements appear in Selim Giray's document from 1672, preserved in the original drawn in Polish. The list of the khan's holdings contained a number of fortresses and lands situated in the vicinity of the Polish borders (some of them under joint Crimean-Ottoman control), such as Perekop, Oçakiv, Akkerman, and Budjak, whose entering was understandable in a document referring to the relations with Poland. Moreover, the document referred to Selim Giray as the hereditary lord of the Great Nogay Horde, the Bashkirs, and Tiumen, which suggests that the old claims to the Volgine and Siberian heritage of the Golden Horde were not yet entirely forgotten.

Selamet II Giray's *intitulatio* from 1742 was more realistic, while the fact that Budjak and Kuban were singled out among the khan's possessions reflected the rising importance of these lands in the political and economic making of the Khanate.

Besides the usual title of "khan," found in the Crimean ruler's *intitulatio*, one encounters the title "free lord," which reflected the ancient Mongol-Tatar notion of sovereignty. The Persian title of "padishah," adopted by Mehmed Giray already in 1520, enters the standard *intitulatio* of the Crimean khan only in the 17th century. Although apparently borrowed from Ottoman Turkish and imitating the lofty *intitulatio* of the Ottoman sultan, in the Crimean context the title underwent certain devaluation. While in the Ottoman chancery usage it was jealously preserved for the sultan and only at times hesitantly attributed to friendly foreign rulers, such as the kings of France (but not the Habsburg emperors), in the Crimea it referred not only to the khans, but even—in 1640—to the qalga. No wonder that the title of padishah was also freely applied in reference to the Polish kings (see below).<sup>344</sup>

<sup>343</sup> In a model combat setting, the command of the right wing belonged to the qalga, of the left one to the nureddin, while the khan was the commander-in-chief. In fact, such an order was rarely adopted, only in the cases when the whole Crimean army set out for a campaign and none of the aforementioned dignitaries were left behind to guard the Crimean homeland; see also n. 326 above.

<sup>344</sup> According to Inalcık, in result of the multiplication and devaluation of the title "padishah," the Crimean chancery began to differentiate between "the padishah of the Genghisid lineage" (*Al-i Cengiz padişahı*) and "the padishah of the Ottoman lineage" (*Al-i Osman padişahı*), or to refer to the Ottoman rulers by even more elevated titles, such as *padişah hümdkar* ("the sovereign padishah") or *padişah-i âlempenah* ("padishah, the refuge of the world," or "ecumenical padishah"); see *idem*, "Power

In their correspondence with Christian rulers, the khans sometimes invoked their caliphal rights, although the title of “caliph” was not entered in their formal *intitulatio*. In 1640, Bahadır Giray praised God, who had made him “the just shah in this prosperous time, the ruler of the world and the caliph of the epoch.” In 1646, Islam III Giray praised God, who had “placed the crown of caliphate on my blessed head and put the robe of sultanate on my stature full of integrity, adorned the Genghisid throne with my prosperous person, and turned my great gate [i.e., Porte] into the refuge of mankind and the shelter of Islam.” Finally, in 1654 Mehmed IV praised God, who “put the robe of caliphate on my imperial shoulder” (*hil’at-i hilafeti duş-i hümayunuma giyürüp*).<sup>345</sup>

An illuminating fragment, disclosing the composite nature of the legitimizing aspirations of the Crimean khans, is contained in Mehmed IV Giray’s instrument (although again not in the *intitulatio*) sent to Poland in 1654. Envisioning a joint attack against Russia, the khan requested the Polish king to acknowledge in advance his claims to:

- 1) Astrakhan, Kazan, Terek [i.e., Northeastern Caucasus], and Tura [i.e., Siberia] (*Ecderhan ve Qazan ve Terek ve Tura*);
- 2) any [other] Muslim provinces [to be conquered from Russia] (*ve her ne qadar Müsliman vilayetleri*);
- 3) any [other provinces] inhabited by Tatars or Nogays (*ve Tatar ve Noğay halqı var ise*).

The first category referred to the lands once belonging to the Golden Horde, thus stressing the dynastic claims of the Giray khans to their Genghisid (precisely Djochid) patrimony. The second criterium was religious and expressed the khan’s will to extend his patronage over all Muslims living under the tsar’s hand. Finally, the clan or—to use a more modern language—ethno-social motives drove the khan to

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Relationships between Russia, the Crimea, and the Ottoman Empire as Reflected in Titulature,” pp. 382–384, 387–388 and 405–407.

<sup>345</sup> See Documents 55, 58, and 64; the latter citation is already discussed by Inalcık in *ibidem*, pp. 384–385 and 408. In that period, Muslim jurists commonly agreed that any Muslim ruler could claim the caliphal title on the condition that he defends and supports the Islamic Law; nevertheless, the ambitions of the Ottoman sultans to lead the Islamic world, combined with their patronage over Mecca, resulted in their conflicts with other Muslim rulers, most notably the Shiite Safavid shahs of Persia, Zaydi imams of Yemen, but also their Sunni brethren, the Great Moghuls of India.

claim his rule over all the Tatars and Nogays, previously conquered by Russia.<sup>346</sup>

### *Notificatio-promulgatio*

A typical Genghisid *yarlıq* was formally addressed not only to its direct receiver, but to all the khan's subjects, who were required to obey and execute their ruler's will. If a *yarlıq* was sent to a foreign ruler, the latter's subjects were addressed as well because they, too, were expected to obey and execute the will of the khan, who regarded himself as their and their ruler's superior suzerain.<sup>347</sup>

The list of the khan's subjects, entered in the Crimean documents sent to Lithuanian rulers, typically opened with the male Genghisid dynasty members referred to as *ulans*,<sup>348</sup> followed by military commanders, from the highest to the lowest ones, having under their

<sup>346</sup> See Document 64; this fragment is already discussed in Part I and quoted (in a simplified translation) by Inalcık in *ibidem*, p. 379.

<sup>347</sup> For the categories of social groups and individuals, typically addressed in the *yarlıqs*, cf. Grigor'ev, "Konkretnye formuljary čingizidskix žalovannyx gramot XIII–XV vv." (part III), *Učenyje zapiski Leningradskogo [...] Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta*, no. 383; *Serijskaja vostočnovedčeskaja nauka*, vypusk 18: *Vostočnovedenie 2: Filologičeskie issledovanija* (1976): 156–166, esp. pp. 162–164, and Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, pp. 206–228; both authors identify the *notificatio-promulgatio* formula with *inscriptio*; here, it is treated separately while the standard *inscriptio* will be discussed below. Anna Xoroškevič makes a convincing point that one cannot speak of a regular *inscriptio* when the name of the actual addressee (in the given case, a foreign ruler) is mentioned only indirectly; cf. *eadem*, *Rus' i Krym*, p. 34. Such cases are also typical for Ottoman *ahdnames*, where the name of a foreign ruler, to whom they were in fact sent, was only mentioned in the *expositio-narratio*; hence the term "indirect *inscriptio*," coined by Hans Theunissen, is now generally accepted; cf. Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, p. 21.

<sup>348</sup> The term *ulan* is somewhat confusing. According to Usmanov, it referred to Genghisid princes who directly commanded over the right and left wings of the army and stood in hierarchy higher than the beys; see *idem*, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, p. 206. At first sight, this definition fits the given context and can be confirmed by the fact that in the 17th century the right and the left wings of the Crimean army were—at least in theory—commanded by the qalga and the nureddin, who after all were the Genghisid princes. Yet, from other occurrences it appears that the *ulans* should not be identified with the Giray princes, who were distinctly referred to as *sultans* (see the *notificatio-promulgatio* formula of the instrument from December 1513). Even if some (or all?) of the *ulans* could claim the Genghisid lineage, they usually owed their position to their personal merits in the khan's service, like Tevkel Ulan, sent in embassy to Lithuania in 1506. According to the French authors, in the Crimean context the term *ulan* (or *oġlan*) could refer to a Genghisid prince, but also to a nobleman of elevated status; see *Le khanat de Crimée*, p. 394.

orders tens of thousands [*tümens*],<sup>349</sup> thousands, hundreds, and tens of the Tatar troops, arranged into the right and left wings of the khan's army. These commanders, recruited from among the Tatar nobility, were titled as beys<sup>350</sup> or *mirzas*.

The address to the khan's subjects was typically followed by the address to the subjects of the grand duke, graded in a descending social order: from the Ruthenian princes, who traced their ancestry back to Gediminas or Ruryk and were thus related to the Jagiellonians, to metropolitans, [Orthodox] bishops and priests, monks, boyars, townsmen, and commoners. In the address of the instrument sent to Poland in 1520, such standard collective formula was replaced by a more precise one, referring to the Crown dignitaries by their proper names and functions. Unlike the lists of Lithuanian addressees that opened with Gediminid princes and Orthodox metropolitans, the list of the Polish addressees opened with Catholic hierarchs, followed by highest secular dignitaries. The Crimean chancery apparently learned their names and functions from a document previously sent from Poland.

Curiously, after 1520 the Crimean chancery resumed the previous standard formula that was to reappear in the instruments sent to Poland-Lithuania until the late 16th century. Even the instrument from 1592, sent to a fierce Catholic ruler, Sigismund III, addressed the Orthodox metropolitans and bishops (*metropolitlinge ve ivladiqalaringa*) while no mention was made of Catholic bishops, who had been referred to as *püşkublar* in the instrument of 1520. To be sure, the Catholic hierarchs enjoyed a much more powerful position than their Orthodox colleagues not only in Poland, but also in Lithuania. Wojciech Radziwiłł, the Catholic bishop of Vilnius, participated in the pacification of 1507 and is in fact mentioned in Mengli Giray's *şartname* from that year, referred to as *knjaz' biskup*.<sup>351</sup> Among the

<sup>349</sup> The actual size of a *tümen* could be much smaller than ten thousand of troops.

<sup>350</sup> The term "bey" is again somewhat confusing. On the one hand, it referred to clan leaders, including the leaders of the four (or more?) leading clans, who were referred to as the *qaraçı* beys or simply the *qaraçıs* (on the institution and number of *qaraçıs*, see notes 42 and 110 in Part I). Only the clan leader was titled as bey while the remaining clan members were referred to as *mirzas*. Yet, on the other hand, the title of bey was also conferred to the khan's trusted officials, who were not necessarily recruited from among the Tatar nobility; for instance, Augustino de Garibaldis, a prominent diplomat of Genovese origin in the Crimean service, is referred to in a Russian source as *Agusutun knjaz'*, whereas in its context the title *knjaz'* was equivalent to bey; see Malinovskij, "Istoričeskoe sobranie," p. 413.

<sup>351</sup> Cf. Document 9, n. 23.

Lithuanian dignitaries, who corroborated the royal instruments sent to the khans in 1513, 1516, and 1535, we encounter the Catholic bishops of Vilnius and Samogitia, but no Orthodox hierarchs. Apparently, the persistent reference to Orthodox bishops in the *notificatio-promulgatio* of the Crimean instruments should not be regarded as a promotion of the Greek creed against the Latin one, but rather as an expression of linguistic conservatism reigning in the Crimean chancery. As the *yarliqs*' original content was the "donation" of Ruthenian lands to Lithuania, the principal addressees of these *yarliqs* were the local elites of the "donated" lands, who were predominantly Orthodox even if Lithuania proper was predominantly Catholic. Besides, it is likely that in the Crimean chancery language of that time, the loaned terms *metropolitler* and *ivladıqalar* (<Ruth. *mytropolyt* and *vладыка*; the endings—*ler* and—*lar* are the Turkish plural) referred to any Christian hierarchs, and not just the Orthodox ones.<sup>352</sup>

The *notificatio-promulgatio* formulas found in the Crimean instruments sent to Poland-Lithuania are as follows:

- ca. 1462      *Od prawej i lewej ręki naszej i od wszelkiego państwa naszego ulanom, panom radom, wszelkiego Państwa Ruskiego kniaziom, czerńcom, bielcom i wszelkim pospolitym:*  
 ("To the *ulans* and lords counselors of our right and left hand, to the princes, monks, laymen,<sup>353</sup> and commoners of the Ruthenian state [*sic*]:")
- ca. 1473      *Od prawej i lewej ręki naszej i ode wszego państwa naszego panom radom, kniaziom ruskim i państwom ich, bojarom, władynom, metropolitom, czerńcom, bielcom i wszelkiemu pospolitemu ludu:*  
 ("To the lords counselors of our right and left hand and of our whole state, to the Ruthenian princes and [the inhabitants of] their estates, to the boyars, [Orthodox] bishops, metropolitans, monks, laymen, and all common people:")

<sup>352</sup> In analogy, the Turkish term *ruhban*, which originally referred to Orthodox monks, in the instruments from 1654 and 1742 refers to Catholic bishops and missionaries, respectively; cf. Document 64, n. 5 and Document 71, n. 20.

<sup>353</sup> In old Ruthenian the term *belec* (lit. "[the one wearing] white [garments]," as contrary to a monk referred to as *černec*, lit. "[the one wearing] black [garments]"), referred to a person living in a monastery who had not undergone the rite of hair clipping and thus had remained a layman.

- 1507 (*yarlıq*) *Правое рѣки и левое великого влоса темникомъ, и тысячникомъ, и сотникомъ, и десятникомъ, вланомъ, княземъ, и всимъ рѣскимъ людемъ, княземъ, ботаромъ, митрополитомъ и попомъ, черньцомъ, и всимъ чорнымъ людемъ и всемъ посполствъ:*  
 (“To the commanders of tens of thousands [*tümens*], thousands, hundreds, and tens of the great people [*ulus*] of the right and the left hand, the *ulans* and beys [Ruth. *knjazem*], and to all the Ruthenian people, princes, boyars, metropolitans, [Orthodox] priests, monks, and all ordinary people and commoners:”)
- 1513 (December) *Правое и левое рѣки темникомъ, и тислчникомъ, и сотникомъ, и десятникомъ, и старшому сынъ нашоу Магмет Кгирею солтанъ, и сынъ моему Ахмат солтанъ, а Магмутъ Кирею, а Бурнашъ Кирею, а Мубарекъ Кгирею, и сыновъ моихъ детемъ солтановымъ, и вланомъ, и княземъ, мързамъ, и всеи рѣскои земли городомъ и местомъ, и митрополитомъ, и владыкамъ, игуменомъ, и черницомъ, и попомъ, и княземъ, и паномъ, и ботаромъ, и мещаномъ, и всему посполству*  
 (“To the commanders of tens of thousands [*tümens*], thousands, hundreds, and tens of the right and the left hand, to our elder son Mehmed Giray Sultan, to our son Ahmed Sultan, to Mahmud Giray, Burnash Giray, and Mübarek Giray, to the children of my sons, the *sultans* [i.e., princes], to the *ulans*, beys [Ruth. *knjazem*], *mirzas*, and to the castles and towns of the whole Ruthenian land, metropolitans, [Orthodox] bishops, heads of Orthodox monasteries [*ihumens*], monks, [Orthodox] priests, princes, lords, boyars, townsmen, and all the commoners:”)
- 1514 (June) *Правое рѣки и левое рѣки великого влуса темникомъ, и тислчникомъ, и сотникомъ, и десятникомъ, и всимъ тымъ вланомъ и княземъ, такъже всехъ рѣскихъ земель внутрѣныхъ и замѣчистыхъ мѣсть и*



городов митрополитомъ, владыкамъ, всимъ  
 духовнымъ, княземъ, и бояромъ, и мещаномъ,  
 и всему посполству:

(“To the commanders of tens of thousands [tūmens], thousands, hundreds, and tens of the great people [ulus] of the right and the left hand, all the ulans and beys [Ruth. knjazem], and also to the metropolitans, [Orthodox] bishops, all clergymen, princes, boyars, townsmen, and commoners of the inland and fortified towns and castles of all the Ruthenian lands:”)

1517

*Правая рука, левая рука*<sup>354</sup> *великого влуса*  
*темникомъ, тистачникомъ, сотником, десяти-*  
*тником, вланом, княземъ, теж рускимъ*  
*княземъ, мѣстомъ и городом, митропо-*  
*литомъ, владыкамъ, белыголовымъ, чернѣ-*  
*цомъ, княземъ, бояромъ, мѣщаномъ, и всему*  
*посполству, вамъ звезда бѣ было, штож мы*  
*явно чиним симъ нашимъ листомъ:*

(“To the commanders of tens of thousands [tūmens], thousands, hundreds, and tens of the great people [ulus] of the right and the left hand, the ulans and beys [Ruth. knjazem], also to the Ruthenian princes, towns and castles, metropolitans, [Orthodox] bishops, women [sic],<sup>355</sup> monks, princes, boyars, townsmen, and all the commoners, you should know that we announce [the following] with our present letter:”)

1520 (*yarlıq*  
cum *şartname*)

*Правая рука, левая рука тмы тмами, сто и*  
*десять хто мает, с уланы, князи, и мурзами,*  
*всехъ Руси итчины митрополитомъ, влады-*  
*камъ, чернѣцомъ, попомъ, и княземъ, паномъ,*

<sup>354</sup> It should read: *Правое руки, левое руки.*

<sup>355</sup> Apparently by misunderstanding, the scribe changed the term *belcom* (lit. “to those [wearing] white [garments]”), which had figured in earlier documents and referred to laymen living in monasteries, into *belyholovym* (lit. “to those with white heads”). The latter term referred to women and is unlikely in the given context (i.e., a social group listed between bishops and monks); yet, the mistake was perpetuated for almost a century as in a document from 1592, composed in Turkish (cf. n. 381 below), we encounter a mysterious term *aqbaşlı* (lit. “[the one] with a white head”).

боѣпромѣ, меѣцѣномѣ, и всѣмъ посполитымъ людемъ:

("To those having [i.e., commanding over] tens of thousands [*tümens*], [thousands,]<sup>356</sup> hundreds, and tens of the right and the left hand, the *ulans*, beys [Ruth. *knjazi*], and *mirzas*, and to the metropolitans, [Orthodox] bishops, monks, [Orthodox] priests, and the princes, lords, boyars, townsmen, and all common people of whole Ruthenia:")

1520 (*şartname*) *Ong qol song qolnug tümen ming yüz on biylegen oğlanlar biyler mirzalarığa barça İleh yurtunung knyaz arspışkub başlığ taqı Ladıjlav pişkubi knyaz Matyasğa taqı Premisleniung knyaz püşkub potqanselerge taqı Kirakuv voyvodası dizdarı pan Qriştov ulu qaniselerge taqı ulu hazineci pan Niqolayğa taqı Qamanice İlav voyvodası ulu marşalğa taqı Pozna voyvodasığa taqı Sodomir voyvodası pan Filyer ulu hedmanğa taqı Lublin voyvoda pan Tosunckige taqı bulardan başqa İleh yurtunung ulu püşkublarına ve qaloniqlarınğa ve pilebanlarığa ve papaslarığa ve meşcanlarığa ve bayarınlarığa ve barça Ulu Kengeş panlarığa ve içki daşqısığa ve köp qara elge barça tüzünce bilsingler kim:*

("To those commanding over tens of thousands [*tümens*], thousands, hundreds, and tens of the right wing and the left wing, the *ulans*, beys, and *mirzas*, and [to] all [the inhabitants] of the Polish country to begin with the Reverend Archbishop;<sup>357</sup> also to the bishop of Włocławek, the Reverend Maciej;<sup>358</sup> also to the bishop of Przemyśl, the Reverend Bishop Vice-chancellor;<sup>359</sup> also to the palatine and warden<sup>360</sup> of Cracow, Pan<sup>361</sup> Krzysztof, the

<sup>356</sup> Apparently left out by the copyist.

<sup>357</sup> Jan Łaski, the archbishop of Gniezno; for further biographic details about him and the following Polish dignitaries, see the respective notes in Document 20.

<sup>358</sup> Maciej Drzewicki, the bishop of Włocławek.

<sup>359</sup> Piotr Tomicki, the Crown vice-chancellor (*podkanclerzy*) and the bishop of Przemyśl.

<sup>360</sup> Tur. *dizdar*; it should be rendered here as Pol. *starosta*.

<sup>361</sup> The Polish title *pan* is difficult to translate hence it is kept as in the original;

grand chancellor;<sup>362</sup> also to the grand treasurer,<sup>363</sup> Pan Mikołaj;<sup>364</sup> also to the palatine [*sic*] of Kamieniec and Lwów, the grand marshal;<sup>365</sup> also to the palatine of Poznań;<sup>366</sup> also to the palatine of Sandomierz, Pan Firlej, the grand hetman;<sup>367</sup> also to the palatine of Lublin, Pan Tęczyński;<sup>368</sup> and apart from those [mentioned above] to the great bishops, canons,<sup>369</sup> vicars,<sup>370</sup> priests, townsmen,<sup>371</sup> knights,<sup>372</sup> all lords of the Great Council, those in the inner [i.e., courtiers] and outer service, and to all common people: They should all duly know that [...]”)

- 1532 *Правое рѣки и левое великого вѣвса темъникомъ, и тисечникомъ, и сотникомъ, [и десятникомъ,] и вланомъ, княземъ, по тому ж теж рѣскимъ княземъ и паномъ, городомъ, местамъ и волостемъ, и митрополитамъ, и владыкамъ, чорнотъцомъ и белцомъ, бояромъ и мещаномъ, и всемъ посполствъ, и жъбы вамъ было ведомо:*  
 (“To the commanders of tens of thousands [*tümens*], thousands, hundreds, [and tens]<sup>373</sup> of the great people [*ulus*] of the right and the left hand, the *ulans* and beys [Ruth. *knjazem*], and likewise to the Ruthenian princes and lords, castles, towns, and estates, metropolitans, [Orthodox] bishops, monks and laymen, boyars and townsmen, and all the commoners, thus you should know:”)

unlike the English “sir” it applied not only to the nobles; on the other hand, the modern equivalent “mister” sounds anachronistic.

<sup>362</sup> Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, the Crown chancellor and the *starosta* of Cracow.

<sup>363</sup> Tur. *ulu hazineci*, i.e., “the great treasurer;” the term corresponds with the Polish title of *podskarbi wielki*.

<sup>364</sup> Mikołaj Szydłowiecki, the Crown grand treasurer (*podskarbi wielki*).

<sup>365</sup> This entry apparently refers to Stanisław Chodecki, the *starosta* of Kamieniec Podolski (1494–1510) and of Lwów (1501–1529), the Crown grand marshal since 1505; yet, as his brother, Otto Chodecki, was the palatine of Kamieniec (1509–1515) and then of Ruthenia, i.e., the province centered in Lwów (1515–1527), perhaps the entry confuses the two brothers or refers to both of them.

<sup>366</sup> Mikołaj Lubrański, the palatine of Poznań.

<sup>367</sup> Mikołaj Firlej, the palatine of Sandomierz and the Crown grand hetman.

<sup>368</sup> Andrzej Tęczyński, the palatine of Lublin.

<sup>369</sup> Pol. *kanonik* is rendered in the Turkish text as *qaloniq*.

<sup>370</sup> Pol. *pleban* is rendered in the Turkish text as *pileban*.

<sup>371</sup> Pol. *mieszczanin* (*mieszczan* in the genitive plural) is rendered in the Turkish text as *meşcan*.

<sup>372</sup> Ruth. *bojaryn* is rendered in the Turkish text as *bayarın*.

<sup>373</sup> Apparently omitted by error; cf. the analogous fragment in the instrument from 1517.

- 1539 *I państwa naszego od prawej i lewej ręki naszej, i wielkiego państwa naszego ulanom i kniaziom naszym,*<sup>374</sup> *ruskim państwom, miastom, zamkom, metropolitom, władynom, czerńcom, bielcom, bojarom, mieszczanom, i wszelkim pospolitym ludziom, czynimy jawno tem naszym listem:*  
 (“<And> [To the commanders]<sup>375</sup> of our right and left hand of our state, to our *ulans* and beys [*kniaziom*] of our great state, and to the Ruthenian estates, towns, castles, metropolitans, [Orthodox] bishops, monks, laymen, boyars, townsmen, and all common people, we make known with our present letter:”)
- 1542 *Od prawej i od lewej ręki naszej, i od wszelkiego państwa naszego ulanom, kniaziom, murzom,*<sup>376</sup> *ruskim państwom, zamkom, miastom, czerńcom, bielcom, i wszelkim aby było jawno, iż [...]*  
 (“[To the commanders]<sup>377</sup> of our right and left hand, to the *ulans*, beys [*kniazioŭ*], and *mirzas* of our whole state, and to the Ruthenian estates, castles, towns, monks, laymen, and all [the people]: It should be known that [...])
- 1552 *Възнаимую самъ въ себѣ и въ всихъ верныхъ нашихъ, котории намъ служатъ правою и левою рѣкою—вланове, князи, и мързы, тымъ нашимъ доконъчаньемъ княжатомъ рѣскимъ, замкомъ, местомъ, митрополитомъ, владыкомъ, чернѣцомъ и белѣцомъ, попомъ и мещаномъ, и всимъ посполитымъ людемъ:*  
 (“With our present letter of agreement I announce in my name and in the name of all our loyal subjects, who serve us [in the troops of]<sup>378</sup> the right and left hand—the *ulans*, beys [Ruth. *knjazi*], and *mirzas*, to the Ruthenian princes, castles, towns, metropolitans, [Orthodox] bishops, monks and laymen, [Orthodox] priests, townsmen, and all common people:”)

<sup>374</sup> Written erroneously: *ulanów i kniaziów naszych*; for a correct reading, cf. the earlier documents.

<sup>375</sup> The text of the Polish translation is corrupt; cf. n. 374 above.

<sup>376</sup> Written erroneously: *ulanów, kniaziów, murzów*; for the same error, cf. n. 374 above.

<sup>377</sup> The text of the Polish translation is corrupt; cf. n. 375 above.

<sup>378</sup> The literal meaning of the Ruthenian translation: “who serve us with right and left hand,” is obviously corrupt, hence it was corrected here.

1592 ('*ahdname*) *Ong qolning ve sol qolning uluğ ulusning tümen biylegen ming yüz on biylegen oğlanlarına ve bekleringe ve mirzalarına ve Rus ve Prus kenazlarına ve şehir ve kermen békleringe ve metropolitleringe ve ivladıqalarına ve aqbaşlı ve qara tonlarına mesçanlarına ve barça uluğ kengeş panlarına ve içki ve tışqılarına ve köblik qara elge barça tüzünce bilgeleringe:*

("To those commanding over tens of thousands [*tümens*], and those commanding over thousands, hundreds, and tens of the right wing and the left wing of the great people [*ulus*], the *ulans*, beys, and *mirzas*, and to the princes<sup>379</sup> of Ruthenia and Prussia, the commanders of cities and towns, metropolitans and [Orthodox] bishops,<sup>380</sup> women [*sic*]<sup>381</sup> and monks,<sup>382</sup> townsmen,<sup>383</sup> all lords of the Great Council, those in the inner [i.e., courtiers] and outer service, and to all common people; they should all duly know:")

1599 *Oznajmujemy tym listem naszym niniejszym i na potym będącym, iż [...]*

("We announce with our present letter to those living now and in the future that [...]" )

<sup>379</sup> In theory, the translation of the word *kenazlar* as "reverends" or "Catholic bishops" is also possible since the Ruthenian term *knjaz'* referred either to "prince" or "[Catholic] priest." Yet, albeit Catholic hierarchs were listed in the *şartname* sent to Poland in 1520, throughout the 16th century the Crimean chancery stuck to the customary formula, known from the earliest *yarlıqs* sent to Lithuanian rulers. The formula opened with addressing the Ruthenian princes, metropolitans, and Orthodox bishops, while it contained no reference to Catholic hierarchs. This issue is also discussed above.

<sup>380</sup> Ruth. *vladyka* or Pol. *władyka* (i.e., "Orthodox bishop") is rendered in the Turkish text as *ivladıqa*.

<sup>381</sup> Pol. *białogłowa* (lit. "white head," i.e., "woman") is rendered in the Turkish text as *aqbaşlı* (lit. "[the one] with a white head"). The term itself was apparently entered in the present and earlier documents by misunderstanding; an earlier scribe, unfamiliar with the old Ruthenian term *belec* (lit. "[the one] wearing white [garments]"), which referred to a layman living in a monastery, changed it into *belyholova*, i.e., "woman;" cf. n. 355 above.

<sup>382</sup> Ruth. *černec*, (lit. "[the one] wearing black [garments]," i.e., "monk") is rendered in the Turkish text as *qara ton* (lit. "[the one wearing] black garments").

<sup>383</sup> Pol. *mieszczanin* (*mieszczan* in the genitive plural) is rendered in the Turkish text as *mesçan*.

The last formula, which differs from the previous ones, should be regarded as merely a calque from the Polish document, issued by Sigismund III in 1598. In fact, after 1592 the traditional *notificatio-promulgatio* seems to have disappeared from the Crimean documents. Typical for the *yarlıqs*, in the 16th century it was sometimes also entered in *şartnames* and *‘ahdnames*, as is evidenced by the documents from 1520 and 1592 (admittedly, the latter one is referred to within its text as both an *‘ahdname* and a *yarlıq*).

In the seventeenth-century Crimean documents, the reference to tens of thousands, thousands, hundreds, and tens of Tatar troops divided into the right wing and the left wing, which had originally figured in the *notificatio-promulgatio* formula, can be sometimes found in the *intitulatio* of the khan, or even the *qalga*.<sup>384</sup> This shift was already noticed by Ivanics, who also observed that the formula had lost its original meaning, because in the 17th century the Crimean army was no longer divided into *tümens*.<sup>385</sup> In fact, the earliest occurrence, when the above reference no longer figures in the *notificatio-promulgatio*, but in the khan's *intitulatio* (more precisely, in the *sözüm* formula), can be located in the document from 1514, drawn in Italian, where Mengli Giray is referred to as the ruler *del gran consiglio de la destra et senestra mano sua, zoe de li legionarii, millenarii, centorioni, decurioni, et de tucti loro satrape, duchi, et cetera*.

#### *Direct individual inscriptio and salutatio*

Two fifteenth-century Crimean instruments, published in the present volume, do not contain a *notificatio-promulgatio* but are directly addressed to Casimir:

- 1467 *Serenissimo domino et domino Kazimiro regi Polonie salutem*  
 1480 *Κοροлю, брата μου*  
 (“Oh king, my brother”)

<sup>384</sup> Cf. the documents issued in 1624, 1635, and 1640 (by the *qalga*), published in the present volume.

<sup>385</sup> Cf. Ivanics, “Formal and linguistic peculiarities of 17th century Crimean Tatar letters addressed to princes of Transylvania,” pp. 215–217.

Interestingly, Casimir, referred to with his Lithuanian title as “our brother, Grand Duke Casimir” (Pol. *bratu naszemu wielkiemu kniaziowi Kazimierzowi*) in the *yarliqs* from ca. 1462 and ca. 1473, is addressed with his Polish royal title in the instruments from 1467 and 1480. The latter choice seems natural in the document from 1467, composed in Latin and sent to Poland, but the instrument from 1480 was sent to Vilnius and negotiated by the Lithuanian diplomacy (Ivan Hlyns’kyj’s embassy), and yet it referred to Casimir as the king and not as the grand duke. Apparently the royal title came to be seen as more prestigious by both the addressee and the sender.

Two instruments from 1527, issued by Khan Sa’adet Giray and Qalga Islam Giray, are likewise directly addressed to Sigismund and also contain a *salutatio*:

- 1527 (khan) *Ладскому, литовъскому, рвскому, првскому, жомоитъскому, и инъиыхъ многихъ паньствъ господарю, брату моему королю Жыкгимонъту многокротъ поклонъ*  
 (“[Let] multiple salutations [be pronounced] to my brother, King Sigismund, the lord of Poland, Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Samogitia, and many other states”)
- 1527 (qalga) *Отъца нашего Жыкгимонъта королю полскому, великому князю литовскому, рвскому, првскому, жомоитъскому, и иныхъ многихъ панствъ господарю, многокротъ поклонъ*  
 (“[Let] multiple salutations [be pronounced] to our father Sigismund, the king of Poland, the grand duke of Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Samogitia, and the lord of many other states”)

It is worth noting that while the khan addressed the king as his brother, thus expressing their equal status, the qalga addressed Sigismund as his father. The difference can be easily explained by two factors: the qalga’s inferior status and the fact that he belonged to a younger generation (Islam was Sa’adet’s nephew).

In 1592, Ghazi II Giray simultaneously issued two separate instruments, one addressed to a general public and provided with the *notificatio-promulgatio*, and another specifically addressed to Sigismund III. In the following years, the *notificatio-promulgatio* formula was entirely abolished and replaced with the direct *inscriptio*, accompanied

with the *salutatio* and followed by a reference to the document's contents:

1592 (oath-*yarlıq*) *Uluğ ulusning ve köb Rusning ve Prusning ve İlehningve Mazavşningve Milyaningve Qraqovning ve barça qristyanlarının uluğ qristyan padişahı qarındaşımız Zigmüt qıral köbdin köb selam-i merfu' degeç yahşımız ve hoşmız deb*<sup>386</sup> *haliniz ve hatırınız sorğanımızdın song i'lam-i yarlıq-i şerif-i muhabbet-i haqani oldur kim:*

("Great Christian emperor [*padişah*] of the great people [*ulus*], of many [lands] of Ruthenia, Prussia, Poland, Mazovia, Sandomierz,<sup>387</sup> and Cracow, and of all Christians, our brother King Sigismund! Having expressed great many exalted salutations, and after we have inquired about your condition and health by asking: "do you feel well?" and "are you doing well?," the message of the noble *yarlıq* [full] of imperial affection is that:")

1601 *Wielkiemu kniaziowi litewskiemu, ruskiemu, pruskiemu, mazowieckiemu, żmodzkkiemu, kiio-wskiemu, podolskiemu, szwedskiemu, wandal-skiemu, i nad inszymi państwami chrześcijańskimi dziedzicznemu gospodarowi będącemu, królowi, bratu naszemu, Trzeciemu Zigmuntowi, wielkie pozdrowienie!*

("[Let] a great salutation [be pronounced] to the grand duke of Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, Samogitia, Kiev, and Podolia, being [also] the hereditary lord of the Swedes, Vandals, and of other Christian states, our brother, King Sigismund the Third!")<sup>388</sup>

<sup>386</sup> Here and in the following documents it can be also read *deyib*.

<sup>387</sup> In the Turkish text *Milya*, apparently a corrupt rendering of *Sandomiria*, the Latin name of Sandomierz.

<sup>388</sup> The scandal caused by the omission of Poland—apparently unintentional—among Sigismund's domains inscribed in the present document is discussed in Part I.



- 1604 *Wszystkiej Rusi, pruskiemu, z łaski bożej Trzeciemu Zygmuntowi, wielkiemu książęciu litewskiemu, żmudzkiemu, kijowskiemu, podolskiemu, szwedzkiemu, gottskiemu, wandalskiemu, mazowieckiemu, inflanckiemu, i inszych wiele państw samodzielnym, dziedzicznemu z dziadów i pradziadów wielkiemu cesarzowi i królowi polskiemu, po zaleceniu wszelakiej życzliwości i chęci naszej carskiej i braterskiej, przyjacielskie oznajmienie:*  
 (“After we have pronounced our monarchic, brotherly goodwill and inclination to Sigismund the Third, [the lord] of the whole Ruthenia and Prussia, the grand duke of Lithuania, Samogitia, Kiev, Podolia, [the lord] of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, the autocratic ruler of Mazovia, Livonia, and numerous other states, the hereditary great emperor from the times of his grandfathers and great grandfathers, and the king of Poland, we [hereby] announce in a friendly way:”)
- 1607 *Magnae Russiae, Prussiae, Mazoviae, Samogitiae, Livoniae, Volhyniae, Podoliae, Podlassiae, et Suecorum, Gottorum Vandalorumque magno regi Sigismundo III<sup>o</sup>, regi Poloniae et magno duci Lituaniae, fratri nostro:*
- 1609 *Wielkiemu ruskiemu, pruskiemu, mazowieckiemu, żmódzkiemu, inflantskiemu, kijowskiemu, wołyńskiemu, podolskiemu, i szwedzkiemu, gottskiemu, wandalskiemu, i wielom państwom dziedzicznemu królowi, Jego Miłości Trzeciemu Zygmuntowi, polskiemu, i wielkiemu księciu lithewskiemu, bratu naszemu Jego Królewskiej Miłości wielki pokłon i pozdrowienie!*  
 (“[Let] a great greeting and salutation [be pronounced] to the great hereditary king of Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, Samogitia, Livonia, Kiev, Volhynia, Podolia, of the Swedes, Goths, Vandals, and numerous [other] states, His Majesty Sigismund the Third, [the king] of Poland and the grand duke of Lithuania, His Royal Majesty, our brother!”)
- 1611 *Wielkiemu ruskiemu, pruskiemu, i wieliom chrześcijańskim państwom i lithewskym wielkiemu panu, mazowieckiemu, żmudzkiemu, inflanckiemu, kijowskiemu, wołyńskiemu, podolskiemu, szwedzkiemu, gottskiemu, wandalskiemu, polskiemu dziedzicznemu panu, bratu naszemu, Trzeciemu Zygmuntowi Jego Królewskiej Miłości wielki pokłon i pozdrowienie!*  
 (“[Let] a great greeting and salutation [be pronounced] to the great lord of Ruthenia, Prussia, and numerous Christian states

and Lithuanian [domains], the hereditary lord of Mazovia, Samogitia, Livonia, Kiev, Volhynia, Podolia, of the Swedes, Goths, Vandals, and of Poland, our brother, His Royal Majesty Sigismund the Third!”)

- 1624 *Wielkich państw i wielkich ord ruskiemu, pruskiemu, mazowieckiemu, żmudzkiemu, inflanckiemu, kiiowskiemu, smoleńskiemu, cirkaskiemu, szwedzkiemu, gottskiemu, vandalskiemu, litowskiemu wielkiemu cesarzowi, bratu naszemu, królowi polskiemu Zygmuntowi Trzeciemu, którego sprawy dobre niech mają wywyższenie, i przymierze albo pokój stanowiący niech będzie do dnia sądnego trwały.*

{“To our brother, the great emperor<sup>389</sup> of the great states and great hordes: Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, Samogitia, Livonia, Kiev, Smolensk, Čerkasy, of the Swedes, Goths, Vandals, and of Lithuania, the king of Poland, Sigismund the Third (may his affairs be well elevated<sup>390</sup> and may the established agreement and peace last till the Day of Justice!):”}

- 1632 *Uluğ orda ve uluğ yurtnıñ ve köp memleketlernıñ ve köp Hristıyannıñ uluğ padişahı qarındaşım Lèh qıralı bolğan qıral musadaqat-ıştimal hazretlerine köpdin köp selam qılıp nedir halinız yahşımısız hoşmısız dèb halinız ve hem hatırınuz sorğanımızdan soñra muhabbet birle i’lam-i yarlıq-i şerif ve ifham-i tebliğ-i ‘ahdname-i münif oldur ki:*

(“To the great emperor [*padişah*] of the great horde [*orda*] and great country [*yurt*], and many dominions and many Christians, his excellency, who induces friendly feelings, my brother, the king of Poland: after having expressed great many salutations and inquired about your condition and health by asking: “how are you?,” “do you feel well?” and “are you doing well?,” the message of the noble *yarlıq*, associated with affection, and the explanation of the transmission of the illustrious ‘*ahdname* is that:”)

<sup>389</sup> In the lost Turkish original it probably read *padişah*; cf. the following documents.

<sup>390</sup> This might be an imprecise translation of the standard Arabic formula *hutimet ‘avakibühü bi’l-hayr* (“may his latter moments end with good!”), typically entered by Muslim chanceries after the names of non-Muslims and expressing the hope in their conversion to Islam.

- 1634 *uluğ orda ve uluğ yurtnuñ ve köp Hristyannıñ ve barça Lèh vilayetleriniñ uluğ padişahı ve uluğ qıralı qardaşımız ve uluğ dostumuz uluğ padişah...dame hayran bi's-selameti ila yevmi'l-qıyam savbına köpden köp selam qılıp nedir mübarek hatırıñız yahşımız hoşmısız déb sorğanımızdan sonra i'lam-i yarlığ-i şerif-i hani oldur ki:*  
 ("To the great emperor [*padişah*] and great king of the great horde [*orda*] and great country [*yurt*], and many Christians and all the Polish provinces, our brother and our great friend, the great emperor...<sup>391</sup> (may he remain well and sound until the Day of Resurrection!): after having expressed great many salutations and asked: "how is your blessed health?," "do you feel well?" and "are you doing well?," the message of the noble monarchic *yarliq* is that:")
- 1635 *Wielkiemu ruskiemu, pruskiemu, litewskiemu, mazowieckiemu, żmudzkiemu, inflanckiemu, kiiowskiemu, podlaskiemu, smolenskiemu, czernieowskiemu, i szwedckiemu, gotckiemu, wandalskiemu, i wielu inych krześcijan wielkiemu cesarzowi, Czwartemu Władysławowi, bratu naszemu, królowi polskiemu (którego sprawy niechaj Bóg sprawuje do dnia sądnego), wielu państwom rozkazicielowi, wiele nad wielą pozdrowieniom uczyniwszy, o zdrowiu i o powodzeniu Wielmożności Waszej się popytawszy, ten list nasz carski napisawszy posyłamy:*  
 ("To the great emperor of Ruthenia, Prussia, Lithuania, Mazovia, Samogitia, Livonia, Kiev, Podlachia [*Podlasie*], Smolensk, Černihiv, and of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, and of many other Christians, our brother, the king of Poland, Vladislaus IV (may God conduct his affairs until the Day of Justice!), the commander of many states; having expressed great many salutations and asked about Your Majesty's health and prosperity, we have written and sent our present imperial letter:")
- 1637 *Wielkich królestw i wielkich księstw polskich, szwedzkich, ruskich, pruskich, mazowieckich, litewskich, inflantskich, gotskich, żmudzkich, wandalskich, samogickich wielkiemu królowi i monarsze, najjaśniejszemu bratu naszemu Władysławowi Czwartemu, którego Pan Bóg po wszystkie dni niechaj szczęści i*

<sup>391</sup> Empty space was left to fill in the king's name.

*błogosławi, po nawidzeniu uprzejmym zdrowia dobrego przez to pisanie z najjaśniejszym znakiem naszym wiadomo czyniemy, że:*

(“After having politely wished good health to the great king and monarch of the great kingdoms and great duchies of Poland, Sweden, Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, Lithuania, Livonia, Gothia, Samogitia, Vandalia, and Samogitia,<sup>392</sup> our illustrious brother Vladislaus the Fourth (may God favor and bless him until the end of his days!), we make known by this writing provided with our illustrious sign [i.e., *tuğra*] that:”)

1637 (qalga) *Wielkich królestw i wielkich księstw polskich, szwedzkich, litewskich, ruskich, pruskich, mazowieckich, żmudzkich, inflantskich, gotskich, wandalskich, wielkiemu i najjaśniejszemu monarsze polskiemu, Władysławowi Czwartemu bratu naszemu, po nawiedzeniu pilnym zdrowia dobrego przez to nasze pisanie z najwyższym znakiem naszym sultańskim wiadomo będzie, że:*

(“After having promptly wished good health to the great and illustrious Polish monarch of the great kingdoms and great duchies of Poland, Sweden, Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, Samogitia, Livonia, Gothia, and Vandalia, our illustrious brother Vladislaus the Fourth, it will be known through our present writing provided with our lofty princely<sup>393</sup> sign [i.e., *tuğra*] that:”)

1640<sup>394</sup> *[1] Haliya Léh memleketiniñ ve Litvaniñ ve köb Urusnıñ ve Purusnıñ padişahı bolğan qardaşımız Vıladislaw Qırılğa* (“To our brother, King Vladislaus, being presently the emperor [*padişah*] of Poland, Lithuania, and many [lands of] Ruthenia and Prussia:”)

<sup>392</sup> Erroneously repeated; first listed as *żmudzkich* and then as *samogickich* whereas both terms refer to Samogitia.

<sup>393</sup> The qalga refers to his *tuğra* as “our lofty sultanic sign” (Pol. *najwyższy znak nasz sultański*); as in the Crimean context the title *sultan* applied to any prince from the Giray dynasty, but not to the ruling monarch, the adjective *sultański* (<Tur. *sultani*) is rendered here as “princely;” cf. n. 396 below.

<sup>394</sup> Strangely, the fragment referring to the sender and the addressee is repeated so this document in fact contains two *intitulatio*s and two *inscriptio*s; cf. n. 325 above.

[2] *Uluğ Urusnıñ ve Purusnıñ ve barça Lèh memleketleriniñ ve Litvanıñ ve Jyumayutnıñ Mazavşanıñ ve sair köb yerlerniñ uluğ qıralı ve hükümdarığa köpdin köp selam aytıb nedir halinüz yahşımısız ve hoşmısız dèb muhabbetlik ve qardaşlıq birle sorğanımızdın soñra i'lam-i yarlıg-i şerif-i hani oldur ki:*

(“To the great king and ruler of Ruthenia, Prussia, all the Polish domains, Lithuania, Samogitia,<sup>395</sup> Mazovia, and many other places: after having expressed great many salutations and asked with affection and brotherliness: “how are you?,” “do you feel well?” and “are you doing well?,” the message of the noble monarchic *yarlıq* is that:”)

1640 (qalga) *Uluğ ordanıñ ve uluğ yurtnıñ ve Lèh memleketiniñ ve Litvanıñ ve Mazavisqanıñ ve Jmudnıñ ve İflansqanıñ ve Kiyovsqanıñ ve Polotsqanıñ ve İsmalinsqanıñ ve köp Hristyannıñ uluğ padişahı bolğan dördünci qıral qarındaşımız Viladislav ve köb yerlerniñde bolsa hükümdarığa muhabbetlik birle selam edüb nedir haliniz ve hatırıñuz yahşımısız hoşmısız dèb haliniz ve hem hatırıñuz sorğanımızdın soñra i'lam-i yarlıg-i şerif muhabbet-redif-i sultani budurki:*

(“To our brother, King Vladislaus the Fourth, the great emperor [*padişah*] of the great horde [*orda*] and great country [*yurt*], Poland, Lithuania, Mazovia, Samogitia, Livonia, Kiev, Polack, Smolensk, and of many Christians, and the ruler of many other places: after having expressed friendly salutations and inquired about your condition and health by asking: “how is your condition and health?,” “do you feel well?” and “are you doing well?,” the message of the noble princely<sup>396</sup> *yarlıq*, accompanied by affection, is that:”)

<sup>395</sup> The Tatar term *Jyumayut* must be a corrupt rendering of the Polish term *Żmudź* (Lith. *Žemaitija*, i.e., Samogitia).

<sup>396</sup> While in the khan's letter the adjective *hani* (“monarchic,” lit. “of the khan”) is used, here the qalga refers to his *yarlıq* as *sultani* (lit. “sultanic”); as in the Crimean context the title *sultan* applied to any prince from the Giray dynasty, but not to the ruling monarch, the adjective *sultani* is rendered here as “princely.”

1640 (nureddin)<sup>397</sup> [1] *Haliya Lēh memleketiniñ ve Litvaniñ ve köb Urusniñ ve Purusniñ padişahı bolğan qardaşımız... Qıralğa*

("To our brother, King...,<sup>398</sup> being presently the emperor [*padişah*] of Poland, Lithuania, and many [lands of] Ruthenia and Prussia:")

[2] *Uluğ Urusniñ ve Purusniñ ve barça Lēh memleketleriniñ ve Litvaniñ ve Jyumayutniñ ve Mazavşanıñ ve sair köb yerlerniñ uluğ qıralı ve hükümdarığa köpdin köb selam aytıb nedir halinüz yahşımız ve hoşmız deb muhabbetlik ve qardaşlıq birle sorğanımızdan soñra i'lam-i yarlıg-i şerif-i sultani oldur ki:*

("To the great king and ruler of Ruthenia, Prussia, all the Polish domains, Lithuania, Samogitia, Mazovia, and many other places: after having expressed great many salutations and asked with affection and brotherliness: "how are you?," "do you feel well?" and "are you doing well?," the message of the noble princely<sup>399</sup> *yarlıq* is that:")

1646 *Köp Urusniñ ve Purusniñ ve Litvaniñ ve Mazavesqanıñ ve İflansqanıñ ve Kiyovsqanıñ<sup>400</sup> ve barça Qristyannıñ uluğ padişahı bolğan dördünci qıral Vladislav qardaşımız Lēh qıralı olan qıral devlet-iştimal dame musalahatuhu ila yevmi'l-mizan huzurığa muhabbetlik ve tatulıq milen selam édüb nedir haliniz ve hatırınız iyümisiz ve hoşmız dep sorğanımızdan soñra ma'lumları ola ki:*

("To the presence of the prosperous king of Poland (may his peace [with neighbors] last

<sup>397</sup> Like the khan's document from the same year, this instrument contains two *intitulatio*s and two *inscriptio*s; cf. notes 325, 327, and 394 above.

<sup>398</sup> Empty space was left to fill in the king's name.

<sup>399</sup> Cf. n. 396 above.

<sup>400</sup> The unusual forms *Mazavesqa*, *İflansqa*, and *Kiyovsqa* are apparently derived from the Polish adjectives: *mazowiecka*, *inflancka*, and *kijowska* ("the Mazovian, Livonian, and Kievian [lands]").

until the Day of Judgment!), our brother, King Vladislaus the Fourth, being the great emperor [*padişah*] of many Ruthe-  
nian, Prussian, Lithuanian, Mazovian, Livonian, and Kievian  
[lands], and of all Christians: after having expressed amicable  
and friendly salutations and asked: “how is your condition and  
health?,” “do you feel well?” and “are you doing well?,” they  
should know that:”)

- 1649 *Devletlü ve muhabbetlü Yan Qazimir Lèhniñ ve Litvaniñ ve  
’Urusniñ Prusniñ ve Mazurniñ ve Çernihovniñ ve Hodniñ  
ve Şvedniñ Vandalniñ ve cedişniñ ve barça hrıstıyanıñ uluğ  
qıralı qardaşımız dördünci qıral-i devlet-iştimal hazretlerinin  
hatırların muhabbetlik ve tatulıq milen sorğanımızdın soñra  
ma’lumları ola ki:*

(“After we have asked with affection and friendship about the  
health of his excellency, our illustrious and dear brother John  
Casimir, the great king of Poland, Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prus-  
sia, Mazovia, and Černihiv, the heir<sup>401</sup> of the Goths,<sup>402</sup> Swedes,  
and Vandals, and [the great king] of all Christians, the fourth<sup>403</sup>  
prosperous king, they [i.e., you] should know that:”)

- 1654 *Uluğ Urusniñ ve Purusniñ ve Lèhniñ ve Litvaniñ ve Mazurniñ  
ve Çerniqovaniñ ve cümle millet-i nasraniyenıñ qıralı olan  
qardaşımız Yan Qazimir qıral musalahat-iştimal dame musala-  
hatuhu ila yevmi’l-mizan tarafına muhabbetlik ile selam  
êdüb nedir haliniz ve hatiriniz iyümisiz ve hoşmisiz deyüp  
sorğanımızdan soñra i’lam ve inha-yi hani budur ki:*

<sup>401</sup> The Turkish word *cediş* is a rendering of the Polish *dziedzic*, i.e., “heir,” as the Polish Vasas consistently claimed their hereditary rights to the Swedish throne, their *intitulatio*, composed in Polish, contained the formula: *szwedzki, gotski, wandalski dziedziczny król*, i.e., “the hereditary king of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals” (cf. Document 59); apparently the Crimean scribe had at his disposal a document in Polish, containing the *intitulatio* of the Polish king, and he erroneously took the word *dziedziczny* (“hereditary”) for its yet another geographic or ethnic component; thus instead of *Vandalniñ ve cedişniñ... qıralı* (“the king of the Vandals and of *cediş*”), the Turkish text should read: *Vandalniñ cedişi* or rather *Vandalniñ varisi* (“the heir of the Vandals”); on this issue, see also Document 60, n. 2.

<sup>402</sup> *Hodniñ* in the Turkish text; cf. the contemporary Polish translation: *Gotskiego*, i.e., “of the Goths.”

<sup>403</sup> The Crimean scribe apparently copied the title of the Polish king from an older Tatar document addressed to Vladislaus IV (Tur. *Dördüncü Vladislav*, cf. Document 58), perhaps assuming that the word *dördüncü* (Tur., “the fourth”) was a permanent element of the royal *intitulatio*?

("To our brother, the peace-seeking king John Casimir (may his peace [with neighbors] last until the Day of Judgment!), the king of great Ruthenia, Prussia, Poland, Lithuania, Mazovia, Černihiv, and the whole Nazarene [i.e., Christian] community: after having expressed amicable salutations and asked: "how is your condition and health?," "do you feel well?" and "are you doing well?," the monarchic message and communication is that:")

- 1742 *Hala Leh cumhuriniñ qıralı ve liteviski ve ruski ve puruski ve mazeviski ve zmodoniski ve kiyoviski ve voloniski ve podoloski ve podlaski ve inflaniski ve ismoloniski ve sa'ir dahi niçe memleketleriñ hükümdarı ve qadimi Saqsonya begi olan hürmetlü rağbetlü mezid-i menziletlü kemal-i rağbet ile mu'teber dostumuz Fridirik Ağustu qıral-i haşmet-iştimal hazretine nihaye-i safa-i derun üzere selam-i selamet-encam iblağ ve ihda ve merasim-i tafahhus-i dosti-i hatırları icra ve eda olunduğdan sonra münha-i meymenet-nüma-i hani bu dur ki:* ("After we have sent and directed—with the utmost delight of mind—propitious salutations to his excellency, our venerable, esteemed, high-ranked, and respected friend of perfect esteem, the majestic king Frederick Augustus, the present king of the Polish Commonwealth, the ruler of Lithuania,<sup>404</sup> Ruthenia,<sup>405</sup> Prussia,<sup>406</sup> Mazovia,<sup>407</sup> Samogitia,<sup>408</sup> Kiev,<sup>409</sup> Volhynia,<sup>410</sup> Podolia,<sup>411</sup> Podlachia [Podlasie],<sup>412</sup> Livonia,<sup>413</sup> Smolensk,<sup>414</sup> and many other domains, and the ancient [i.e., hereditary] prince

<sup>404</sup> Pol. adjective *litewski* is rendered in the Turkish text as *liteviski*.

<sup>405</sup> Pol. adjective *ruski* is thus rendered in the Turkish text.

<sup>406</sup> Pol. adjective *pruski* is rendered in the Turkish text as *puruski*.

<sup>407</sup> Pol. adjective *mazowiecki* is rendered in the Turkish text as *mazeviski*.

<sup>408</sup> Pol. adjective *zmudzki* (or perhaps its alternative *zmudziński*) is rendered in the Turkish text as *zmodoniski*.

<sup>409</sup> Pol. adjective *kijowski* is rendered in the Turkish text as *kiyoviski*. Though Kiev itself was officially ceded to Russia in 1686, a part of its ancient palatinate remained in Poland-Lithuania.

<sup>410</sup> Pol. adjective *wołyński* is rendered in the Turkish text as *voloniski*.

<sup>411</sup> Pol. adjective *podolski* is rendered in the Turkish text as *podoloski*.

<sup>412</sup> Pol. adjective *podlaski* is thus rendered in the Turkish text.

<sup>413</sup> Pol. adjective *inflancki* is rendered in the Turkish text as *inflaniski*.

<sup>414</sup> Pol. adjective *smoleński* is rendered in the Turkish text as *ismoloniski*. Though Smolensk was conquered by the Russian army in 1654 and officially ceded to Russia in 1686, the city and its palatinate were still listed in the *intitulatio* of the Polish kings.



[*beg*] of Saxony,<sup>415</sup> and after we have performed and pronounced ceremonial and friendly inquiries about his health, the auspicious monarchic announcement is that:”)

What strikes one on comparing these *inscriptios* with the ones contained in the instruments addressed to the Polish kings by the Ottoman sultans,<sup>416</sup> is the greater familiarity between the khans and the kings, expressed by the often used term “our brother,”<sup>417</sup> and the more equal status of the two rulers, expressed by their respective titles. In the Ottoman documents, the king’s name was preceded by the rigid *elqab* (i.e., *inscriptio*) formula, worded almost identically in Ottoman letters addressed to different Christian rulers, and the list of royal domains was limited to a few provinces,<sup>418</sup> thus making a sharp contrast with the elaborate and extensive *intitulatio* of the sultan. On the contrary, in the Crimean instruments the royal titles were modeled on the genuine ones contained in the royal letters, sent to Baghchasaray. This is illustrated by the fact that many geographic terms appear in the Crimean documents in their Polish form. At times, the royal side was even able to persuade the Crimean partners to acknowledge the claims of Sigismund III, Vladislaus IV, and John Casimir to the throne in Stockholm and refer to the Polish Vasas as the kings of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals.<sup>419</sup> The only direct Ottoman import into the royal *inscriptio* composed in Baghchasaray can be seen in the instrument from 1654, where John Casimir is referred to as the king of the whole “Nazarene community” (*millet-i nasraniye*) whereas the latter term, referring to the Christians, was commonly used by the Ottoman chancery.

The Crimean khans apparently did not nourish much hope in the possibility of proselytizing their neighbors, unlike the Ottoman

<sup>415</sup> Pol. *Saksonia* is rendered in the Turkish text as *Saqsonya*.

<sup>416</sup> Cf. Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 21–24.

<sup>417</sup> On the term *qarındaşımız* or *qardaşımız* (“our brother”), expressing actual or declared equality between two monarchs and also employed in the correspondence between the khans and the Muscovian rulers, cf. Inalcık, “Power Relationships between Russia, the Crimea, and the Ottoman Empire as Reflected in Titulature,” pp. 375 and 387.

<sup>418</sup> Typically, apart from Poland and Lithuania, also Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, and Livonia were listed.

<sup>419</sup> Admittedly, for a time also the Porte respected these claims and in the Ottoman *ahdnames* sent to Sigismund III and Vladislaus IV Sweden was listed among their domains.

sultans, who expressed such hope at least in lip service. The Crimean letters, addressed to the Polish kings, did not contain the standard Arabic *salutatio*, known from the Ottoman letters sent to Christian rulers and alluding to the addressee's ultimate conversion to Islam.<sup>420</sup> The *salutatio*, contained in the Crimean letters, was rather worded in common Turkish vernacular that can be heard even today on the streets of Istanbul, but that was rarely used by the seventeenth-century Ottoman chancery (i.e., *nedir mübarek hatırıñız yahşımısız hoşmısız?*, "how is your blessed health?, do you feel well?, are you doing well?"). To be sure, some documents contained an Arabic formula that expressed the wish that the king would live in peace until the Day of Judgment (*dame musalahatuğu ila yevmi'l-mizan*), but—unlike the formula contained in the Ottoman letters—it did not directly allude to his conversion.

The fact that Baghchasaray accepted the titles of neighboring rulers more willingly than Istanbul does not imply that the Crimean chancery mechanically copied these titles irrespective of their contents. In a letter to Moscow, sent around 1660, the Crimean vizier Sefer Ghazi Agha rejected the tsar's haughty title of "the emperor of the West and East" (*Mağrib ve Maşriq padişahı*) and mockingly remarked that, leaving aside the East, in the West alone there was the Christian emperor who distributed crowns to seven Christian rulers and, besides, many lands in the West belonged to the Ottoman emperor.<sup>421</sup>

<sup>420</sup> Perhaps with one exception; cf. n. 390 above. Nevertheless, most of the Crimean instruments issued between 1592 and 1654 contained the ending formula saluting "those who had followed the right path [i.e., Islam]," which was also typically present in the Ottoman letters addressed to "infidels;" on this formula, see below.

<sup>421</sup> Cf. Inalcık, "Power Relationships between Russia, the Crimea, and the Ottoman Empire as Reflected in Titulature," p. 381; the undated letter is published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskogo xanstva*, pp. 872–875. The reference to the Christian emperor obviously alludes to the Habsburg emperor and the seven German (in fact, one Bohemian) electors, although the letter mistakenly specifies that their number included the kings of Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, and Transylvania. In the letter, the tsar is assigned an even lower position than it is suggested by Inalcık's translation: the Crimean vizier compares the Russian ruler not with the Habsburg (Inalcık: "like you there is a Christian *Padişah* who crowned seven kings") but with those petty rulers who were crowned by the Habsburg: "he [i.e., the Habsburg emperor] crowns seven Christian padishahs who are like your padishah; [...] each one of them is a padishah like your padishah" (*seniñ padişahıñ gibi yedi Hristyan padişahına tac giydirir [...] her biri seniñ padişahıñ gibi bir padişahdır*).

Expositio-narratio *and* dispositio; manifestatio

The *expositio-narratio* typically invoked the divine assistance in facilitating the khan's ascent to the throne and expressed his wish to restore the ancient friendship that had once reigned between his forefathers and the addressee's predecessors. As late as 1520, Mehmed Giray recalled the assistance, once received by Tokhtamış and Hadji Giray, who had arrived in Lithuania on sweating horses, chased from the Horde by their enemies. Interestingly, the Crimean tradition credited only Vytautas as the trusted ally of the two khans, while the name of King Vladislaus Jagiełło, who had been Vytautas' suzerain and the addressee of Toktamış's famous *yarlıq* of 1393, had been obliterated. Jagiełło's name was reintroduced only in 1514 (and only in Mengli Giray's *şartname* regarding Poland) on the initiative of the Polish Crown chancery.<sup>422</sup>

While Tokhtamış was no longer mentioned after 1520, the memory of Hadji Giray and his friendship with the Jagiellonian rulers was invoked as late as 1601, and the memory of Mengli Giray was still invoked by 1637 (both Hadji and Mengli Girays are also mentioned in the instrument of Qalga Islam Giray from 1640).

In its later part, the *narratio* typically recalled the events that had led to the issue of the current document, including the previous embassies and treaties. For instance, the instruments of 1599 and 1607 contained references to the Treaty of Țuțora (1595), entered on the initiative of the royal side because the treaty contained clauses favorable for Warsaw, especially the one providing for a joint Ottoman-Crimean-Polish patronage over Moldavia.

The actual political clauses were usually recorded in the *dispositio*. Yet, sometimes the khans merely confirmed the contents of the previous instruments, whose clauses were quoted in the *narratio* (like the donation of lands to Lithuanian rulers attributed to Tokhtamış).

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<sup>422</sup> The mutual relations between Jogaila (Vladislaus Jagiełło) and Vytautas have been subject to heated disputes between the Polish and Lithuanian nationalist historiographies. While some Polish historians have condemned Vytautas' natural political ambitions towards a greater autonomy or perhaps full sovereignty, even branding it as treason, a number of their Lithuanian colleagues have accused Jogaila of having sold out Lithuanian national interests in exchange for the Polish crown and regarded Vytautas as a model Lithuanian patriot. In fact, the mutual charges exchanged between the elites in Vilnius and Cracow and their war over historical memory can be traced back to the 15th century, as it is illustrated by the above case.

Unlike in the Ottoman documents, where the *narratio* and *dispositio* were sharply divided by the expression *buyurdum ki* (“I have ordered that”), in the Crimean documents the elements typical for the *narratio* and *dispositio* were often mixed. In some cases, fragments typical for the *dispositio* were introduced by such Turkish formulas as *imdi* (“now”), *hala* (“now”), or *işbu ‘ahdnamemizni vèrdim* (“I have given our present ‘ahdname, [providing that:]”), but even after these formulas elements typical for the *narratio* could reappear.

In his analysis of Ottoman documents, Anton Schaendlinger distinguished a separate diplomatic section and proposed to refer to it as the *manifestatio*. It was usually entered between the *narratio* and the *dispositio* and expressed the sultan’s wish to provide for global welfare and peace.<sup>423</sup> In the Crimean documents, it is difficult to single out a *manifestacio* that would be always entered in the same place, but one encounters some typical expressions that refer to the desired effects of the peace introduced between the two parties. One such sentence, found in the instruments from 1513 and 1520, provides that upon witnessing the peace between the two rulers, their friends would rejoice and their enemies would go blind (Tur. *dostları söyünüb düşmanları soqur bolub*). The two instruments from 1592 contain another typical formula, declaring that “if an orphan, a widow, or ragged beggars were to travel between the two countries wearing golden crowns on their heads, they would not experience any harm or damage from anybody” (Tur. *èki curtning arasında öksüz oğul ve tul hatun ve yırtca yarlılar başlarına altun tac urub yürür bolsalar kim kimesnedin zarar ve ziyan körmey*).<sup>424</sup>

<sup>423</sup> Anton Schaendlinger, *Die Schreiben Süleymans des Prachtigen an Karl V., Ferdinand I. und Maximilian II. aus dem Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv zu Wien* (Vienna, 1983), pt. 1, pp. XXV–XXVI; for the *manifestatio* in the Ottoman ‘ahdnames sent to Poland-Lithuania, see Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 19–21.

<sup>424</sup> See Document 35; similar expressions can be found in Documents 34, 40, and 44 (in the two latter ones entered after the *sanctio*; cf. notes 440 and 442 below), and in the letter, sent by Qalga Mehmed Giray (the future khan Mehmed II Giray) to the Polish king, Henry Valois, in 1574: *èki curtumuzning arasında öksüz oğul ve tul hatun altun tac başıga urunıb yürür bolsa bizim ve sizning devletinde kimesne zarar etiñürmes*; see AGAD, Dz. tat., k. 65, t. 116, no. 692.

*Sanctio*

Because a typical *yarlıq* was formally addressed not to a foreign ruler but rather to this ruler's as well as the khan's subjects, its *sanctio* might also refer to these subjects and not to the direct addressee. For instance, Hadji Giray's "donation *yarlıq*" from ca. 1462 warns that if the inhabitants of the lands "granted" by the khan to Casimir "do not obey, nothing good awaits them." Likewise, Mengli Giray's *yarlıq* from ca. 1473 stipulates that if "they do not wish to serve our brother as they had before, then we should raid them, enslave, and return to our brother." A similar warning, addressed to the inhabitants of the lands "granted" to King Sigismund, is contained in Mengli's "donation *yarlıq*" from 1507.

Another type of *sanctio*, contained in *şartnames* and *'ahdnames*, was the issuer's solemn engagement or oath to respect the conditions of peace. In 1480, Mengli Giray swore that if the king kept his oath given to him, the khan would sooner leave his kingdom than let any harm be committed to Casimir's people or lands, and that by breaking his oath he would renounce God, Prophet Muhammad, the Koran, and other holy books venerated by the Muslims. The subsequent *sanc-tios*, recorded in the Crimean instruments, were as follows:

1507 (*şartname*) *Естли вы сюю прозбѣ словѣ моихъ, ты королъ Жикгимонът, братъ мой, и з литовѣскимъ в головахъ княземъ бискупомъ, и с паны, на пристаже своей твердо стои правдѣ вчините, а иначе не вчините, такжежъ мы, из сее пристаги наше и сознаныхъ словѣ нашихъ мы естли иначе вчинимъ, вышнѣго единого Бога вътреченъ тотъ бѣдетъ и Пророка нашего святого Магамета в Божего посланъца проклатъ бѣдетъ.*

("If you, my brother King Sigismund, along with the lords, beginning with the Reverend Lithuanian Bishop [of Vilnius], [fulfill] my above worded request and—keeping firmly your engagement—take an oath and do not break it, neither will we [break it], and if we break our present oath and

- confirmed words, [we]<sup>425</sup> will be repudiated by the highest and only God and cursed by our holy Prophet Muhammad, the messenger of God")
- 1514 (October) *На то присягаем Божу, и вѣрою, и Мухамедем, пророком нашимъ Его Милостью, и черезъ сто тысячъ и двадцат и чотыри тысячъ пророков, иж черезъ сес нашъ листъ докончалъныи што есмо мовили, инако не маемо быти.*  
 ("We swear to God by the faith, His Excellency our prophet Muhammad, and by the 124,000 prophets<sup>426</sup> that we will not violate our present letter of agreement or anything that we have uttered")
- 1514 (November) *Et aczoche questa nostra perpetua confederacione et vera fraternetate, et ferma et comone amicitia, facta fra noi, Menligueri Imperatore, et anco fra li nostri figlioli et nepoti, et tucto il gran consiglio del senestro et del destro lato nostro, et de tocti li duchi, satrape, mursczi, et fra tucti gli altri qualunque subditi se siano de lo nostro stato, et de quale ordene et condecione che se siano, dal una, et fra lo Serenessemo Prencepe, Signor Sigisimondo, re de Polonia et gran duca de Lefania, fratello nostro carissimo, et fra lo stato de la Sua Regal Serenitate, zoe fra li consiglieri del Reame de Polonia et del Gran Ducato de Lefania, de qual se voglia ordene et condicione, et qual se sia suo subdito, dal altra banda, debeat stare ferma et stabele, promectemo et ne oblegamo tucte le cose promesse secondo lo ioramento el quale havemo facto con tucti li nostri figlioli et nepoti, et prencepalmente con lo illustre Machmethcherei Soltano, figliolo nostro, integramente servare et inconcussamente tenere, sencza nesson dolo, et sencza fraude nessona del mondo. Et che tucte le sopradecte promesse serveranno*

<sup>425</sup> Ruth. *tot budet'* (lit. "such individual will be") obviously refers to the khan.

<sup>426</sup> According to a Muslim tradition (*hadith*), recorded in the collection of Ahmad bin Hanbal, Allah sent 124,000 prophets to the earth, including Prophet Muhammad; cf. Document 13, n. 3.

*anco tucti li nostri praedecti subditi, ne iammai faremo mal nesso a li dominii de la Sua Sereneseema Maiestate, ne al Reame de Polonia, ne al Gran Ducato de Lefania, ne iammai li lasseremo far male nessuno da li nostri subditi, ma come vero fratello et sencero amico, in tucte le cose tracteremo sempre et humanamente, et amicabelemente a la Sua Sereneseema Maiestate. Così sempre noi aiute Dio, et [cento]<sup>427</sup> vente quatro milia prophete, et Machmectho Mustapha.*

1520 (*yarlıq cum şartname*)

*И мене ре присегаемъ wt Бога подлугъ веры наше, и ста и двадцати тислчъ и чотырох тисечаи пророков, и нашего Его Милости правого пророка Магъмет Масмова.<sup>428</sup> воллаги биллаги w толълаги. На томъ докончанъи с правдою твердо стоимъ, то въдаючи въръте.*

(“And now we swear by God, according to our faith, by 124,000 prophets, and by our righteous prophet Muhammad Mustafa: by God, with God, and through God!<sup>429</sup> We firmly keep this sworn letter of agreement, thus you should know and trust”)

1520 (*şartname*)

*İmdi bu şartnamemizde yazılğan barça sözlerimiz üstüne çınlıq birle beng turar üçün men özüm Mehmed Gërey Han oğlum Bahadır Gërey Sultan başlıg barça oğlanlarım sultanlar taqı barça oğlanlar biyler mirzalar ve içki daşqı barça nökerlerim sizge beng ant şart ètermüz Tengrining adı üstüne taqı dinimizden taqı yüz ming yigirmi tört ming peygamberden taqı bizim peygamberimiz Muhammad Mustafa hazretinden kim vallahi ve billahi ve tallahi sizning birle arı çın köngülден dost qarındaşımız bu şartname içinde yazılğan*

<sup>427</sup> The word *cento* (“hundred”) must have been omitted by mistake; cf. n. 426 above.

<sup>428</sup> In should read *Масмова* or better *Мусмова*.

<sup>429</sup> The Arabic formula *vallahi billahi tallahi* is correctly rendered (in Tatar pronunciation) in the Cyrillic text.

*barça élingizge memleketingizge şehirleringizge kermenleringizge salalaringizga barça sizge sanlu élingizge kününgüzge barça kişileringizge bizden oğlanlarımдан oğlanlar biylerden mirzalardan içki daşqı nöker eşimден qazaqlarımızdan barça bizge sanlu kişilerimizden yamanlıq bolmağay bu şartname sözimizden özge türlü bolmağaymuz.*

(“Now, in order to keep eternally and truly all our words written in our present *şartname*, I personally, Mehmed Giray Khan, [along with]—to begin with my son Bahadır Giray Sultan—all my sons, the princes [sultans], also all the *ulans*, beys, and *mirzas*, also all my servants [*nökers*] in the inner [i.e., court] and outer service, we swear to you an eternal oath by the name of God, by our religion, by 124,000 prophets, and by our prophet, His Excellency Muhammad Mustafa, that—by God, with God, and through God!—truly and with all our hearts we should be friends and brothers with you, and no evil should befall on your entire country, kingdom, all cities, towns, and villages listed in this *şartname*, or on your numerous people<sup>430</sup> and all your men from us, our sons, *ulans*, beys, *mirzas*, those in the inner and outer service, our cossacks, and all our numerous men. We should not behave in a manner that differs from our words [contained] in this *şartname*”)

1527 (khan) *И содиновичъшыся, есьмо со въсею радою нашою подлугъ своихъ книгъ присягу вчинили: воллага вельбилга. И указяючи тое братъство и прыказъ нашу, которю хотимъ вчинити, и посла нашего великого на то нарядили, и присягнули, и послали есьмо до тебе, брата нашего, сии наши листы великии присажъныи тымъ посломъ, нашимъ добрымъ а вернымъ слягою [...]. И што тотъ сляга мои бѣдетъ вътъ мене тебе, братъ моему слово мовити, ты бы, братъ мои тому верыл, бо мои слова бѣдетъ тебе говорить. Бо какъ Богъ въдинъ естъ на небе, нехай бы межы*

<sup>430</sup> The possessive dative *élingizge kününgüzge* derives from *él kün*, i.e., “people.”



нами такъже вдно слово и присага твердаа была. А ты бы, братъ мои прыазнь и присагу твердо держал, такъ какъ и я, а словъ своему паномъ бы еси был.

(“And in unity, along with our council we have sworn by our [holy] books: by God and with God!<sup>431</sup> And in display of our brotherhood and friendship that we want to bring about, we have appointed our great envoy, we have sworn, and we have sent you our present great oath-letters through this envoy, our good and loyal servant [...]. And whatever words this servant of mine passes to you, my brother, you, my brother, should trust, as these will be my words. Just as there is one God in heaven, so let there be one word and firm oath between us. And you, my brother, should firmly keep the friendship and oath as I do, and you should be the master of your word”)

- 1539 *I pieczęciem swoje przyłożył, walahi wie billahy wi tellahy, przysięgam Bogu jedynemu i Machometowi Prorokowi.*

(“And I have appended my seals, by God, with God, and through God!<sup>432</sup>—I swear to God and Prophet Muhammad”)

- 1542 *Przysięgamy Jedynemu Bogu, Jego Miłości Machometowi Prorokowi, to jest: wallahy wie billahy wi tellahy—przysięgliśmy, o tym wiercie.*

(“We swear to one God and His Excellency Prophet Muhammad: by God, with God, and through God!<sup>433</sup>—thus we swore and thus you should believe”)

- 1552 *И на всемъ на томъ присегу есмо вчинили на справедливости, и впомявъши на вышнего единого Бога, и на пророка нашего Магмедъ Мостаовъ, ведлягъ законъ нашего присегаемъ то моцъне держати: воллаги во биллоги ва теллоги. Наша присега на томъ ест. Вамъ, брату нашома присегу свою моцъне держати бѣдемъ, и слово наше втѣ тое присеги нашо не отменѣно бѣдетъ.*

<sup>431</sup> The Arabic formula *vallahi ve billahi* is rendered (in Tatar pronunciation) in the Cyrillic text as *vollaha vel'biljaha*.

<sup>432</sup> The Arabic formula *vallahi ve billahi ve tallahi* is correctly rendered in the Polish text.

<sup>433</sup> The Arabic formula *vallahi ve billahi ve tallahi* is correctly rendered in the Polish text.

(“And we have taken oath upon the sincerity of everything [that has been written] above, and having invoked the supreme and one God, and our prophet Muhammad Mustafa, we swear according to our law to firmly keep it: by God, with God, and through God!<sup>434</sup> Such is our oath. We will firmly keep our oath to you, our brother, and our word will never deviate from our present oath”)

- 1560 *My sami, Dawletgirei car w głowach, i z synem naszym Machmetgirem gałgą, i z synmi naszymi carowiczami, kniaźmi, caraczeyami, ulany, i inszymi murzami ile ich jest wszelkich, którzy przy nas są wierni a dobrzy słudzy nasi, przysięgę swą na tym czynimy i uczyniliśmy: Przysięgamy na prawdę temu Bogu, który stworzył niebo i ziemię, na naszym Alkoranie, bratu naszemu iż wierność okazujemy, i potomkom waszym w sprawiedliwości i w dobrej wierności być chcemy; i obiecujemy wszelko wedle tego dokończenia naszego pełnić; i państwu waszym, brata naszego, jako Korony Polskiej, tak i Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, i wszelkim zamkom waszym, wsiom, włościom, i wszemu państwu i ludziom waszym, i wszelkim ukrainom waszym, w żadnej rzeczy szkody się nie stanie; z wami, bratem naszym, wielkim królem Zigmuntom Augustem, iż we wszem chcemy w braterskiej a dobrej przyjaźni być na wieczne czasy, jako w tym dokończeniu naszym znamienicie i jaśnie jest napisano. Na tym wszystkim przysięgę uczynili na sprawiedliwości, a wspomniawszy na najwyższego jedyne Boga, i na proroka naszego Machmeta Mustafę, według zakonu naszego przysięgamy to wszelko dźierżeć wedle tego dokończenia naszego: wallahi we billahi wi tellahi. Nasza przysięga na tym jest. Bratu naszemu, wielkiemu królowi Zigmuntowi Augustowi przysięgę swą mocno dźierżeć będziemy, i słowo nasze od tej przysięgi naszej nigdy odmienne nie będzie.*

(“We, Devlet Giray Khan—to begin with, along with our son, the qalga Mehmed Giray, and our [other] sons, the sultans, [and] the beys, qaraçıs, ulans, and other mirzas—as many as there are—, who stand by us as our loyal and good servants,

<sup>434</sup> The Arabic formula *vallahi va billahi va tallahi* is correctly rendered (in Tatar pronunciation) in the Cyrillic text.

have taken our oath upon the present [conditions]: We sincerely swear to God, who created heaven and earth, and by our Koran, that we display loyalty to our brother and wish to remain in justice and good fidelity with your descendants; and we promise to fulfill everything according to our present letter of agreement; and no damage will be done in any matter to the states of yours, our brother, either the Polish Crown or the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, or any of your castles, villages, estates, your whole state and people, and your entire borderlands; [and we swear] that we wish to remain forever in brotherly and good friendship with you, our brother, the great king Sigismund Augustus, just as it is openly and clearly written in our present letter of agreement. And we have taken oath upon the sincerity of everything [that has been written] above, and having invoked the supreme and one God, and our prophet Muhammad Mustafa, we swear according to our law to keep it in accordance with our present letter of agreement: by God, with God, and through God!<sup>435</sup> Such is our oath. We will firmly keep our oath to our brother, the great king Sigismund Augustus, and our word will never deviate from our present oath.”)

1592 (‘ahdname) *İmdi sên Zigmüt qıral qarındaşımız bilmiş bolsunlar kim Özü suyu içindin qazaqlarınıznı çıkar ve tirke-mey zabt qılmas bolursanız biz qarındaşınızning tuvarcılarına ve tuvar qarağa zarar qılub ve devletluğ sa‘adetluğ padişah hündkar hazretlerinin kermenlerine ve re‘ayasığa zarar ve ziyan qılar bolsalar dostluq ve muhabbatlıq ve barış-yarış bolmay eki curtnung re‘aya ve berayası zahmet körüb devletluğ padişah hündkar hazretlerindin dahi uyat bolursız bu ‘ahd ve şart ve ant üzerine turulmaq kerekdir.*

<sup>435</sup> The Arabic formula *vallahi ve billahi ve tallahi* is almost correctly rendered in the Polish text.

(“Now, our brother King Sigismund, you should know that if you do not expel your cossacks from the Dnieper river and do not restrain and hold them, and if they commit any harm to the cowherds and cattle of ours, your brother, or if they commit any harm or damage to the towns and subjects [*re'aya*] of His Excellency, the sovereign, the illustrious and prosperous [Ottoman] padishah, there will be no friendship, affection, peace, or companionship, the subjects<sup>436</sup> of the two countries will experience trouble, and you will be also shamed by His Excellency, the sovereign, the illustrious padishah. [Hence] it is necessary to keep this engagement, stipulation, and oath”)

- 1599 *Jakoż my przez przysięgę naszą czynimy przyrzekanie swoje królowi polskiemu, przez imię Boga jedyne go i proroka Machometa, iż prawdziwie a szczerze mamy przy słowiech i przyrzekaniach naszych mocno stać. Także i król polski według listu swego przemirnego do nas posłanego ma we wszystkim wypełniać według wiary swej prawdziwej.*

(“Hence we engage to the king of Poland, with our oath by the name of the one God and Prophet Muhammad, that we should firmly keep our words and promises in truth and sincerity. Also the king of Poland should fulfill everything according to his letter of agreement that was sent to us, in conformity with his true<sup>437</sup> faith”)

- 1601 *Jakoż list nasz przemirny posłaliśmy z tym upewnieniem, iż—naprzód wspomniawszy imię boże i wyznawając, że od Boga czterzy księgi zesłane, tak też i proroka prawdziwego, posła bożego Machometa, za ostatniego proroka przyrzeczenie swoje czynim—chcąc zdzierżyć według tego listu przemirnego, napisanego do was przez posła naszego wielkiego, nam wierne zasłużonego Dżan Achmet Czeliebieia, mamy i będziemy pełnić, a każdemu przyjacielowi waszemu być przyjacielem. A nieprzyjacielowi nieprzyjacielem będąc, z wami w dobrej przyjaźni, żadnych krzywd i szkód państwom i ludziom waszym czynić nie będziemy. Jako ja sam, car, tak i carewicy gałgowie, i synowie naszy carewicy, kniaziowie, ułani, kozacy, bezbaszowie*

<sup>436</sup> Tur. *re'aya ve beraya*, a bureaucratic formula used in the Ottoman chancery.

<sup>437</sup> It is rather unlikely that the original document, issued in the khan's chancery, referred to the Christian faith as “true.” It is apparently a translator's addition.

*przeciwko was na konie wsiadać i w państwa waszy wtargiwać, dobram i majątnościom szkody czynić, i zabierać nie będziem wszeliakiej rzeczy. Z strony naszej pokój zachowywać państwam i ludziom waszym będziemy tak, żeby z strony waszej nam i państwu naszemu, i ludziom naszym był pokój. Aby ludziom ubogim, a na ostatek białym głowam, wdowam między obiema państwa bezpiecznie chodzić wolno by było za szczęśliwymi panowaniami naszymi.*

(“Hence we have sent our letter of agreement with the assurance that—having firstly invoked the name of God and confessing that we make our engagement by the four Books<sup>438</sup> sent by God, and by the true prophet, God’s messenger Muhammad, [being] the last prophet—in desire to keep [the above conditions] according to the present letter of agreement, written [and sent] to you through our great envoy, Djan Ahmed Chelebi, who has rendered us loyal services, we should and we will fulfill them and be a friend of any of your friends. And [while] being an enemy of your enemy and remaining in good friendship with you, we will not commit any harm or damage to your states and people. Neither I, the khan, nor the qalga sultans,<sup>439</sup> our sons, the *sultans*, and the beys, *ulans*, cossacks, and those committing small raids [*beş-baş*] will mount horses and set out against you, invade your states, cause damage to [your] estates and goods, nor will we capture anything. On our part we will keep peace with your states and people so that you keep peace with us, our state, and our people. So that during

<sup>438</sup> According to a Muslim tradition (*hadith*), recorded in the collection by Ibn Hibban, rearranged by the medieval Muslim scholar Ali bin Balban, God sent to humanity 100 leaves of Holy Scripture (50 to Seth, 30 to Noah, 10 to Abraham, and 10 to Moses before the Torah), and four Holy Books, namely the Torah, the Gospel, the Zabur, and the Koran; see al-Amir ‘Ala’addin ‘Ali bin Balban al-Farsi, *al-Ihsan fi taqribi sahih Ibn Hibban*, vol. 2 (Beirut, 1988 A.D./1408 A.H.), p. 77. The term Zabur probably refers to the Psalms of David; cf. J. Horovitz and R. Firestone, “Zabūr,” *EI*<sup>2</sup>, vol. 11 (Leiden, 2001), pp. 372–373 (for a direct reference to the Psalms of David, see n. 441 below). A reference to 104 Holy Books (i.e., 100 minor and 4 larger ones) can be found already in Mengli Giray’s oath recorded in a document from 1478; cf. Document 6, n. 5.

<sup>439</sup> Either the passage referring to the qalga is erroneously written in the plural or it refers to the present as well as future qalgas.

our felicitous reigns the poor, and even women and widows may safely travel between the two states")<sup>440</sup>

- 1604 *Przeto na imię najwyższego, który ani początku ani końca nie ma Boga wszechmogącego, stwórcy nieba i ziemi, także i najchwalebniejsze księgi Alkoran, i na Psalmy albo Księgi Dawida proroka, i na najświętszego i prawdziwego proroka naszego Muhammeda Mustaphę, od Boga posłanego przysięgamy, że to przymierze i artykuły opisane szczerze zachować i strzypać chcemy, i obiecujemy dotąd, dokąd z strony Waszej Królewskiej Miłości przeciwko przymierzui i artykułom nic się nie wykroczy, a do tego gdy zwykle upominki będą zupełna oddawane, i żadna szkoda w państwie naszym się nie stanie, tedy też my z strony naszej przestrzegać tego będziemy, jakobyśmy namniej przeciwko temu świętobliwemu przymierzui naszemu od nas danemu w namniejszym punkcie nie wykroczyli, ale owszem stateczną przyjaźń i braterstwo w cale zachowali, gdyż inszej myśli ani przedsięwzięcia w siebie nie mamy; i owszem o to się starać będziemy, jakobyśmy przez wszytek czas żywota swego i tę pamiątkę po sobie zostawili, jakoby ubodzy ludzie, kupcy i poddani społeczni nasi za nas i szczęśliwe zdrowie, i długo fortunne społeczne panowanie nasze Pana Boga prosili.*

("Hence we swear by the name of the highest Almighty God, who has no beginning and no end, the creator of heaven and earth, by the most glorious book of Koran and the Psalms or Books of Prophet David,<sup>441</sup> and by our most holy and true prophet sent by God, Muhammad Mustafa, that we want to sincerely preserve and keep the present agreement and [its] recorded articles, and we engage that as long as no deviation from the agreement and [its] articles happens on the part of Your Royal Majesty, and, moreover, the customary gifts are delivered in full, and no damage occurs in our state, also on our part we will ensure that we should not trespass in the least our holy [instrument of] agreement that we have issued; on the contrary, we should entirely preserve the solid friendship and

<sup>440</sup> The last expression, recorded in Polish translation, is remindful of the ones entered in the documents from 1592; cf. n. 424 above.

<sup>441</sup> In the Muslim tradition the Psalms of David, referred to as Zabur, were regarded as one of the four Holy Books sent by God to humanity, along with the Torah, the Gospel, and the Koran; cf. n. 438 above.

brotherhood, as we have no other intention or aim; indeed, we will endeavor through our entire life to leave a [good] memory, so that the poor, our merchants and subjects of both sides may pray to God for us, our prosperous health, and long fortunate reign of both of us")

1607 *Quae nimirum foedera et promissiones nostrae ad firmiter inviolabiliterque servanda, pro vera Musulmanica fide nostra, per altissimi et praepotentis Dei unitatem novissimorumque temporum veri Prophetæ Mechmeti <et> Mustaphæ prophetiam perque veritatem caelitus dati veri Alcorani nostri iuramus, quoad ex parte Serenissimi Regis foedera ac obligationes non violabuntur nobisque quolibet anno consueta dona more recepto ad festum Sancti Demetrii exhibebuntur et incolis regni nostri ex parte sui, ipsius magnatum subditorumque suorum damni nihil fiet, nos Kazigerej Chan pactis foederibusque istis insistentes firmiter, quoad vita nos deseriverit, contrarii nihil faciemus. Quod si Serenissimus Rex amicitiam nostram his fulcitam obligationibus acceptare noluerit minusque convenientem duxerit, aliam sibi posthac ipse magis idoneam componet.*

1609 *A ja Panu Bogu jedynemu, i od Pana Boga prorokowi nam zesłanemu Machometowi Mostafie, i księgam zesłanym Alkoranowi na Alkoranie przysięgam, jako pierwiej przysięgę uczynilem, sam od siebie, synów, braciej naszej, carowiczów, i od murzów, bejów, i wszystkich inszych poddanych naszych, Jego Królewskiej Miłości i Panom Radnym, poddanym, miastam, miasteczkom, zamkom, i wsiom, i wszystkim pospolitym ludziom iż żadnej szkody czynić nie mam póki wieku naszego będzie; w pokoju i w przyjaźni braterskiej z sobą mieszkać mamy, aby ubodzy poddani, siroty i wdowy w pokoju i w rozkoszy byli; i za panowania mego kupcom ze wszelakimi kupiami z państwa Waszej Królewskiej Miłości do państwa naszego, a z państwa naszego do państwa Waszej Królewskiej Miłości, kupcy wolno i bezpiecznie przejeżdżać i odjeżdżać mają; którzy niech za nas i za Waszą Królewską Miłość Pana Boga proszą, aby nam i w inszych monarchiach dobra sława była*

("Hence I swear to one God, the prophet sent to us by God, Muhammad Mustafa, and the revealed book<s> of Koran, by the Koran, as I swore formerly, on my behalf and on behalf of my sons and brothers, the sultans, and the mirzas, beys, and all our subjects, that I should not bring any damage to His

Royal Majesty, [his] Lords Councilors, subjects, towns, boroughs, castles, villages, and all common people, as long as our days last; and we should remain in mutual peace and brotherly friendship, so that the poor subjects, orphans and widows may enjoy peace and joy;<sup>442</sup> and during my reign merchants with all kinds of merchandise may freely and safely travel and return from the state of Your Royal Majesty to our state, and from our state to the state of Your Royal Majesty; may they pray to God for us and Your Royal Majesty, so that we may have a good fame also in other monarchies”)

- 1611 *My, brat Waszej Królewskiej Miłości, my swoim pisanem, które od Boga mamy, i na tym przysięgę czynimy, według tego, jako był nieboszczyk car Kazigieriej uczynił list przymierny i dał, i ja też z swojej strony taki przymierny list posyłam i według tego czynię przysięgę, żeby obojgom państwowom pokój zobopólny był, póki wieku mego będzie; a ja też Waszej Królewskiej Miłości przyjacielowi chcę być przyjacielem, a nieprzyjacielowi nieprzyjacielem, co by ubodzy poddani w pokoju i w rozkoszy mieszkając za nas i za Waszą Królewską Miłość Boga prosili.*

(“We, Your Royal Majesty’s brother, swear upon the [Holy] Writing that we have from God, and I send a letter of agreement just like the letter of agreement issued by the late khan, Ghazi Giray, and in accordance to that I take an oath, so that mutual peace may reign in the two states, as long as my days last; and I wish to be a friend of Your Royal Majesty’s friend, and an enemy of your enemy, so that the poor subjects may enjoy peace and joy, and pray to God for us and Your Royal Majesty”)

- 1624 *Ten tedy list przymierny, i w nim z początku aż do końca napisane i oznaczone sprawy, i artykuły, i punkta mocno, nienaruszenie, do skończenia dni moich trzymać obiecuję, i na Boga wszechmocnego, Boga miłosiernego, i na Proroka naszego przysięgą utwierdzamy.*

(“Therefore, I promise to firmly and inviolably keep this letter of agreement along with the matters, articles, and clauses recorded in it from its beginning to its end, until the end of my

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<sup>442</sup> Cf. n. 440 above.



days, and we confirm it by the oath made upon the almighty and merciful God and our Prophet")

- 1632 *Vallahi'l-'azim ve bi'llahi'l-kerim ma damki siz qardaşım qıral hazretlerindin hilaf bolmağay hetmanınız sözünçe dostluğunuzda muhkem turğaysız bizim tarafımızdan dahi sözümüzde hilaf ve hata bolmastur yahşılıqdan özge nimerse bolmaq ihtimali yoqdur.*

("By the great God and with the generous God! As you, our brother, your royal excellency, should not do anything contrary [to the peace] and firmly keep your friendship [towards us] according to the word of your hetman, also from our side nothing will occur contrary or in violation of our word; it is unlikely that anything other than good could happen")

- 1634 *Bizim tarafımızdan size ve memleketiñüze ve köy [ü] kentiñüze zarar u ziyan olmaz 'ömr-i ahırğaça dostuñuza dost tüşmanıñuza tüşman olub turdum i'timad edüb beni dost bilesiz vallahi a'lam.*

("And from our side no damage or harm will be done to you, your kingdom, villages, and towns. Until the end of my life I will be a friend of your friend and an enemy of your enemy. Thus you should trust and recognize me as [your] friend. By God who knows best!")

- 1635 *Myśmy w przyjaźni mocno stali, Wy, to jest brat nasz, król polski, w postanowionym przymierzu macie mocno stać, dlatego się to napisało.*

("As we have firmly kept friendship, [also] you, our brother, the king of Poland, should firmly keep the resolved agreement, therefore this [document] has been written")

- 1637 *Zaczyn te punkta wszystkie w tych paktach naszych wypisane dla dotrzymania statecznej przyjaźni po wszystkie dni panowania naszego przysięgą naszą mocno utwierdzając, przysięgamy na jednego i wielkiego Boga, i proroka naszego prawdziwego, że tym paktom we wszystkim czynić dosyć chcemy, które utwierdzone przysięgą zawierają.*

("Thus, firmly cementing all the articles written in our present instrument of agreement with our oath so that the solid friendship should last until the final days of our reign, we swear by one and great God and by our true Prophet that we want to thoroughly honor the contents of the present agreement, cemented with [our] oath")

- 1637 (qalga) *Dlatego te szczęśliwe pakta nasze i wszystkie w nich opisane kondycyje przysięgą naszą, że do śmierci po wszystkie dni panowania naszego dosyć czynić chcemy, utwierdzają[c], przysięgliśmy na jednego i miłościwego Boga i proroka naszego prawdziwego.*

(“Having cemented our prosperous instrument of agreement and all its conditions with our oath stipulating that we will respect them for all the days of our reign until our death, we have sworn by one and gracious God and our true Prophet”)

- 1640 *[in fact the elements of *sanctio* are mixed with the elements of *dispositio*] Sözümler bir dir hiç hilaf bolmasdır [...] ve hala sizinle yahşı söyleşmek için burundın bara-kelgen beylerni cibermey özümüzge yaqın bolğan iç qullarımızdın yaqın qulumuz bolğanıyçün Quvvat Beyni cibergenimiz yahşı tovrı qulumuzdur siz taqı yahşı muradımızça söyleşüb ri‘ayet-milen qayta tiz cibergeysiz şulay bilgeysiz!*

(“Our word is sound and nothing contrary will happen. [...] And now, in order to have fruitful negotiations with you, we have not sent the beys who used to go previously, but we have sent Quvvat Bey, because he has been our close servant from among our courtiers being close to us. He is our good and loyal servant. And, following our wish, you should converse [with him] amicably, respect [him] and promptly send back. Thus you must know!”)

- 1640 (qalga) *Sözimizde muhkem turub muhabbetlik birle hat yiberdik ve dostunuzğa dost düşmanınızğa düşman bolub turduq hatırınızğa hiç nimerse keltürmegeysiz yahşılıqda dostluqda bolurmuz siz qarındaşımız qıral hazretleri de bolsanız dostluq nişanesini ve yahşılıq merasimini yerine ketürüb ‘ömr-i evahırğaça dostluqda ve qardaşlıqda bolğaysız şulay bilgeysiz!*

(“While firmly keeping our word, we have sent our friendly letter and remained a friend of your friend and an enemy of your enemy. You should not worry about anything as we will truly keep friendship. And you, our brother, his [i.e., your] excellency, the king, should display the sign[s] of friendship and fulfill the ceremonial

duties of [common] wellbeing, and keep friendship and brotherhood until the end of your life. Thus you must know!)

- 1640 (nureddin) *Sözümüz bir dir hiç hilaf bolmasdır bu kündin sonra dostunuzğa dost ve tüşmanınızğa tüşmanımız şol şart bile kim sözde doğru ve muhkem tabilub elçi ve hazine bilen dostluq ve qardaşlıqınızni bildirüb ‘ömr-i ahırığaça dostluq ve muhabbetlikde ve barça ‘ahd ü peymanda çınlıq êtkeysiz oşlay bolgay!*  
 (“Our word is sound and nothing contrary will happen. From this day on, we will be a friend of your friend and an enemy of your enemy, on such a condition that you should loyally and firmly respect the agreement and let [us] know your friendship and brotherly affection through your envoy and by [sending] a treasure, keeping friendship and affection until the end of [your] life, and being completely honest in regard to the treaty and agreement. So it should be!”)

- 1646 *İnşa’llahu ta’ala bizüm bu sözümüzde ve ‘ahd ü qavlimizde hilaf olmazdır işbu ‘ahdnamemiz bizüm kendi sözümüzdür ortalıqda fesade ba’is ve badi olan eşqıyaya aman vërlilmeyüb iki tarafdan haqlarından gelinüb mucib-i ‘ibret êtmek lazımdır bi-‘avni’llahi ta’ala bu tarafdan ol-maqule haramzadelere merhamet olunmayub haqlarından gelinür sizün taraflınızda dahi bozğanlıq isteyan eşqıyaların haqlarından gelesiz muradımız mabeyinde olan sulh u salahın istihkam ve ibqası olub ‘asker-i Tatara tenbih ve te’kid ve bellü başlularına muhkem tehdid vërilüb vilayetinizüze aqın olmadan bilkülliye men’ ve zapt olunmuşıyken güz aylarından bu zamana degin nehr-i Özüde muhafaza hidmetinde olan qazaqlarınız ve sair avcı ve eşqıyalarınız dört beş kerre Qırım maline çıqub mal sürüp gitdüklerinden gayri niçe Müslimanları götürüp esir êtdiler bu maqule barışq ve qardaşlıq ve dostluq olurmu barışqlıq êtmek muradınız bolsa ‘ahdiniz ber-qarar olup haramzadenizniñ haqqından gelesiz!*

(“God—may He be exalted!—willing, we will not act contrary to our agreement, oath, and word, as our present ‘*ahdname* equals our proper word. [Nevertheless,] in regard to the brigands, who cause and bring mischief in our surroundings, both sides should mercilessly punish them and thus set a warning [to others]. With the help of God, may He be exalted!, on this side no mercy will be given to such villains, and they will be punished. Also on your side, you should punish those looking for trouble. While, in desire to render the peace and amity existing between [us] firm and stable, we have given repeated orders to the Tatar troops and severely threatened our notables, restraining them and forbidding any raids against your country, your Cossacks, serving as guards on the Dnieper river, and your other hunters and brigands have come four or five times from the autumn months until the present time and driven away the Crimean cattle; moreover, they have taken away many Muslims captured as prisoners. What kind of peace, brotherhood, and friendship is that? If you wish to make peace, you should observe your oath and punish your villains.”)

- 1649 *Bu yazdığımızın hilafı sizin tarafınızdan olursa naqz-i ‘ahd kendi tarafınızdan olmuş olur inşa’allahu ta‘ala naqz-i ‘ahd bizim tarafımızdan olmayup ‘ömr-i ahırğaça oğul oğuldan dostluq etmek muradımızdır siz dahi dostluqda muhkem olup ‘ömr-i ahırğaça qardaşlıq edesiz böyle bilesiz!*

(“If anything contrary to our present writing is done by you, it will be you who will have violated the engagement [*‘ahd*]. God—may He be exalted!—willing, we will not violate the engagement [*‘ahd*] as it is our wish to keep friendship till the end of [our] life, and [then] from father to son. You, too, should keep strongly the friendship and brotherhood till the end of [your] life. Thus you must know!”)

- 1654 *Biz dahi ‘ahd ü yemin ederiz ma damki sizin tarafınızdan ve beklerinüz taraflarından naqz-i ‘ahd olmayup ‘ahd ü yemininüzde sadıq olasız inşa’allahu ta‘ala bizim ‘ahd ü yeminimiz tağayyür olunmayup eger bizim tarafımızdan ve eger qalğa sultan ve eger nureddin sultan tarafından ve sair sultanlar taraflarından ve cemi’ Qırım bekleri ve mirzalarından ve ağalarından Ulu Noğay ve Küçük Noğay ve Oraç oğulları ve Şeydaq oğulları ve Mamay oğulları mirzalarından ve Or Mehmed Bey oğulları mirzaları ve Toquz Çubar mirzalarından ve Aqkermen ve Cankermende*

*olan Tatar ve Nogay ‘askerimizden sizin vilayetiñüze ve serhad qal’elerinñüze zarar u ziyan olmaq ihtimali yoqdur.*

(“We also swear and engage that we will remain in friendship and brotherhood with you, we will be a friend of your friend and an enemy of your enemy. As no violation of the oath should occur from your side or from the side of your lords, and you should sincerely keep your oath and engagement, God—may He be exalted!—willing, there will be no change [either] in our oath and engagement; it is unlikely that any damage or harm will be done to your country or your border castles by us or by the qalga sultan, or the nureddin sultan, or by other princes [*sultans*], or by any of the Crimean beys, *mirzas*, or aghas, or by the *mirzas* of the Great Nogay and Little Nogay [hordes], of the [clans] Oraq-oghlu, Sheydaq-oghlu, and Mamay-oghlu, or by the *mirzas* of the [clan] Or-Membet-Bey-oghlu, the *mirzas* of Toquz Chubar,<sup>443</sup> or by our Tatar and Nogay troops dwelling in [the vicinity of] Akkerman and Djankerman [i.e., Očakiv]”)

- 1668 *Ażeby tedy strony Polski według umowy we wszystkim dotrzymali, my z naszej strony we wszystkim dotrzymać obiecujemy, że żadnej odmiany nie będzie według przysięgi naszej, i słowu swemu uczyniwszy we wszystkim dosyć. Przysięgam Bogu Najwyższemu, który stworzył niebo i ziemię, powietrze i morze, że w słowie moim żadnej zmazy nie będzie tej przysięgi.*

(“As this agreement should be thoroughly observed from the Polish side, [also] from our side we promise to observe it thoroughly and to keep our word without any deviation from our oath. I swear to the highest God, who created heaven, earth, air, and sea, that there will be no erasing of my word and this oath”)

In some Crimean documents, the *sanctio* reiterates specific clauses that are already recorded in the main text or contains additional matters (like mentioning the khan’s envoy in the instrument from 1640 or listing the Nogay clans in the instrument from 1654) that are unusual in this place. In result, the *sanctio* of the Crimean documents is not always well discernible.

<sup>443</sup> For the above clans, see Document 64, notes 12–16.

In the instruments from 1640 (by the khan and the qalga) and 1649 we find the *sanctio* formula: “thus you must know!,” which was apparently adopted from the Ottoman chancery. Though inspired by the Ottoman model, in the documents from 1640 the formula had a Kipchak form: *şulay bilgeysiz*. Only in the document from 1649 it was already “Ottomanized” and had an Oghuz form: *böyle bilesiz*. Interestingly, these two different forms can be found in the documents issued by the same person, Islam Giray: as the qalga in 1640 and as the khan in 1649.

The oaths, taken by the khans, typically invoked God and Prophet Muhammad, sometimes followed by 124,000 lesser prophets,<sup>444</sup> as well as the Koran and other holy books, venerated by the Muslims, including the Psalms of David. The oath pronounced by Mengli Giray in 1513, which was separately recorded, also provided that the breaking of his word should automatically result in his becoming a heathen and his wife becoming divorced from him (*žona moja nexaj bude vyzvolena, a ja nexaj budu nevernyj pohanyn*).<sup>445</sup> Besides, the *sanctio* often contained the standard Arabic formula that strengthened a religious oath: *vallahi ve billahi ve tallahi* (“by God, with God, and through God!”). This formula figures not only in Arabic-script originals, but is correctly rendered in their contemporary Ruthenian and Polish translations.

### *Corroboratio*

The corroborating formulas from the period prior to 1609, referring to the *nişans* and at times signet seals as well, were already invoked above. Typically entered after the *sanctio*, occasionally they can also be found in the middle of the document. The credential formulas from the later period are quoted below:

1624    *A żeby to ważniej było, ręką swą własną i braterską pieczęć przycisnęliśmy.*

<sup>444</sup> This number in fact includes Prophet Muhammad; cf. n. 426 above. An even more sophisticated reference to 124,000 prophets and 313 messengers can be found in the texts of the oaths pronounced by the Crimean envoys in 1522 and 1535; cf. Document 21, n. 6.

<sup>445</sup> On this formula, see also n. 152 above and Document 13, n. 2.

- (“And in order to further raise its validity, we have impressed the seal with our own brotherly hand”)
- 1637 *Aby były oddane do rąk przyjacielskich, one przyjacielską pieczęcią pieczętujemy.*  
 (“And we stamp them with our friendly seal so that they should be delivered to [your] friendly hands”)
- 1637 (qalga) *Że tedy tej przysiędze dosyć czynić chcemy, pakta te nasze zawierając szczęśliwie spokojną ręką pieczęć przyjacielską przyciskamy.*  
 (“As we wish to fulfill this oath, while happily concluding our present agreement we impress [our] friendly seal with a firm hand”)
- 1654<sup>446</sup> *Bu taraftan dahi altun baysalu ‘ahdnamemiz yazdırılup göndürülmüşdür.*  
 (“Also on our part, we ordered to write down and sent our ‘ahdname, provided with the golden baysa”)
- 1668 *Dla utwierdzenia przyjaźni pieczęcią moją utwierdziłem i przycisnąłem.*  
 (“In order to corroborate the friendship, I have confirmed and stamped with my seal”)
- 1672 *Na co się ręką naszą podpisujemy i pieczęć naszą przycisnąć rozkazaliśmy.*  
 (“In order to attest it, we hereby sign with our hand and we have ordered to impress our seal”)

It seems that the *corroboratio* of Crimean documents, if it was present at all, referred to the *nişan*, the signet seal, or the *baysa*, but not to the *tuğra*. Although numerous Ottoman formulas were adopted by the Crimean chancery, the standard Ottoman *corroboratio*: ‘*alamet-i şerife i’timad qılalar*’ (“they should trust to the noble sign [i.e., *tuğra*]”) cannot be found in the khan’s instruments, published in the present volume.

### *Concluding salutatio*

The instruments from 1592 (oath-*yarlıq*), 1632, 1634, 1640 (apart from the one issued by the khan), 1646, and 1654 contain the typical Arabic

<sup>446</sup> The formula is entered in the middle of the document and not at its end; on the *baysa*, see above.

ending formula: "Salutation unto whomsoever has followed the right path [i.e., Islam]!" (*ve 's-selam 'ala men ittaba'a 'l-Hüda*), or its variant: "I have nothing to add but a prayer for whomsoever has followed the right path [i.e., Islam]!" (*baqi ve 'd-du'a 'ala men ittaba'a 'l-Hüda*). It apparently figured in the instruments from 1604, 1611, 1624, and 1637 (issued by the qalga) as well, and is recognizable in their extant Polish translations. Commonly used in the Ottoman chancery, the formula was probably adopted in Baghchasaray in the late 16th century.

Since the above formula alluded to the addressee's desirable conversion to Islam,<sup>447</sup> in the changed political circumstances of the 18th century it was perhaps found too much provoking. Selamet II Giray's instrument, sent to the Polish king in 1742, ended with a more "politically correct" formula, based on the former one, but modified and changed even grammatically with the application of the Persian optative form *bad*: "I have nothing to add but: let [us] always be healthy and sound!" (*baqi hemvare sıhhat 'afiyet 'aqıbet bad*).

#### Datatio and locatio

The two final components in Crimean documents are usually combined. In the documents, published in the present volume, they read as follows:

- ca. 1462 *Pisan w Krymie liata po roku Jego Świętej Miłości Machomata proroka liata 867, dnia 22 miesiąca septembra, lata od narodzenia Pana Jesusowego 1461.*  
 ("Written in Qırım, in the year 867 after the year [of the Hegira] of His Holy Majesty, Prophet Muhammad, on the 22nd day of the month of September, in the year 1461 from the birth of Lord Jesus")<sup>448</sup>
- 1467 *Ex Kyrcher 1467 die 17 septembris, anno Saracenorum octu-  
 gesimo septuagesimo secundo mensis Zapher.*<sup>449</sup>

<sup>447</sup> Cf. n. 420 above.

<sup>448</sup> The dating is contradictory as the Muslim year 867 A.H. lasted from 26 September 1462 till 14 September 1463. See the discussion of the date, circumstances of delivery, and contents of this document in Part I. Lacking further evidence, we must conclude that the *yarlıq* was either issued on 22 September 1461 and brought to Poland, or between 26 September 1462 and 14 September 1463 and brought to Lithuania.

<sup>449</sup> The month of Safer of the Muslim year 872 A.H. lasted from 1 till 29 September 1467.



- ca. 1473 *I daliśmy ten nasz list pod złotą pieczęcią, po śmierci Machometowej ośmsetnego siedmdziesiątego ósmego roku, od narodzenia Chrystusa roku tysiącznego czterechsetnego siedmdziesiątego drugiego, w Ordzie Tatarskiej.*  
 (“We have given our present letter under the golden stamp in the year 878 after the death of Muhammad,<sup>450</sup> in the year 1472 from the birth of Christ,<sup>451</sup> in the Tatar Horde”)
- 1480 *Писанъ въ Киркери, в лет[о] всмъсотъное и всмъдесѣтъ лѣтое, въ кѣмѣбрѣ ѿ [15] день, в пѣтницѣ.*  
 (“Written in Qırq Yer, in the year 885, on the 15th day of October, on Friday”)<sup>452</sup>
- 1507 (*yarlıq*) *Для того на то под золотым нишаном и подъ алыми пѣтны тарлыкъ данъ, по Про[ро]ка нашего смерти девѣтсотъ лет и тринадцѣтъ летъ, щастливого месеца савара ꙗа [21] дѣта, в пѣтницѣ. Писанъ в городе Веселом.*  
 (“The *yarlıq* under the golden *nişan* and under the red stamp has been given accordingly on the 21st day of the prosperous month of Safer, 913 years after the death<sup>453</sup> of our Prophet, on Friday. Written in Devletkerman”)
- 1507 (*şartname*) *Данъ после нашего Пророка в девѣти сотъ и в тринѣцѣти лет, щастного реби ал-авъвелѣ месеца на четвѣртыи ден в середѣ писанъ.*

<sup>450</sup> An obvious mistake or superfluous interpretation by the translator since the Muslim calendar begins with the emigration (Hegira) and not the death of Prophet Muhammad.

<sup>451</sup> The dating is confusing as the Muslim year 878 A.H. lasted from 29 May 1473 till 17 May 1474. As the Crimean chancery would rather give a wrong year according to the Christian, and not the Muslim era, I would tentatively suggest dating the present document in 1473.

<sup>452</sup> The Muslim year 885 A.H. lasted between 13 March 1480 and 1 March 1481; yet, 15 October 1480 was a Sunday, and not Friday. Perhaps the Tatar scribe referred to the second decade (i.e., 11th–20th) of the month as it was customary in Islamic chanceries and the Lithuanian scribe mistakenly changed “the middle of October” into “October 15th”? Therefore, I suggest dating the present document between Friday, 13 October, and Friday, 20 October 1480.

<sup>453</sup> Cf. n. 450 above.

- (“Given 913 years after our Prophet, written<sup>454</sup> on the 4th day of the prosperous month of Rebi I, on Wednesday”)
- 1514 (June) *Писан в Переконе.*  
(“Written in Perekop”)
- 1514 (October) *И на тую твердость сес докончалънии листъ наш, подъ золотымъ знамен и подъ черлеными печатми лист посланъ, после Пророка нашего в деветисот лѣтѣхъ и въ двадцати, а после его милости Изас пророка в тисѣча и в пѣтисот и в чотырнадѣ[ца]тъ лѣтѣ, ахтуриса месеца в двадцати и в девѣти день, в Переконе, Киркели городе, в Щасливои Полате, на ца[с]те и на ласкѣ.*  
(“To confirm this [our] firmness, our present letter of agreement under the golden stamp and under the red seals has been sent in the year 920 after our Prophet,<sup>455</sup> and in the year 1514 after His Excellency, Prophet Jesus, on the 29th day of the month of October, in Perekop,<sup>456</sup> in the town of Qırq Yer, in the Prosperous Palace,<sup>457</sup> for the sake of happiness and harmony”)
- 1514 (November) *Data in Cherchere in Dovlat Sarai<sup>458</sup> et in lo angni de nove centto vinti de nostro profetta iusto et in lo angno de Jezu Criste in mille cinque cento quatordecice et al di vintti nove novembris.*
- 1517 *Писан на мѣстѣцу отца моего вѣлкого короля в Черъкасех.*  
(“Written in the town of my father, the great king, in Čerkasy”)

<sup>454</sup> Perhaps the word *pysan* (“written”) entered at the end of the Ruthenian phrase, belongs to the original *locatio* that was left out by the scribe; cf. Document 8.

<sup>455</sup> The Muslim year 920 A.H. lasted from 26 February 1514 till 14 February 1515.

<sup>456</sup> The term Perekop, apparently entered by the Ruthenian translator, refers in the given context to the whole Crimea and not the town of Perekop (Tat. Ferahkermen), situated in the Crimean isthmus.

<sup>457</sup> The Ruthenian term *Ščaslyvaja Polata* (“the Prosperous Palace”) is the literal translation of the Turkish name Devletsaray, applied to the khan’s residence built in the years 1500–1503 in Saladjiq near Qırq Yer; Devletsaray (i.e., Saladjiq) is identified here with Qırq Yer, although these were initially two separate localities.

<sup>458</sup> Devletsaray, the khan’s new residence in Saladjiq, is again identified here with the nearby old capital of Qırq Yer; cf. n. 457 above.

- 1520 (*yarlıq cum şartname*) *И золотомъ докончане и[з] золотою печатю послали есмо, в лета нашего пророка Магъмета деветъ сот лѣтъ и ѿ [20] и ѿ [6] лѣтъ, щастливыи мес[e]цемъ нашимъ зылходъа день ѿ [9]. Писанъ в Паранъкирмени лета божего тисеча пятсот ѿ [20] годъ въ[тѣбра] ѿ [25] день, индикт ѿ [9].*  
 ("And we have sent the golden letter of agreement with the golden seal, in the year 926 of our prophet Muhammad, on the 9th day of our prosperous month of Zilkade. Written in Ferahkerman,<sup>459</sup> anno Domini 1520, on the 25th day of October,<sup>460</sup> during the 9th indiction")<sup>461</sup>
- 1520 (*şartname*) *Tarih-i toquz yüz yigirmi altıda mübarek Zi'l-qa'de aynung toquzuncı yekşenbe kün şehr-i mu'azzam Ferahkermende bitildi.*  
 ("Written in the great city of Ferahkerman,<sup>462</sup> at the date of the 9th day of the blessed month of Zilkade in [the year] 926, on Sunday")<sup>463</sup>  
 [contemporary Ruthenian translation: *Лета Магъмета пророка деветсот двадцат шостыи год, месеца зылкадеи ѿ [9] день, въ[тѣбра] ѿ [25] день,*<sup>464</sup> *индикт ѿ [9]*]<sup>465</sup>

<sup>459</sup> I.e., Perekop.

<sup>460</sup> The dating is confusing as 9 Zilkade 926 A.H. corresponded with 21 October, and not 25 October 1520; it seems more likely that the Crimean chancery clerk correctly recorded the date of the Muslim calendar; besides, in the Khwarezmian Turkic document, also dated 9 Zilkade 926 A.H., this day is referred to as a Sunday (cf. n. 463 below), and 21 October was indeed a Sunday. The same difference between the Muslim and the Christian dates can be found in the Ruthenian version of the following document; cf. n. 464 below.

<sup>461</sup> The indiction number was apparently entered by the Ruthenian translator or the Lithuanian chancery clerk who copied the present document; the ninth indiction lasted from 1 September 1520 till 31 August 1521.

<sup>462</sup> I.e., Perekop.

<sup>463</sup> *Yekşenbe*, i.e., the first day of the week according to the Persian calendar.

<sup>464</sup> The dating is confusing as 9 Zilkade 926 A.H. corresponded with 21 October 1520. The same difference between the Muslim and the Christian dates can be found in the previous document; cf. n. 460 above.

<sup>465</sup> The indiction number, missing in the original, was apparently entered by the Ruthenian translator or the Lithuanian chancery clerk who copied the present document; cf. n. 461 above.

- 1527 (khan) *Писонъ в Переконе сен ѡтъ Магъметова наро-  
женьа девеносто*<sup>466</sup> *летъ и ꙗзъ [33] летоу.*  
("Written in Perekop, 933<sup>467</sup> years after the birth<sup>468</sup> of  
Muhammad")
- 1527 (qalga) *Писанъ в Переконе.*  
("Written in Perekop")
- 1539 *Dan po ześciu z tego świata Machometa Proroka roku  
946, od narodzenia Pana Chrystusowego 1542.*  
("Issued in the year 946 after the departure of Prophet  
Muhammad from this world,<sup>469</sup> 1542 [sic] since the  
birth of Lord Christ")<sup>470</sup>
- 1542 *I daliśmy ten nasz list pod złotą pieczęcią naszą podle  
roku ześcia z tego świata Machometa Proroka liat 949  
roku, od narodzenia Pana Christusowego roku 1545.*  
("We have issued our present letter under our golden  
seal in the year 949 since the departure of Prophet  
Muhammad from this world,<sup>471</sup> 1545 [sic] since the  
birth of Lord Christ."<sup>472</sup>
- 1552 *Писанъ тот листъ по смерти Магъметовы  
деветъсот петъдесят деваотоу року. Писанъ на  
Багъжисаре.*

<sup>466</sup> An obvious mistake; it should read *деветом* ("nine hundred") and not *девеносто* ("ninety").

<sup>467</sup> Cf. n. 466 above; the Muslim year 933 A.H. lasted from 8 October 1526 till 26 September 1527.

<sup>468</sup> An obvious mistake or superfluous interpretation by a Ruthenian translator, since the Muslim calendar begins with the emigration (Hegira) and not the birth of Prophet Muhammad.

<sup>469</sup> *Sic*; of course it should refer to the Hegira and not Muhammad's death. The Muslim year 946 A.H. lasted from 19 May 1539 till 7 May 1540. Judging by the fact that a Tatar courier announcing the embassy's departure from the Crimea reached Sigismund's court by 10 January 1540, we may assume that the document was issued in December 1539; cf. Sigismund's letter to the khan, sent through the returning Crimean courier on 10 January 1540, published in *Russkaja Istoričeskaja Biblioteka*, vol. 30, cols. 58–60.

<sup>470</sup> The date according to the Christian calendar must be wrong; cf. n. 469 above.

<sup>471</sup> *Sic*; of course it should refer to the Hegira and not Muhammad's death. The Muslim year 949 A.H. lasted from 17 April 1542 till 5 April 1543. Judging by the fact that Sigismund officially acknowledged the arrival of the Crimean embassy in his solemn response to the Tatar envoy dated 12 October 1542, we may assume that the khan's document was probably issued in September 1542; cf. the royal letter published in *Russkaja Istoričeskaja Biblioteka*, vol. 30, cols. 81–84.

<sup>472</sup> The date according to the Christian calendar must be wrong; cf. n. 471 above.

- (“This letter has been written in the 959th year after the death<sup>473</sup> of Muhammad. Written in Baghchasaray”)
- 1560 *Pisan ten list na stolcu naszym w Kyrkyely, na miescu naszym w Bakczi Szarayu, lata 1560.*  
 (“This letter has been written in our residence in Qırq Yer, in our place of Baghchasaray,<sup>474</sup> in the year 1560”)
- 1592 (‘ahdname) *...deyü ‘ahdname yarlıg-i şerif-i haqani bitildi fi şehri Cemaziyi’l-evvel min şuhuri seneti elf bi-maqami Alma Saray dari’l-haqani.*  
 (“[...] such is the tenor of the ‘ahdname, the noble imperial *yarlıq*, that has been written in the month Djumada I from among the months of the year 1000, in the place of Alma Saray, the imperial abode”)
- 1592 (oath-*yarlıq*) *Fi şehri Cemaziyi’l-evvel min şuhuri seneti bin yılında tarihining Alma Sarayında bitildi.*  
 (“Written at the date of the month Djumada I from among the months of the year 1000,<sup>475</sup> in Alma Saray”)
- 1601 *Pisan z Bachczysaraiu miesiqca rebeia, a roku tysiącnego i dziesiątego.*  
 (“Written in Baghchasaray in the month of Rebi, in the year 1010”)<sup>476</sup>
- 1607 *Scripta in bene custodita urbe nostra Bachciaseray 29 die mensis rabuel-evel anno Mussulmanico 1016.*<sup>477</sup>

<sup>473</sup> Sic; of course it should refer to the Hegira and not Muhammad’s death. The Muslim year 959 A.H. lasted from 29 December 1551 till 17 December 1552. As the khan’s letter, delivered along with the present document, was dated 15 May 1552 (see Document 32, n. 1), we may date this instrument more precisely, in May 1552.

<sup>474</sup> Baghchasaray is identified here with Qırq Yer, although these were initially two separate localities; on the analogous identification of the khan’s residence in Saladıq with Qırq Yer, cf. notes 457–458 above.

<sup>475</sup> The standard Arabic formula is followed by a redundant Turkish word: *ylında* (“in the year”); also the year number is recorded in Turkish (*bin*) and not in Arabic (it would read *elf* like in the previous instrument).

<sup>476</sup> It is not stated whether the document was issued in Rebi I or Rebi II. Yet, from Piaseczyński’s diary it is evident that it was issued in Rebi I 1010 A.H. that lasted from 30 August till 28 September 1601.

<sup>477</sup> I.e., 29 Rebi I (*Rebi’ü’l-evvel*) 1016 A.H.

- 1609 *A te pakta napisane są roku od proroka naszego Machometa tysiąc ósmnastego, miesiąca decembra 20 dnia; złotą pieczęcią naszą przypieczętowany posłaliśmy. Pisan w Bakcesaraiu.*  
 ("This treaty has been written in the year 1018 from our prophet Muhammad, on the 20th day of the month of December;<sup>478</sup> having stamped it with our golden seal, we have sent it. Written in Baghcharay")
- 1624 *Pisan we środku miesiąca mucherren nazwanego, tysiącznego trzydziestego czwartego roku, to jest w pośrodku samego miesiąca stycznia tysiąc sześćset dwudziestego piątego roku.*  
 ("Written in the second decade<sup>479</sup> of the month named Muharrem of the year 1034, that is in the middle of the month of January of the year 1625")<sup>480</sup>
- 1632 *Tahiren fi evasiti şehri Rebi'i'l-evvel seneti isna ve erba'in ve elf seneti 1042 bi-maqami Bağcesaray el-mahruse.*  
 ("Written in the second decade of the month of Rebi I of the year 1042,<sup>481</sup> in the abode of Baghcharay, the well-protected")
- 1634 *Tahiren fi evasiti şehri Cemaziyi'l-evvel seneti 1044 bi-maqami Bağcesaray.*  
 ("Written in the second decade of the month of Djumada I of the year 1044, in the abode of Baghcharay")
- 1635 *Pisan w Bachcia Saraiu we środku miesiąca mucherrem nazwanego, roku od przeprowadzenia się Mechmeda Mustafy, proroka naszego 1045, to jest 29 Junij Anno 1635.*  
 ("Written in Baghcharay, in the second decade<sup>482</sup> of the month named Muharrem, of the year 1045 since the relocation

<sup>478</sup> The Muslim year 1018 A.H. lasted from 6 April 1609 till 25 March 1610; it is not certain whether the date of 20 December, given according to the Christian calendar, refers to the new style, or to the old one, still used by the Orthodox Christians (for instance the Greek subjects of the khans); therefore the present document can be dated either 20 December or 30 December (i.e., 20 December according to the Old Style) 1609.

<sup>479</sup> The Polish phrase *we środku* ("in the middle") is an apparent translation of the Turkish term *evasit* (lit. 'the middle') referring to the second, middle decade of a month.

<sup>480</sup> *Sic*; the second decade of Muharrem 1034 A.H. lasted from 24 October till 2 November 1624. The reference to January is an obvious mistake by the Crown translator, Samuel Otwinowski, or a later Polish copyist. Perhaps it refers to the month when the document was delivered at the royal court.

<sup>481</sup> The standard Arabic formula is followed by a redundant repeated word *seneti* followed by the year number written again in numerals.

<sup>482</sup> Cf. n. 479 above.

- [i.e., Hegira] of our prophet, Muhammad Mustafa, that is on 29 June 1635”)<sup>483</sup>
- 1637 *Na końcu seferulachyr miesiąca nazwanego, roku po zejściu z tego świata proroka naszego Machometa Mustafy 1047, w stołecznym mieście naszym Bachcze Saraju.*  
 (“[Written] in the third decade<sup>484</sup> of the prosperous<sup>485</sup> month named Safer, of the year 1047 after the departure of our prophet, Muhammad Mustafa, from this world,<sup>486</sup> in our capital city of Baghchasaray”)
- 1637 (qalga) *Roku po zejściu wielkiego i prawdziwego naszego proroka 1047, w stolicy i rezydencji naszej Lutfi Saraju.*  
 [Written] in the year 1047<sup>487</sup> after the death<sup>488</sup> of our great and true Prophet, in our seat and residence of Lutfi Saray.<sup>489</sup>
- 1640 *...déb hat bitildi tarih-i ming elli yılında Rebi’ü’l-ahir ayında tahtgahımız Bağçe Sarayında bi-maqami Bağçesaray el-mahruse.*  
 (“Thus saying, the letter has been written in the month of Rebi II, in the year 1050, in our capital of Baghchasaray, in the abode of Baghchasaray,<sup>490</sup> the well-protected”)
- 1640 (qalga) *Tahriren fi evaili şehri Cemaziyyi’l-evveli min şuhuri seneti hamsin ve elf bi-yurt-i hendeq-i Ferahkerman.*

<sup>483</sup> The second decade of Muharrem 1045 A.H. lasted from 27 June till 6 July 1635.

<sup>484</sup> The Polish phrase *na końcu* (“at the end”) is an apparent translation of the Turkish term *evahir* (lit. “the end”) referring to the third, last decade of a month.

<sup>485</sup> The Polish translator apparently did not understand the standard formula *Seferü’l-hayr* (“the prosperous Safer”) and erroneously rendered it as *Seferü’l-ahir* (Pol. *seferulachyr*), lit. “the last Safer;” the Arabic adjective *al-ahir* (“the last”) is used only in reference to the months Rebi and Djumada (*Rebi’ü’l-ahir* for Rebi II and *Cemaziyyü’l-ahir* for Djumada II) in order to distinguish them from Rebi I (*Rebi’ü’l-evvel*) and Djumada I (*Cemaziyyü’l-evvel*), respectively.

<sup>486</sup> *Sic*; of course it should refer to the Hegira and not Muhammad’s death. The third decade of Safer 1047 A.H. lasted from 15 till 23 July 1637.

<sup>487</sup> The Muslim year 1047 A.H. lasted from 26 May 1637 till 14 May 1638, but we may date the qalga’s instrument more precisely; it was probably issued at the same time as the khan’s letter, i.e., in July 1637; cf. n. 486 above.

<sup>488</sup> *Sic*; of course it should refer to the Hegira and not Muhammad’s death.

<sup>489</sup> Perhaps Lutfi Saray (lit. “Graceful Palace”) should be identified with Aq Mesdjid Saray, the qalga’s customary residence; cf. n. 418 in Part I.

<sup>490</sup> The *locatio* is redundantly repeated.

- (“Written in the first decade of the month of Dju-mada I of the year 1050, in the tent of [i.e., near] the moat of Ferahkerman”)<sup>491</sup>
- 1640 (nureddin) ... *dëb hat bitildi [...] fi evahiri mah-i Rebi‘ü ‘l-ahir sene-i 1050 bi-maqami Bağçesaray el-mahruse.*  
 (“Thus saying, the letter has been written [...] in the third decade of the month of Rebi II of the year 1050, in the abode of Baghchasaray, the well-protected”)
- 1646 *Bi-maqami...*  
 (“In the abode of..”) <sup>492</sup>
- 1649 *Tahriren fi mah-i Şa‘bani ‘l-mu‘azzam sene-i 1059 bi-yurt-i qal‘e-i İzborov.*  
 (“Written in the esteemed month of Shaban of the year 1059, in the tent of [i.e., near] the fortress of Zboriv”)
- 1654 *Tahriren fi mah-i Muharremü ‘l-haram sene-i 1065 bi-maqami Bağçesaray el-mahruse.*  
 (“Written in the sacred month of Muharrem of the year 1065,<sup>493</sup> in the abode of Baghchasaray, the well-protected”)
- 1667 *Data pod Podhayciamy 16 oktobra Anno 1667.*  
 (“Given near Pidhajci on 16 October 1667”) <sup>494</sup>
- 1672 *Dziato się pode Żwańcem, w obozie naszym, dnia 23 octobra 1672.* <sup>495</sup>  
 (“Took place in our camp near Žvanec’, on the 23rd day of October 1672”)
- 1742 *İşbu biñ yüz elli beş senesi şehr-i Şevval-i şerifiñ doquzuncı pencşe[n]be günü tahrir olundu.*  
 (“Written on Thursday, on the ninth day of the noble month of Shawwal, of this year 1155”) <sup>496</sup>

<sup>491</sup> I.e., Perekop.

<sup>492</sup> The *locatio* is unfinished and the *datatio* is missing; the document was probably issued in Baghchasaray in February 1646 (see Document 58, notes 1 and d).

<sup>493</sup> Muharrem 1065 A.H. lasted from 11 November till 10 December 1654; for a more precise dating, see Document 64, n. 10.

<sup>494</sup> The common text, composed in Polish, was corroborated by the plenipotentiaries of the two sides.

<sup>495</sup> The last numeral in 1672 initially read 1 and was corrected.

<sup>496</sup> 9 Shawwal 1155 A.H. coincides with Friday, 7 December 1742; however, as in the Muslim calendar a day is counted from the preceding evening, this document was apparently issued in the evening of 6 December.



The Genghisid rulers, who converted to Islam in the 13th and 14th centuries, did not automatically abandon the traditional Turco-Mongolian cyclic calendar, developed under the Chinese influence and consisting of twelve-years' cycles, whereas the successive years in each cycle were named after twelve animals. The Muslim khans of the Golden Horde typically referred in their documents both to the Turco-Mongolian calendar and to the Muslim lunar one, in which the year count started from the Hegira (i.e., 622 C.E.).<sup>497</sup>

The Crimean khans inherited this custom of double dating, although they used the "animal calendar" with a diminishing frequency. A *yarlıq* of Hadji Giray, issued in 1453, was still dated "in the year of hen" (*taquq yılı*) and simultaneously in 857 A.H.<sup>498</sup> As late as 1501, Mengli Giray dated his letter to the Muscovian grand duke Ivan III "in the year of hen" (*v kurjač'e leto*).<sup>499</sup> Still later, in 1502, Mengli's son and the future khan Mehmed Giray, dated his document "in the year of dog" and simultaneously in 908 A.H.<sup>500</sup>

In the Crimean documents, published in the present volume, we do not encounter any references to the traditional "animal calendar." In return, in the fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century documents a Muslim date which refers to the Hegira is often accompanied by a Christian date which refers to the Nativity of Jesus. One cannot always ascertain whether both the Muslim and the Christian dates had figured in the original document, or the latter one was added by translators or copyists. To be sure, the khan's document from 1514, preserved in the Italian original, contains both the Muslim and the Christian dates. The *şartname* from 1520, composed in Khwarezmian Turkic, contains only the Muslim date, but its contemporary Ruthenian translation also

<sup>497</sup> On the Turco-Mongolian calendar and its usage in the Golden Horde, cf. Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, pp. 257–263.

<sup>498</sup> The document, preserved in the Topkapı Archives, is published in Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivindeki Altın Ordu, Kırım ve Türkistan hanlarına ait yarlık ve bitikler* (Istanbul, 1940), pp. 62–80 and 173–184; and *Le khanat de Crimée*, pp. 33–38; judging by the absence of a *nişan*, a number of errors and omissions, and the unusual length of the document (475 cm.), Usmanov regards it a slightly later copy although he does not doubt that its text is based on the genuine, now lost, document; cf. *idem*, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, pp. 31, 62–66 and 132.

<sup>499</sup> *Pamjatniki diplomaticheskix snošenij*, vol. 1, p. 420; the text is recorded among the Crimean letters brought to Moscow in July 1502; Usmanov erroneously attributes this letter to 1503 (*idem*, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, p. 258), although that year would correspond with the year of pig.

<sup>500</sup> See Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, p. 36.

provides an incomplete Christian date: the name of the month (October) and the day number. On the same date, Mehmed Giray issued a *yarlıq* that was probably composed in Ruthenian; its extant Ruthenian copy contains the complete datation according to the Muslim as well as the Christian calendars, including the year, month, and day numbers.<sup>501</sup> To resume, it is likely that documents composed in Ruthenian or Italian, typically drafted by the Christians in the khan's service, were provided with both the Muslim and the Christian dates, while the Arabic-script documents contained Muslim dates only.

Since the mid-sixteenth century, the Crimean instruments sent to Poland-Lithuania were usually composed in Arabic script and dated only according to the Muslim calendar. Simultaneously, the Crimean chancery adopted the Arabic *datatio* formula (*tahriren fi...*, "written on..."), apparently under the Ottoman influence. Nevertheless, in the khans' documents from 1592 (oath-*yarlıq*), 1640, and 1742 the dates were still recorded in Turkish, and not Arabic.

It is worth reminding here that although the Muslim and Christian calendars were embedded in religious beliefs that were hardly reconcilable, at least for the Muslims a reference to the Nativity was not a blasphemy as, after all, Jesus was venerated as a prophet. Also the Ottomans referred to the Nativity of Jesus in their instruments, addressed to Poland-Lithuania.<sup>502</sup> Strikingly, the Crimean documents from 1667 and 1672, composed in Polish but corroborated with the seals of the qalga and the khan, respectively, refer in their *datatios* only to the Christian era. The Crimean envoys to Russia are also known to have dated their documents, drawn in Moscow, according to the Christian (Byzantine) era, even though these instruments were written in Arabic script.<sup>503</sup>

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<sup>501</sup> The Ruthenian copies of Mehmed Giray's *yarlıq* and *şartname* from 1520 also contain indiction numbers; as the last method of time measuring, which referred to fifteen-years' cycles, was then commonly used in the Lithuanian chancery, but probably not in the Crimean one, we may assume that the indiction numbers were added by the clerks of the Lithuanian chancery.

<sup>502</sup> Ottoman instruments, composed in Latin or Italian, were dated according to the Christian era. After 1525, when the Ottoman sultans ceased to issue documents in Western languages, references to the dates "of the era of His Excellency Jesus (peace be upon him!)" (*hazret-i 'İsa 'aleyhi's-selam tarihinin...*) could be still found in the Arabic-script instruments from 1525, 1553, 1623, 1634, 1640, 1713, and 1790, although no longer in their *datatio*; cf. Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, p. 32 and *passim*.

<sup>503</sup> Cf. n. 219 above.

The practice of double dating encountered in the Crimean documents, especially from the earlier period, should help us confirm or establish the exact dates of their issue. Yet, in some cases, it only leads to confusion and furnishes us with conflicting information. For instance, the two earliest *yarliqs* of Hadji Giray and Mengli Giray, published in the present volume, contain contradictory dates according to the Muslim and Christian calendars.<sup>504</sup> Although it seems more likely that their Muslim dates are genuine, one cannot entirely dismiss the opposite options and for the lack of further evidence one has to wait with definite conclusions. Similar contradictions can be found in the *datatios* of Sahib Giray's instruments from 1539 and 1542, but the evidence from other sources allows one to confirm their Muslim dating and dismiss the Christian one.

Six documents, extant today merely in Ruthenian or Polish translations, contain a common mistake that should be attributed to their translators or copyists: when referring to the Muslim era, they identify its beginning with the death (or even birth!) of Muhammad, and not with his emigration from Mecca to Medina, i.e., the Hegira.

As far as the place of issue is concerned, the oldest instrument, published in the present volume, was issued in Qırım, known alternatively as Solgat, the administrative center from the times of the Golden Horde, situated in the east of the Crimean peninsula (today Ukr. Staryj Krym or Tat. Eski Qırım, lit. "Old Qırım").<sup>505</sup> Already during the reign of Hadji Giray, the khan's main residence was moved to Qırq Yer, a town and castle that topped a mountain overlooking the valley where future Baghcharasay was to be founded.<sup>506</sup> The documents of Hadji's sons, Nur Devlet and Mengli Giray, from the years 1467 and 1480, were issued in this new Crimean capital.

In the years 1500–1503, Mengli Giray built a new residence in Saladjıq below Qırq Yer. Referred to in Tatar as Devletasaray ("Palace of Prosperity") or Devletkerman/Devletkermen ("Town of Prosperity"), in the Muscovian sources it came to be known under such terms as *Sčastlivyj Saraj* ("the Prosperous Palace"), *Sčastlivyj Gorod* ('the Prosperous Town'), or even *Veselyj Gorod* ("the Merry Town"),

<sup>504</sup> Cf. notes 448 and 451 above.

<sup>505</sup> On Eski Qırım, see Jankowski, *Historical-Etymological Dictionary*, pp. 468–471.

<sup>506</sup> After the khans had moved to Baghcharasay, their former capital was settled by the Karaites and came to be known as the "Jewish Fortress"—Chufut Qal'e; on Qırq Yer (the later Chufut Qal'e), see Jankowski, *Historical-Etymological Dictionary*, pp. 424–427.

whereas the adjectives *ščastlivyj* and *veselyj* were the Russian translations of the term *devlet* ("prosperity," "fortune," but also "power").<sup>507</sup> Mengli's instruments, addressed to Poland-Lithuania in 1507 and in the fall of 1514 were issued in this new residence, referred to in the Ruthenian documents as *Horod Veselyj* ("the Merry Town") or *Ščaslyvaja Polata* ("the Prosperous Palace"), and in the Italian one simply as *Dovlat Sarai*. Interestingly, in the documents from the fall of 1514 Devletsaray is identified with Qırq Yer, although in fact it was located in nearby Saladjıq.

We do not know whether Sahib Giray's documents, issued in 1539 and 1542, were already issued in Baghchasaray, the khan's new residence completed under his reign.<sup>508</sup> The earliest reference to Baghchasaray can be found in the *locatio* of the instrument of his successor, Devlet Giray, issued in 1552. From the following instrument, issued by Devlet Giray in 1560, it is evident that at that time Baghchasaray was still identified with Qırq Yer, apparently regarded as the latter's suburb.

While in the mid-sixteenth century Saladjıq and Baghchasaray were still treated as the suburbia of Qırq Yer, by the end of the same century the situation reversed and such localities as Qırq Yer, Saladjıq, and Eskiuyurt came to be treated as the suburbs of the new expanding capital, namely Baghchasaray.<sup>509</sup> In the 17th century, almost all the documents issued by the khans were drawn in Baghchasaray. Under the Ottoman influence, the Crimean chancery adopted the Arabic *locatio* formula: "in the abode of Baghchasaray, the well-protected" (*bi-maqami Bağçasaray el-mahruse*). Besides, two documents from 1592 were issued in Alma Saray, the khan's residence on the Alma river, situated to the north of Baghchasaray and later known as Almakerman/Almakermen.<sup>510</sup>

Several documents were issued in the fortress of Ferahkerman, strategically located on the moat that separated the Crimean peninsula from the mainland and therefore known in the Slavic languages as Perekop or Przekop ("ditch"), and in Turkish also referred to as Or

<sup>507</sup> Cf. Syroechkovskij, "Muxammed-Geraj i ego vassaly," p. 5; Hajvoronskyj, *Poveliteli dvux materikov*, vol. 1, p. 83.

<sup>508</sup> The earliest document of Sahib Giray drawn in Baghchasaray, known to Usmanov, was issued in 1549; see *idem*, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV-XVI vv.*, p. 266.

<sup>509</sup> Cf. Muzafer Ürekli, *Kırım Hanlığının kuruluşu ve Osmanlı himâyesinde yükselişi (1441-1569)* (Ankara, 1989), p. 70.

<sup>510</sup> Cf. Jankowski, *Historical-Etymological Dictionary*, pp. 158-161.

(“ditch”), Or qal’esi (“ditch fortress”), or Or qapu (“ditch gate”).<sup>511</sup> Apart from the khans’ documents from 1514 (June),<sup>512</sup> 1520, and 1527, also the qalgas’ documents from 1527 and 1640 were drawn in Ferahkerman.

While the qalga’s usual residence was Aq Mesdjid Saray, a town situated near modern Simferopol,<sup>513</sup> the nureddin apparently resided in Baghchasaray, along with the khan.<sup>514</sup> The instrument from 1640, issued by Nureddin Qırım Giray, was issued in Baghchasaray and apparently drawn in the khan’s chancery.

Crimean instruments could also be issued on campaigns, like the ones from 1649, 1667, and 1672, drawn in the military camps near Zboriv, Pidhajci, and Žvanec’. If a document was composed in Turkish, such circumstances were usually referred to in its *locatio* by the expression: “in the tent of [i.e., near]” (*bi-yurt-i...*). One document published in the present volume was issued in the Lithuanian territory, and yet not on a military campaign, when the future qalga Bahadır Giray arrived at Čerkasy in order to confirm the peace with his oath.

### *Physical description*

The oldest Crimean instrument of peace, preserved in the original, was composed in 1514 in Italian. According to European medieval tradition, it is written on parchment. The following document, issued in 1520 in Khwarezmian Turkic, is written on yellowish paper, perhaps manufactured from silk and imported from Central Asia.<sup>515</sup> All the

<sup>511</sup> Cf. Jankowski, *Historical-Etymological Dictionary*, pp. 748–750.

<sup>512</sup> Admittedly, in that case the *locatio*: *pysan u Perekope* might also refer to the whole peninsula; cf. n. 456 above.

<sup>513</sup> Cf. n. 418 in Part I.

<sup>514</sup> In 1681, the Russian embassy members were officially received by the qalga in Aq Mesdjid, and by the nureddin in nearby Bulganaq; see “Spisok s statejnago spiska [...] Vasil’ja Mixajlova syna Tjapkina, d’jaka Nikity Zotova,” p. 641. This information suggests that at that time the official residence of nureddin was in Bulganaq (on Bulganaq or Bulganaq Badraq, cf. Jankowski, *Historical-Etymological Dictionary*, pp. 245–248). Yet, in the first half of the 17th century, the letters of nureddins sent to Poland-Lithuania were usually issued in Baghchasaray and their sophisticated language suggests that they were issued by the khan’s chancery; apart from Document 56, cf. also the letter of Nureddin Sa’adet Giray, addressed to Vladislaus IV in 1635; AGAD, Dz. tat., k. 63, t. 8, no. 466.

<sup>515</sup> On similar paper, used for Sahib Giray’s document issued in 1523 in Kazan, see Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, p. 87. In its most recent reedition, the document’s paper is described as “thick Oriental paper without water-mark;”

following documents, issued in Turkish, are written on paper of probably Venetian origin, which was also commonly used in the Ottoman chancery and must have been imported to the Crimea.<sup>516</sup> Long and narrow documents usually consisted of several sheets of paper that were glued together. The dimensions of the Crimean documents published in the present volume are as follows:

Table 3. Physical characteristics of the Crimean instruments sent to Poland-Lithuania

<i>Date</i>	<i>Length (cm.)</i>	<i>Width (cm.)</i>	<i>No. of sheets</i>
1514	76	43	x
1520	151.5	34	3
1592 (' <i>ahdname</i> )	125	30	3
1592 (oath- <i>yarlıq</i> )	125	30	3
1632	89.5	35	2
1634	156	40	4
1640 (khan)	198	40	4
1640 (qalga)	125	30	3
1640 (nureddin)	123.5	30	3
1646	168	40	3
1649	58	40.5	1
1654	145	40.5	3
1742	75	51	1

see Shamil Muhamedyarov and István Vásáry, "Two Kazan Tatar edicts (Ibrahim's and Sahib Girey's Yarlıks)," in: *Between the Danube and the Caucasus: A Collection of Papers Concerning Oriental Sources on the History of the Peoples of Central and South-Eastern Europe*. Edited by G. Kara (Budapest, 1986): 181–216, esp. p. 190.

<sup>516</sup> In the 18th century, the longest and most solemn Ottoman and Crimean documents, stored in the Polish Crown Archives, were pasted onto wide sheets of linen in order to preserve them from further destruction, especially caused by folding. The decision helped to preserve them in good shape, but the documents pasted onto the linen cannot be examined today in regard to their watermarks, unless more sophisticated methods are used (and authorized by the Archives' management). Hence, only three documents from the years 1592 (the '*ahdname*' and the oath-*yarlıq*) and 1649, which were not pasted onto the linen, could be thoroughly examined for the present study; for their watermarks, see Document 34, n. 1, and Document 60, n. 1. The widespread use of Western paper, typically of Venetian origin, has been confirmed by the present author through a cursory examination of the Crimean documents preserved in Moscow and Copenhagen; their watermarks contain anchors, trefoils, and most often the characteristic mark consisting of three crescents (Italian *tre lune*), found on the Venetian paper exported to the Ottoman market.

Although the Crimean *‘ahdnames* cannot compete in length with the Ottoman ones,<sup>517</sup> their dimensions are impressive and were clearly intended to impress the addressee. The Crimean *şartnames* sent to Moscow reached analogous dimensions and measured 110.5 × 38 cm., 149 × 46.5 cm., 297.5 × 41.5 cm., and 116 × 41 cm. in the years 1630, 1636, 1647, and 1682 respectively.<sup>518</sup>

After completion, the document was rolled up and put into a bag (*kise*), typically made of satin or taffeta, which was bound up with a string, holding a red wax seal, and provided with a heart-shaped paper sheet known as *kulak* (lit. “ear”), on which the addressee’s title or name was written.<sup>519</sup> In order to protect the wax seals, especially vulnerable during transport, they were sometimes enclosed in capsules made of silver, bone, or gilded brass.<sup>520</sup>

<sup>517</sup> For the dimensions of the Ottoman *‘ahdnames* sent to Poland-Lithuania, see Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 39–40; the longest one, issued by Murad IV in 1623, is 491.5 cm. long, and was originally even longer.

<sup>518</sup> Cf. RGADA, f. 123, op. 2, nos. 39, 43, 54a, and 64; the instrument from 1636 was certainly longer; today, its *invocatio* is missing and the upper sheet of paper measures only 24.5 cm., while the middle one as much as 72 cm. Apparently a large part of the upper sheet, which had contained the *invocatio*, has been torn off and lost. Hence, we can assume that the document originally measured 196.5 cm. (by adding 47.5 cm., i.e., the difference in length of the middle and the upper sheet).

<sup>519</sup> For the description and color picture of four such bags with *kulaks*, preserved in Stockholm along with the original letters sent by the Giray ladies, see Świącicka, “The Diplomatic Letters by Crimean Kerāy Ladies to the Swedish Royal House,” pp. 66–67 and 90; according to the description, the bags are made of: a) brick-red double silk, designed with yellow and golden flowers; b) grass-green taffeta; c) ivory colored satin; d) white silk with golden lines and embroidered flowers. Two bags of red and green satin (plus a fragment of the third one), and a number of *kulaks*, are also preserved along with the Crimean letters in Copenhagen; see Rigsarkivet, Tyske Kanzelli, Udenrigske Afdeling, Tatariet AI 2. Moreover, a bag of red satin with golden embroideries containing a Chinese cloud motif, along with a *kulak*, is preserved with the letter of Adil Giray, sent to the tsar in 1668; see RGADA, f. 123, op. 2, no. 58; the color picture of the bag and *kulak* is published in Faizov, *Tugra i Vselennaja*, pp. 77 (ill. 53); the bag measures 51 cm. in height while its rectangular bottom measures 8 × 2 cm. Unfortunately, the bags and *kulaks* of the Tatar instruments, published in the present volume, are not preserved.

<sup>520</sup> Four such capsules are extant in the Swedish Riksarkivet in Stockholm: a silver capsule preserved with a letter of Nureddin Adil Giray from ca. 1660 (on Adil Giray, cf. n. 466 in Part I; promoted to the post of nureddin by Islam III Giray, he remained at this post for the most of the second reign of Mehmed IV Giray), two bone capsules preserved with the letters of two qalgas, Qırım Giray (undated; Qırım Giray was the qalga of Khan Adil Giray and corroborated the instrument of 1667, published in the present volume) and Tokhtamış Giray (1681), and a gilded brass capsule preserved with a letter of Nureddin Sa’adet Giray (1681); see Zetterstéen, *Türkische, tatarische und persische Urkunden im Schwedischen Reichsarchiv*, pp. 94 (no. 158), 103 (no. 171),

The document could be unpacked only in the presence of the addressee during a solemn audience of the Crimean embassy. When in 1599 Nikodem Kossakowski met in Moldavia his Crimean counterpart, Djan Temir Agha, who was on his way to Poland carrying along the khan's instrument of peace, the Polish envoy complained that he was unable to control its contents because the document was "in a sealed bag" (*w opieczętowanym worku*).<sup>521</sup> Two years later, when Ławryn Piaseczyński was returning from the Crimea along with Djan Ahmed Chelebi, who was carrying the khan's new instrument of peace, the Crimean envoy refused to show the document to his Polish colleague arguing that it was sealed (*zapięczętowane*) and the khan had forbidden to open it before the audience with His Royal Majesty.<sup>522</sup>

Among the documents composed in Arabic script, the earliest one from 1520 is written in the *nesih* script, while in the instruments from 1592 only the *invocatios* are written in the *nesih* script, while the rest in the *divani* script that was also used in the Ottoman chancery. In the seventeenth-century instruments only the *divani* script was used, both in the main text and the *invocatio*, though in the last document from 1742 we observe a return to the *nesih*.

An interesting hypothesis has been formulated by Usmanov, who maintains that the traditional script used in the Golden Horde chanceries was the *sülüs* and the sixteenth-century Crimean khans, most notably Sahib Giray, deliberately stuck to it in order to stress their independence from the Ottoman sultans. Only the tragic fall of Sahib Giray, instigated by the Porte, paved way to the widespread adoption of Ottoman models, such as the use of the *divani* script and of golden sand sprinkled on the document's surface.<sup>523</sup> The present study cannot provide evidence that would enable one to confirm or reject Usmanov's thesis, since all the Crimean instruments of peace, addressed to Polish-Lithuanian rulers between 1520 and 1592, are preserved only in copies.

Apart from the document from 1514, which is entirely written in gold apart from the bottom three lines in black, the documents are written in black ink, typically with golden insertions reserved for the

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and 118 (nos. 195–196). My warmest thanks go to Elżbieta Świącicka, who provided me with color pictures of these capsules.

<sup>521</sup> See Skorupa, "Poselstwo na Krym Nikodema Kossakowskiego," p. 39.

<sup>522</sup> See Pułaski, "Trzy poselstwa Piaseczyńskiego," p. 474.

<sup>523</sup> Usmanov, *Žalovannnye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, pp. 118–120.



names of God, Prophet Muhammad, the khan and the king, their ancestors, and the Ottoman sultan. The two documents from 1592 are ornamented with scattered golden triple dots, and the documents from 1640 (of the *qalga*) and 1742 with regular golden dots. The shape, color and size of other elements, such as the *nişans*, the *tuğras*, and the signet seals, have been already described above.

In a sharp contrast to the richly ornamentated documents, described above, the instrument from 1649 is written entirely in black, including the *invocatio* and the *tuğra*. It is also much smaller than the other documents. The difference can be easily explained by the fact that it was issued on a military campaign, where apparently only few chancery clerks were present and such articles like golden ink might have been missing.

Tatar documents issued in Polish have even a less solemn character. The instrument issued in 1667 in the camp near Pidhajci is written in black on a folded sheet of paper (sheet format: 30.5 × 38.5 cm.), in analogy to the Polish documents from the same period. Likewise, the document of Selim Giray issued in 1672 in the camp near Žvanec<sup>1</sup> is inscribed on one inside page of a folded sheet of paper (sheet format: 29.5 × 42.5 cm.). No watermarks can be discerned on the paper of the document from 1667 and it is hard to establish whether the paper was taken along by the Tatars on the campaign, or was provided by the Polish negotiators. The watermark of the paper used in the document from 1672 depicts a crown topped with a star topped with a crescent. This paper, apparently of Western origin, is similar though not identical to the one known to have been used in the Ottoman chancery.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE POLISH AND LITHUANIAN INSTRUMENTS OF PEACE ADDRESSED TO THE KHANS

None of the Polish-Lithuanian instruments, published in the present volume, origin from the khans' archives, the major part of which perished in the great fire of Baghchasaray caused by the Russian invasion of 1736. Thus, one can only make judgments on the basis of copies made before the actual documents were sent. The fact that these instruments are preserved merely in copies should prevent one from making too broad generalizations about the development of Lithuanian as well as Polish chancery practice. Besides, numerous original documents, issued by the Jagiellonians and their successors, are preserved in various European archives and the Polish as well as Lithuanian chanceries have already been studied by numerous scholars, more thoroughly than the Crimean one. Therefore, the conclusions presented in the following section only have a cursory character and focus on the relations of Vilnius, Cracow, and then Warsaw with the Crimea.

The destruction of the khans' archives explains in part why Lithuanian and Polish instruments are much less numerous in the present volume compared to the Crimean ones. Yet, there were other reasons as well. Some Crimean instruments, like the "donation *yarlıqs*," were unilateral *ex definitio*, so the receiver was not expected to reciprocate them by sending analogous instruments to the khan. We also know that in some cases the royal side did not reciprocate the khans' documents because of its irritation caused by continuous Tatar raids, or its plans of an aggressive war with the Crimea, like in 1527 and 1646. Finally, it happened that while the khans sent solemn documents, which can be classified as formal instruments of peace, the royal side responded with ordinary letters, which stressed its peaceful intentions, but cannot be classified as instruments of peace (like in 1742).<sup>524</sup>

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<sup>524</sup> Opposite situations were also possible; for instance, in 1472 Casimir issued a formal instrument of peace in return for Mengli Giray's letter that was much less formal; it is yet possible that the khan's original letter, referred to as *cum sigillo meo litera*, was originally longer and more formal than its extant Latin copy, preserved in the Crown Register books and published by Pułaski (cf. n. 53 in Part I).

The last reason of the imbalance in the number of the preserved Polish-Lithuanian vs. Crimean instruments was the insistence of the royal side that the khan's instrument should minutely conform to the desired model. In analogy to the practice known in Moscow, the chanceries in Vilnius and Cracow/Warsaw sometimes took initiative in their hands and drafted ready formulas of future documents, which were expected to be issued by the khans with a word for word exactitude. Even though these formulas duly invoked Prophet Muhammad and their form was usually based on the khans' previous genuine instruments, the Crimean chancery was not always willing to follow the royal instructions step by step. In result, Tatar instruments were sometimes sent back to the Crimea in order be "amended," or the royal side accepted the already brought instrument but immediately asked the khan to issue its new, "better" version. As to the Tatars, they were apparently less obsessed with the most minute details in the wording of the received instruments; at least they are not known to have issued ready formulas of the instruments to be issued by the kings and tsars, or to have sent back the already received documents.

To provide one example, the pacification of 1513–1514 resulted in two instruments issued by Sigismund: one on behalf of Lithuania and one on behalf of Poland, and as many as four instruments issued by Mengli Giray: two successive versions of the "donation *yarlıq*" for Lithuania, and two successive versions of the instrument regarding Poland.

### *Royal instruments*

It has been stressed above that in the first century of its existence the Crimean Khanate bordered with Lithuania, and not with Poland, and its relations with Vilnius were much more intensive than with Cracow. Hence, it may come as a surprise that the earliest extant instrument of peace, sent by a Jagiellonian ruler to the Crimea, was drawn in 1472 in Cracow, composed in Latin and not Ruthenian, and issued solely on behalf of Poland: Casimir is referred to exclusively as the king of Poland and his document is corroborated by the Crown chancellor, Jakub from Dębno. Moreover, the instrument's contents were authenticated by the presence of leading Polish dignitaries, of whom fourteen are listed by their names and functions. The list duly opens with the archbishop of Gniezno, followed by the bishops of Cracow

and Włocławek, five palatines,<sup>525</sup> three castellans, and other dignitaries. Also the royal envoy originated from a family settled in Polish Podolia, and not from Lithuania. In the instrument, addressed to *potenti domino Mengligerej, Magno Imperatori terre Thartharorum, fratri nostro dilecto*, Casimir invoked the recent arrival of Mengli's letter, which referred to the oath to maintain peace, taken by the khan and his subjects. On his part, the king also promised to keep peace on his behalf and on behalf of his subjects.<sup>526</sup>

In that period, the diplomatic exchange between Qırq Yer and Cracow paralleled the exchange between Qırq Yer and Vilnius. Shortly afterwards, Mengli Giray sent a "donation *yarlıq*" to Vilnius, and in this *yarlıq* Casimir was referred to exclusively as the grand duke of Lithuania. The *yarlıq* was probably reciprocated by a Lithuanian instrument, issued in Vilnius in Ruthenian, whose text is not preserved. It is hard to guess whether the missing document was a solemn peace instrument or an ordinary letter. Although in theory a *yarlıq* was granted unilaterally, one cannot exclude the possibility that already at that time Lithuanian rulers reciprocated the *yarlıqs* with instruments of peace.

The next two instruments of peace were issued in 1513. Sigismund and his advisers resolved that the new pacification with Mengli Giray should be cemented by two separate documents: one issued in Ruthenian on behalf of Lithuania, and the other in Latin on behalf of Poland. Both instruments were issued in Vilnius, where the court temporarily resided, and taken to the Crimea by one envoy, Hryhoryj Hromyka. For that time, in both documents Sigismund was referred to as both the king of Poland and the grand duke of Lithuania. Interestingly, the list of his ancestors, repeated in both instruments, contained not only his grandfather Vladislaus, father Casimir, and brother Alexander, who had ruled in both states, but also Vytautas and the latter's brother Sigismund, who had never reigned in Cracow, and—on the other hand—John Albert, who had never reigned in Vilnius. The two documents contained the same political clauses, including the engagement to send annual gifts to the khan: one half from Poland and one half from Lithuania.

<sup>525</sup> The palatine of Lublin, Dobiesław Kmita from Wiśnicz, is erroneously referred to as castellan.

<sup>526</sup> See Document 3.

The only notable difference was in the two documents' corroborations: the instrument in Ruthenian was corroborated with the great majestic seal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as well as the individual seals of the twelve present members of the Lithuanian Council: the bishop of Samogitia,<sup>527</sup> the Lithuanian chancellor and palatine of Vilnius, Mikołaj Radziwiłł, and others—altogether four palatines, two castellans, the *starosta* of Samogitia (equal in hierarchy to a palatine), and other functionaries, including Abraham Ezofovyč, the famous Jewish convert who had advanced to the post of land treasurer. In turn, the instrument in Latin was corroborated with the seal of the Polish Crown and only three individual seals of Polish councilors, whose names have not been recorded in the extant copies. The unequal number of seals attached to the two instruments can be explained by the fact that few Polish lords accompanied Sigismund during his travels to Lithuania.<sup>528</sup>

The following pair of royal instruments was dispatched from Vilnius in 1516, along with the embassy of Stanisław Skinder. Sigismund thus reciprocated the Crimean embassy, which had brought the “donation *yarlıq* cum *şartname*” (now lost) of the new khan, Mehmed Giray, to Cracow, and then accompanied the king on his way to Vilnius. In his letter to the khan, which was sent along with the same embassy, Sigismund referred to his instruments as “two letters on parchment, with our great hanging majestic seals, one of the Polish Crown, and another of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.”<sup>529</sup> Only the Lithuanian instrument, composed in Ruthenian, is today preserved in a copy. Both in its form and content it is very similar to the analogous instrument from 1513. It was corroborated with the great majestic seal of the Grand Duchy as well as the individual seals of the ten present members of the Lithuanian Council: the bishop of Vilnius—Wojciech Radziwiłł, the Lithuanian chancellor—Mikołaj Radziwiłł (who had also corroborated the previous document), and other dignitaries, of

<sup>527</sup> The highest Catholic hierarch in Lithuania, the bishop of Vilnius Wojciech Radziwiłł, must have been absent; he is referred to in Mengli's *şartname* from 1507 and in the royal instrument from 1516; cf. Documents 9 and 17.

<sup>528</sup> See Documents 10–11; on the seals, cf. Document 10, n. 9 and Document 11, n. 6.

<sup>529</sup> *dva lysty našy na pargamenex z našymy velykymy zavesystymy maistatnymy pečat'my, odyń Korony Polskoe a druhyj Velykoho Knz'stva Lytovskoho*; quoted after Šabul'do, “Jarlyki,” p. 259.

whom only two (including the future chancellor, Olbracht Gasztold) had not figured in the instrument from 1513.<sup>530</sup>

The state of civil war, almost permanent in the Crimea after the violent death of Mehmed Giray, did not favor stable political relations. The Polish-Lithuanian diplomacy rather tried to benefit from the struggle between Sa'adet and Islam Girays, or even organize an anti-Crimean coalition with the participation of the Nogays and Sheikh Ahmed, released from the Lithuanian custody in 1527. A new opening was enabled by the accession of Sahib Giray and the "eternal peace" concluded between his protector, Sultan Suleyman, and Sigismund, in 1533. In 1535, in response to the Crimean embassy, headed by Devey Mirza, the Lithuanian chancery in Vilnius issued a new instrument of peace on behalf of King Sigismund and his already crowned son, Sigismund Augustus. The document, taken to the Crimea by Vasyľ Tyškevyč, closely resembled the ones of 1513 and 1516. Yet, the royal side regarded the new khan as weaker than his predecessors and still vulnerable to a possible rebellion of Islam Giray. Therefore, it changed a few clauses of the previous instruments, diminishing the value of the annual gifts and removing the clause which had obliged the king to assist the Girays against the descendants of Küchük Muhammed. The new document also stipulated that the khan should take responsibility for the raids of Ottoman subjects dwelling in the Black Sea steppes and should refrain from sending too numerous embassies because their hosting incurred large costs on the royal side. Sigismund solemnly confirmed his instrument with an oath taken by the Gospel in the presence of Devey Mirza. The ceremony was attended by the members of the Lithuanian Council, of whom ten are listed in the instrument. These were: Jan, the bishop of Vilnius and the natural son of King Sigismund, Olbracht Gasztold, the Lithuanian chancellor, Juriy Radziwiłł, the castellan of Vilnius and hetman, and others. Yet, unlike in 1513 and 1516, their seals were not appended to the document, which was corroborated only by Sigismund's "majestic seal on a golden string" (*pečat'ju maestatnoju na šnjure zolotom*), used in the Lithuanian chancery.<sup>531</sup>

<sup>530</sup> See Document 17.

<sup>531</sup> See Document 26; on the question whether the "majestic seal" was still used in the Lithuanian chancery during the reign of Sigismund, cf. Document 10, n. 9.

There is no evidence whether in 1535, like in the years 1513 and 1516, a separate instrument was composed in Latin on behalf of the Polish Crown. Such a document would serve merely ceremonial purposes as the extant document in Ruthenian refers to Sigismund as both the king of Poland and the grand duke of Lithuania, and contains the issues that were of equal concern to both states, including the equal financial share of Vilnius and Cracow in dispatching the gifts to the khan.

No royal instrument of peace, addressed to a Crimean khan, is known for the long period extending between 1535 and 1598.<sup>532</sup> One cannot exclude that such instruments existed but their texts have not been preserved. Nonetheless, it is evident from the extant correspondence that the khans awaited royal gifts rather than paper instruments to be sent from the royal side. In the Tatar mind, it was the timely delivery of the yearly gift (or else tribute) that was expected in reciprocation of grants and privileges enclosed in the khan's *yarlıq*.

The practice of sending royal instruments in exchange for the Crimean ones was resumed after the agreement of Țuțora (1595) and its solemn confirmation by the Ottoman *'ahdname* in 1597. In 1598, Sigismund III issued an instrument of peace that was dispatched to the khan through a royal envoy, Nikodem Kossakowski. The document invoked the ancient friendship, dating back to the times of Mengli Giray and Sigismund I, and the recent meeting at Țuțora between Ghazi II Giray and the Polish hetman and chancellor, Jan Zamoyski. In fact, the document's narration presented the khan as the one who had petitioned for peace and the king as the one who granted this request after a consultation with his councilors. Moreover, the instrument stipulated that the khan should recognize the Polish territorial claims to the Black Sea shore, should not interfere with the reign of Jeremy Movilă, the pro-Polish ruler of Moldavia, and should provide military assistance against any royal enemy. In return, the royal treasury was to send gifts "just as the old king Sigismund used to do." The instrument exhibited the familiarity of the Polish chancery with the Khanate's internal structure and referred to the khan's sons and brothers, *mirzas*, *qaraçıs*, *ulans*, beys, and Nogays. In conclusion, Sigismund III requested that the khan should reciprocate his instrument with a

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<sup>532</sup> For the alleged instrument of Stephan Báthory from 1585 that probably never existed, cf. n. 321 in Part I.

similar letter of agreement, “written word for word” (*słowo od słowa napisany*).

The rising role of Poland vs. Lithuania in the making of the Commonwealth, and especially in its relations with its southern neighbors, is reflected by the fact that the royal instrument of 1598 was issued in Warsaw, composed in Polish, sealed with the seal of the Polish Crown (*pieczęć naszą koronną przycisnąćśmy kazali*), and its copy was recorded in the Crown Register. Moreover, the document referred to the engagements made by the king on his part and “on the part of the Lords Senators of the Crown” (*od nas i Senatorów Panów Koronnych*), while there was no mention about the king’s Lithuanian councilors.<sup>533</sup> Lithuania figures in the document even less prominently than Sweden, as Sigismund III never gave up his claims to the throne in Stockholm. The instrument that reached the khan in the year of Sigismund’s dethronement by the Riksdag (1599), referred to the sender not only as the king of Poland, but also as “the hereditary king of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals,” and was dated in the 11th year of his reign in Poland and the 5th year of his reign in Sweden.<sup>534</sup>

Kossakowski never reached the khan, who was campaigning in Hungary. Nevertheless, correspondence developed between the royal envoy, who was waiting in the Moldavian old capital of Suceava, and the khan’s military camp. In result, in 1599 Ghazi II Giray issued an instrument of peace that was sent to Poland. It was heavily dependent in form and content on the royal instrument from 1598. One gets the impression that the khan did not really care what he promised: for instance, he acknowledged the Polish territorial claims to the Black Sea shore (*sic*). After all, he openly admitted that his instrument could not assume a proper form because—being on campaign in Hungary—he lacked the great seal (apparently the *nišan*), which used to be impressed on letters of agreement, so he could corroborate his instrument merely with his signet seal.<sup>535</sup>

Around 1600, Poland-Lithuania was at the peak of its power and its influence extended from Estonia to Wallachia, where Hetman Zamoyski enthroned Simion Movilă, Jeremy’s brother. This explains

<sup>533</sup> Admittedly, in everyday language of that period the adjective *koronny* could in some cases refer to the whole state and not just to the Polish Crown (Lat. *Corona Regni Poloniae*; Pol. *Korona Polska*) as opposed to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

<sup>534</sup> See Document 36.

<sup>535</sup> Cf. n. 270 above.



why the royal chancery was still unsatisfied with its recent agreement with Ghazi II Giray, even though the latter complied (at least on paper) with all its wishes. In 1601, a new embassy was sent to the Crimea, headed by Ławryn Piaseczyński. The envoy was provided with a new royal instrument, which repeated the clauses of the previous one from 1598, but in addition stipulated that the khan should recognize the rule of Simion Movilă in Wallachia.<sup>536</sup>

To the dismay of the Polish court, in his new instrument Ghazi II Giray not only passed over the new Polish claims regarding Wallachia but did not acknowledge the claims to the Black Sea shore that he had already “recognized” earlier. In its form and wording, the khan’s instrument was in fact reminiscent of the older Crimean documents and less dependent on the Polish version than the instrument drawn in Hungary in 1599. Apparently, this time the instrument was carefully checked by the Crimean chancery clerks who ensured that the prestige and rights of their ruler would not be jeopardized.

If the Polish court had not been entirely satisfied with the khan’s instrument from 1599, which was almost a mirror version of the royal instrument of 1598, no wonder that Sigismund III openly rejected the khan’s instrument of 1601, which seriously deviated from the new royal instrument of 1601. In 1602, Piaseczyński was again sent to the Crimea in order to return the khan’s instrument and ask for a new one. The envoy was furnished with an Arabic-script translation of the royal instrument of 1601, so that the Crimean chancery could word its document accordingly.<sup>537</sup> Yet, the royal refusal to accept the khan’s instrument caused a scandal and Ghazi II Giray was not in a mood to issue a new one. Not wishing to provoke a war with the Tatars, the royal court finally decided to release the gifts, earlier prepared for the khan, but no peace instruments were exchanged until 1604, when a new Crimean embassy brought Ghazi II Giray’s new instrument. To the dismay of the royal side, its political clauses reiterated those of the khan’s instrument of 1601, so the document was again rejected, although the Polish court once more expressed its wish to conclude a lasting peace. Consequently, a new royal embassy was prepared, to be headed by Florian Oleszko, who was provided with Sigismund III’s new instrument of peace. The document, issued in 1605, reiterated the

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<sup>536</sup> See Document 39.

<sup>537</sup> Cf. n. 347 in Part I.

clauses of the royal instruments of 1598 and 1601, though it precised that the royal gifts should hereafter be collected by the Crimean envoys in Kamieniec, and not transported at the royal cost along the long ancient route to the Dnieper passage of Tavan', as the khan's instruments of 1601 and 1604 had stipulated. The precedent was already made by Piaseczyński, who used the new route when delivering the gifts in 1603, although he traveled a little further then Kamieniec, namely as far as Jassy. A minor variation from the royal instrument of 1601 is detectable in the wording of the clause regarding the alliance against Muscovy: while the document of 1601 referred to "the ancient kings of Poland and the grand dukes of Lithuania," the one of 1605 referred merely to "the ancient kings of Poland." Although perhaps innocent and not made on purpose, this change might again reflect the already discussed diminishing role of Lithuania on the "mental map" of the ruling elite in Warsaw.<sup>538</sup> According to the royal instruction, Oleszko was to succeed where Piaseczyński had failed in 1602, namely in securing that the khan's instrument be written word for word in accordance with the royal one.<sup>539</sup>

Due to a Tatar raid of Poland, undertaken on the news of the death of the powerful hetman Zamoyski, Oleszko did not depart until 1607, but his mission was crowned with a success. Ghazi II Giray finally consented to the royal proposals and issued an instrument that fulfilled the royal wish. Yet, the khan died soon after and the peace negotiations had to be resumed. Ghazi's successors, Selamet and Djanibek Girays, promptly sent their instruments of peace shortly after their respective accessions, but their instruments differed from the "model" one of 1607, which had cost the royal side so many years of painstaking negotiations. No wonder that Sigismund III did not reciprocate the new khans with his own instruments, and in the following years the rise of mutual hostilities, with an apex during the Polish-Ottoman war of 1620–1621, made the whole matter irrelevant. No royal instruments of peace are known to have been sent to the Crimea during the later period of Sigismund III's reign, even though the king received an instrument of peace, issued in 1624 by Mehmed III Giray, during a temporary rapprochement between Warsaw and Baghchasaray.

<sup>538</sup> See Document 42.

<sup>539</sup> On Oleszko's embassy, cf. Part I.

Likewise, no instruments of peace are known to have been issued by Vladislaus IV, with one notable exception. Although the king obtained several *'ahdnames* from the khans Djanibek Giray (1634), Inayet Giray (1635), Bahadır Giray (1637 and 1640), and Islam III Giray (1646), and, in addition, two *'ahdnames* from the qalga (1637 and 1640) and one from the nureddin (1640), he only once responded with an analogous instrument, namely in 1637. While sending a letter of agreement (*list przymierny*) to Qalga Islam Giray, Vladislaus IV simultaneously procrastinated his answer to the khan and even detained the latter's envoy. By keeping good relations with the qalga, the king tried to gain time before he could decide whether to send gifts to the khan or prepare for a military confrontation. In fact, during the last years of his reign, Vladislaus contemplated a full-scale invasion of the Crimea, to be orchestrated by Warsaw and Moscow and subsidized by Venice.

It was the political and military catastrophe of the years 1648–1649 that prompted the Polish king to issue an instrument of peace addressed to the Crimean khan, probably for the first time since 1605. In August 1649, in a military camp near Zboriv, John Casimir, Vladislaus' brother and successor, issued a document that contained the peace conditions negotiated between the Polish and Tatar plenipotentiaries. The king engaged to resume the payment of the customary gifts to the khan and to restore the ancient liberties to the Cossacks on the condition that the latter would return under his rule. On his part, Islam III Giray was to withdraw his troops from the royal lands while causing "the least possible damage." As the Polish Vasas still claimed hereditary rights to the Swedish throne, the royal document was dated "in the first year of our reign in Poland and the second year [of our reign] in Sweden."<sup>540</sup>

The pacification of 1649 was soon followed by a new outbreak of hostilities, but the next Polish-Tatar pacification, negotiated in 1653 at Žvanec', and especially the Cossacks' entry under the tsar's patronage, confirmed in Perejaslav in January 1654, paved the way to a lasting rapprochement between Warsaw and Baghchasaray. In July 1654, articles of peace and military alliance were negotiated in Warsaw between

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<sup>540</sup> See Document 59; John Casimir claimed hereditary rights to the Swedish throne from the death of his older brother Vladislaus, i.e., from May 1648. As to the Polish throne, his reign began with his election in November 1648, and formally even later, with his coronation in January 1649. The two official copies of the royal instrument, preserved in the Crown Archives, do not contain the *locatio* and *datatio*, which are extant in other copies. The original document, corroborated by the king and sent to the khan, must have also contained the royal seal.

the khan's envoy, Süleyman Agha, and the Polish dignitaries, and then sworn by the king, the Senate members, and the Tatar envoy. Then, Süleyman Agha set out to the Crimea, accompanied by a Polish envoy, Mariusz Jaskólski, who carried along a royal instrument of peace. The instrument, issued and corroborated by the king, is today preserved in a copy.<sup>541</sup> It contains the negotiated articles while the wording of its introductory and final sections is similar to the ones of the Polish instrument from 1649. The Polish-Crimean rapprochement was not interrupted by the death of Islam III Giray in late June 1654. His brother and successor, Mehmed IV Giray, accepted the royal instrument brought by Jaskólski and confirmed the alliance with a formal *'ahdname*, issued in November 1654. Interestingly, in the khan's *'ahdname*, the royal instrument brought by Jaskólski is referred to with the same term as "your *'ahdname*" (*'ahdnameñüz*).<sup>542</sup>

No more instruments of peace are known to have been issued by the Polish kings after 1654. Until the end of Mehmed IV Giray's reign, both sides regarded the pacification of 1654 as a sufficient basis for political and military cooperation. A new conflict, arisen after Mehmed IV Giray's deposal in 1666, was only temporarily appeased with an agreement reached at Pidhajci in 1667. In the following months, the new khan, Adil Giray, waited in vain for its official confirmation on the part of the Polish king and Diet, but the Diet was broken and John Casimir abdicated so neither the promised gifts nor the expected royal instrument were likely to come. Nevertheless, persuaded of Warsaw's peaceful intentions, the khan confirmed the peace with his oath and solemn instrument, issued in April 1668.<sup>543</sup> Yet, in the years to come Baghchararay was permanently drawn into the orbit of the new Ottoman northern policy, initiated by the Köprülü viziers and aimed to extend the Porte's influence onto the Ukraine. The military conflict between Istanbul and Warsaw, which was to last with short breaks until 1699, made a peace between Warsaw and Baghchararay impossible, although less formal contacts were maintained and the khans often acted as intermediaries between the sultan and the king.

Solemn instruments, confirming the peace with the Crimea on behalf of the Polish-Lithuanian rulers, are thus very few. Today, only

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<sup>541</sup> See Document 61.

<sup>542</sup> See Document 64.

<sup>543</sup> See Document 69.

the texts from the years 1472, 1513 (two versions), 1516, 1535, 1598, 1601, 1605, 1637 (addressed to the qalga), 1649, and 1654 are preserved. In addition, the existence of a second, now lost, Latin version of the instrument of 1516 is confirmed by other sources. The chronological dispersion and limited number of royal instruments, in fact much more limited than the number of instruments issued by the khans, make any conclusions difficult.

The instruments issued in Vilnius in 1513 (the one on behalf of Lithuania), 1516, and 1535, today preserved in copies entered in the Lithuanian Register books, were composed in Ruthenian and referred to—similarly to the khans' *şartnames*—as “letters of agreement” (Ruth. *lyst dokončalnyj*), “agreements” (Ruth. *dokončen'e/dokončane*), or simply “letters” (Ruth. *lyst/lyst*). The instruments issued on behalf of Poland in 1472 and 1513 were composed in Latin. The first one, issued in Cracow, is not referred to by any specific term, while the second one, issued in Vilnius,<sup>544</sup> is referred to as “manifest letter” (Lat. *patentes literae*). This Latin term was also known in the Crimean chancery, perhaps adopted from the Polish instrument: Mengli Giray's instrument regarding Poland, drawn in 1514 in response to Sigismund's *patentes literae* from 1513, is referred to in its Italian version as a *lectra patente*.

As to the four instruments, issued by Sigismund III and Vladislaus IV in the years 1598, 1601, 1605, and 1637, they were composed in Polish and referred to as “letters of agreement” (Pol. *list przemierny/list przemirny/list przymierny*), with the term that also applied in contemporary Polish to the *ahdnames* issued by the khans and by the Ottoman sultans. Finally, the royal instruments of 1649 and 1654 are not referred to with any specific terms whereas they refer to the treaty between the king and the khan by the Polish loanword from Latin: *pakta* (Lat. *pacta*).

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<sup>544</sup> During their travels in Lithuania, the Jagiellonian rulers were assisted by a number of Polish officials, including the clerks of the Crown Chancery; therefore, there is nothing unusual that a document, composed in Latin on behalf of the Polish Crown, was issued in Vilnius. In analogy, a document referring to the negotiations with a Crimean envoy, drafted in Cracow in 1541, was composed in Ruthenian and recorded in the Lithuanian Chancery books; cf. Document 29.

*The oath formulas of the Polish-Lithuanian rulers and plenipotentiaries and the written instruments of the plenipotentiaries*

In the 15th and 16th centuries, the Jagiellonian rulers along with their retinues took solemn oaths to observe the peace in the presence of Crimean envoys, while the Lithuanian and Polish envoys, sent to the Crimea, took similar oaths in the khan's presence on their own behalf and on behalf of their sovereigns. Yet, the texts of these oaths are not extant. Apparently the chancery clerks in Vilnius and Cracow did not see any reason to record the standard, familiar texts that were also in common use in the diplomatic relations with other courts. We can assume that the oaths were taken by the Gospel, Jesus, and sometimes even Virgin Mary. It is evidenced by a letter of Khan Sa'adet Giray, who in 1527 mockingly reproached the Lithuanian Lords Councilors that they had broken their word even though they had sworn to keep peace "by the Gospel, Prophet Jesus, and his mother, Virgin Mary" (*što este prysjahaly na evanhelii y na proroka Ezusa y matki eho panny Maryi, y to este ne zderžaly*).<sup>545</sup>

The only royal oath, preserved today *in extenso*, was taken in July 1654 by John Casimir. The king swore to observe the conditions of peace, negotiated in Warsaw with the Crimean envoy, Süleyman Agha. The oath ended with a standard formula: "So help me Lord Jesus and his Holy Gospel!" (*Tak mi Panie Jesu dopomóż i Ewangelia jego święta!*).<sup>546</sup> A similar oath was then pronounced "to Almighty God upon the Holy Gospel of Lord Jesus" (*Panu Bogu wszechmogącemu na świętą Pana Jesussa Ewangelię*) by the Senate members and other dignitaries of the Commonwealth, present at the ceremony in the Royal Castle.<sup>547</sup> In return, Süleyman Agha swore to observe the treaty on behalf of the khan and was sent back to the Crimea, accompanied by a Polish envoy Mariusz Jaskólski, who was provided with a royal instrument of peace.

In result of the negotiations at Pidhajci in 1667, a single text was agreed upon by the plenipotentiaries of the two sides and its text was recorded in two fair copies in Polish. The Tatars corroborated their copy with the seals of Qalga Qırım Giray and nine other Crimean

<sup>545</sup> See RGADA, f. 389, no. 7, pp. 910.

<sup>546</sup> See Document 62.

<sup>547</sup> See Document 63; on this ceremony, see also n. 698 below, and on the pacification of 1654, cf. Part I.

dignitaries present in the camp, and gave it to their Polish partners. They also confirmed the agreement with an oath taken in the presence of the Polish commander-in-chief, Hetman Jan Sobieski, who later deposited its authenticated text in the Crown Archives in Warsaw (on this procedure, see above). A mirror copy of the negotiated instrument, corroborated by Sobieski and eight other Polish plenipotentiaries,<sup>548</sup> was given to the Tatars, but it is not extant. In addition, the Polish negotiators took an oath in the presence of their Crimean partners. We do not know whether the Tatars separately recorded the text of the Polish oath and appended to the Polish instrument which they took along to Baghchasaray, because the documents from the Crimean archives are not extant. Nevertheless, the text of the Polish oath was recorded by the Polish side, authenticated by Sobieski with his handwritten signature, and sent to be kept in the Crown Archives. The text, bearing Sobieski's authentic signature, has been preserved in Warsaw. Today it is the only extant instrument concerning the peace with the Crimea, issued by the Polish-Lithuanian side, which can be regarded as the original.

According to the preserved text, the Polish plenipotentiaries swore "to God, One in the Holy Trinity, before the Holy Virgin and all the saints" (*Panu Bogu w Trójcy Świętej Jedyńemu, przed Naświętszą Panną i Wszystkimi Świętymi*) on behalf of the king and the Commonwealth, to observe the mutually agreed conditions, recorded in the written instrument. Their oath contained two additional clauses that were not entered in the instrument: the engagements not to enter a permanent peace with Moscow without the khan's knowledge, and not to send troops to the Ukraine before the Polish-Lithuanian Diet confirmed the concluded agreement with Baghchasaray. The oath ended with an invocation: "So help us God and His Holy Passion!" (*Tak nam Panie Boże dopomóż i Męka Jego Święta*).<sup>549</sup>

The few texts of the oaths, pronounced by the representatives of Poland-Lithuania: the king (1654), the Senate members (1654), and the commissioners empowered to conduct negotiations at Pidhajci (1667), are today extant because their texts were recorded by the Polish side and are preserved in the Polish archives. It is uncertain whether the

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<sup>548</sup> For their names, see Document 66, n. 1; they were the highest officers present in the camp, some of them Sobieski's close confidants.

<sup>549</sup> See Document 68.

texts of the royal oaths, pronounced during the solemn audiences in Vilnius, Cracow, and Warsaw, were given to the Crimean envoys, or perhaps recorded by them out of their own initiative. Likewise, we do not know whether the oaths of the Polish-Lithuanian envoys, pronounced during their audiences with the khans, were recorded by the Crimean chancery.

*Ready formulas of the instruments to be issued by the Crimean khans*

In the instructions to royal envoys dispatched to the Crimea, and sometimes even in the texts of the royal instruments (e.g., the one from 1598), one encounters typical stipulations that the contents of the khan's future instrument should mirror "word for word" the clauses proposed and formulated by the royal chancery.

The practice, according to which foreign recipients drafted the texts of requested documents and asked the khans merely to accept them and draw their instruments accordingly, is well evidenced by the Crimean-Muscovian diplomatic exchange. In 1474, a Muscovian envoy, Ivan Beklemišev, was sent to Mengli Giray with three drafted versions (Rus. sing. *spisok*) of a future instrument (*jarlyk dokončal'nyj*) that Ivan III expected from the khan. According to his instruction, Beklemišev was to request that the khan issue his instrument according to the draft (*da prositi jarlyka dokončal'nago po spisku*), or rather to one of the draft's three versions. The first version was the preferred one, but the envoy was also authorized to accept an instrument that would be worded in accordance with the second, or even the third version, the least favorable for Moscow. Simultaneously, he was ordered to reject any instrument that would deviate from all the proposed versions.<sup>550</sup>

In 1534, a Lithuanian envoy Anikij Hornostaj was provided with a ready formula, according to which the khan was to issue his instrument of peace. Sahib Giray promptly reciprocated with the embassy of Devey Mirza, who arrived at Cracow, provided with the requested instrument. In his letter to the king, the khan assured that his document had been drawn in accordance with the copy submitted by the royal side.<sup>551</sup> Yet, the royal chancery detected some deviations from its

<sup>550</sup> See *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 1, pp. 1–6; cf. Xoroškevič, *Rus' i Krym*, p. 126.

<sup>551</sup> Cf. n. 229 in Part I.



original project and the khan's instrument was not accepted.<sup>552</sup> Nonetheless, having no intention to provoke the khan's wrath, the Polish dignitaries favorably received Devey Mirza in Cracow and then dispatched him to Vilnius, where he was received by the king. On his way back to the Crimea, Devey was accompanied by a next Lithuanian envoy, Vasyl' Tyškevyč, who—like his predecessor—was provided with a ready formula of the instrument expected from the khan, probably identical with the formula given to Hornostaj in 1534.

The formula from 1535 was recorded in the Lithuanian Register books and its text is preserved. Its wording reveals striking similarities with the "donation *yarlıq* cum *şartname*" from 1517, sworn by Bahadır Giray in Čerkasy in the presence of Olbracht Gasztołd. The latter, promoted in 1522 to the post of the Lithuanian chancellor, well remembered Bahadır's instrument and regarded it as a model. Already in 1532, the Lithuanian chancery headed by Gasztołd made the new khan, Islam Giray, reconfirm the contents of Bahadır's *yarlıq*. In the years 1534 and 1535, Vilnius apparently still regarded the document from 1517 as a point of reference, although minor amendments were conceivable. For instance, the Lithuanian chancery added Ljubeč to the list of towns to be "donated" to Lithuania, even though it had never figured in the earlier *yarlıqs*. In fact, Ljubeč was the only stronghold of importance, recaptured from Muscovy in result of the war of 1507–1508, so its inclusion in the khan's *yarlıq* was desirable for its legitimizing effect. Vilnius was apparently not deterred by the fact that the instrument, drawn on the initiative of the Lithuanian chancery, presented King Sigismund as the beneficiary of the khan's "donation," obliged in return to deliver annual gifts to the Crimea. The words of the corroborating oath put in the khan's mouth: "by God, [...] by 124,000 prophets, and by our righteous prophet, His Majesty Muhammad Mustafa," makes one almost forget that the actual text was composed in Vilnius, and not in Qırq Yer.<sup>553</sup>

In 1571, a royal envoy Jurij Bykovskyj, sent by Sigismund Augustus to the Crimea, was provided by the royal chancery with yet another

<sup>552</sup> For the text of the royal explanation, communicating Devey Mirza the reasons why the khan's document was rejected, see n. 233 in Part I. Unfortunately, both the royal formula and the khan's instrument from 1534 are not preserved so we cannot check the veracity of both sides' claims.

<sup>553</sup> See Document 27; the instruments from 1517, 1532, and 1535 are already compared in Part I.

ready formula of the instrument, expected from Khan Devlet Giray. Again in 1581, Andrzej Chorążyc, sent by Stephan Báthory to Mehmed II Giray, was provided with a ready formula of the khan's expected instrument. Unfortunately, neither of these formulas is preserved. In the first case, we do not even know whether the khan issued the desired instrument. In the second case, the khan reportedly issued the requested instrument but probably did not send it.<sup>554</sup>

The following ready formula, issued by the royal chancery and preserved, origins from 1619. It was drawn in the period of rising tensions between Istanbul and Warsaw, after Djanibek Giray had demanded that Sigismund III should send him the overdue customary gifts. The khan was sure of the Ottoman support as he had recently returned from the Persian front where he had been assisting the Ottoman troops. Not discouraged, Sigismund III dispatched to Baghchasaray Florian Oleszko, who had already performed a successful mission to the Crimea in 1607. The political contents of the formula, given to Oleszko in 1619, were similar to those of the royal instruments from 1601 and 1605, and to those of Ghazi II Giray's instrument, successfully negotiated by Oleszko in 1607. The formula's text was duly updated by entering the names of the new khan and his qalga, and by enlarging the royal *intitulatio* that now also contained Černihiv and Smolensk, whose recent conquest from Muscovy was confirmed by the Truce of Deulino (Divilino) in January 1619. The proposed document also contained the notorious clause in which the khan recognized the Polish territorial claims to the Black Sea shore. A reader familiar with the spirit of Counter-Reformation, introduced to Poland-Lithuania during the reign of Sigismund III, might be surprized by the wording of the instrument, prepared after all in the Polish royal chancery, according to which the khan was to swear "by the name of one God and Prophet Muhammad." Even the Arabic formula *vallahi ve billahi ve tallahi* ("by God, with God, and through God!") was correctly rendered in the Polish text as *wollahi wo billahi wo ttalahi*.<sup>555</sup> The royal chancery clerk, who prepared the formula, tried so hard to conform

<sup>554</sup> Cf. notes 303 and 316 in Part I; the expression "from the chancery of His Royal Majesty" found in Bykovskij's instruction refers to the Lithuanian rather than Polish chancery as the royal instruction for the envoy was composed in Ruthenian and is preserved in the Lithuanian Register books. Also the mission of Chorążyc (alias Xorūżyč) was probably prepared by the Lithuanian chancery as the envoy held the post of Lithuanian scribe.

<sup>555</sup> See Document 46.

to the Tatar linguistic custom, that in the text, composed after all in Polish, the *starosta* of Kamieniec is referred to as the bey of Kamieniec (*bek kamieniecki*).<sup>556</sup>

Yet, when Oleszko reached the Crimea in 1620, the Polish-Ottoman war was already decided. Summoned to join the Ottoman troops, the khan was in no mood for negotiations and the Polish envoy was detained for almost two years.

After the war was terminated by the Treaty of Hotin (1621), Oleszko was allowed to return home, and in 1622 another Polish envoy, Krzysztof Krauzowski, was sent to Baghchasaray. Krauzowski was again provided with the ready formula of an instrument expected from the khan. It contained the same political clauses as the formula given to Oleszko, as if nothing had changed since 1619.<sup>557</sup> No wonder that Djanibek Giray ignored the royal request and did not issue the expected instrument. Also Djanibek's successor, Mehmed III Giray, who ascended the throne during Krauzowski's sojourn in the Crimea, assured the envoy of his peaceful intentions but sent him back empty handed.

To conclude, the royal chancery prepared no less than six ready formulas of the instruments requested from the khans: in the years 1534, 1535, 1571, 1581, 1619, and 1622. Only three of these formulas are extant today. In the years 1534 and 1581, the khans assured that their instruments followed the royal formulas, but the royal side was not satisfied. In the years 1535 and 1571, it is doubtful whether the khans issued requested instruments at all. Finally, the royal embassies of 1619 and 1622 both failed and no instruments were issued. Thus, our evidence, drawn from the context of the Crimean relations with Poland-Lithuania, does not support the opinion of Berežkov, who stressed the passive character of the Crimean chancery and its dependence on foreign models, and puts in question his assertion that the khans' instruments had been typically based on ready drafts (Rus. *obrazcovye spiski*) prepared in Moscow.<sup>558</sup> In the cases discussed above, the khans modified or openly rejected the contents of the proposed drafts. Besides, a consent to follow a formula, submitted by the other

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<sup>556</sup> See Document 46, n. 16; in the following formula from 1622, the same title is repeated in alternative spelling and pronunciation (*beg kamieniecki*), whereas the term *starosta* is added in parentheses; see Document 47, n. bv.

<sup>557</sup> See Document 47.

<sup>558</sup> Cf. notes 19–20 above.

side, does not have to be seen as proof of weakness or undeveloped chancery traditions. Even the Ottomans, who lacked neither strength nor proper chancery traditions, are known to have issued instruments shaped on models provided by foreign courts.<sup>559</sup>

The inclusion of “ready formulas” into the present volume might seem questionable since these formulas were not final instruments of peace but merely drafts intended to serve in negotiations that were rarely successful. Nevertheless, these drafts reflected the expectations of the royal side as to how a khan’s proper instrument should look like. Expecting the other side to consent to its proposal, the royal court could not entirely depart from the tradition and compose a document, whose form and contents would be entirely alien to its prospective author. Rather, its wording was based on genuine instruments, issued previously by the khans and stored in the royal archives, although modified in order to serve the interests of the submitting partner.

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<sup>559</sup> Cf. the *‘ahdname* of Selim I, issued in 1514 on the basis of a ready formula, provided by a Polish embassy; Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, p. 115.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE PROCEDURE OF PEACEMAKING

#### *Equal or unequal? The character of Crimean relations with the northern neighbors*

Having studied the Crimean-Muscovian relations in the times of Ivan III and Mengli Giray, Robert Croskey observes that while the Muscovian grand duke was in fact the dominant partner, he formally accepted his inferior position and acknowledged the Crimean khan's claim to the heritage of the Golden Horde, including his right to collect tribute from Muscovian rulers and to send them *yarlıqs*, formally unilateral instruments addressed by a sovereign to a subject. While addressing the khan, Ivan III shaped his letters as humble petitions referred to with the term *čelobit'e* (Rus. "[a deep bow culminated with] a strike of the forehead [against the ground]") instead of the less demeaning term *poklon* (Rus. "a bow"). Croskey explains this pretended humility by the substantial benefits of the Crimean military alliance that facilitated Muscovian expansion in other directions, most notably at the cost of Lithuania, and notices that in his relations with other states Ivan III assumed a much less humble pose.<sup>560</sup>

As late as in 1575, Ivan III's grandson, Ivan IV the Terrible, ostensibly abdicated his throne to a Genghisid princeling, who resided in Moscow under his tutelage and had been baptised as Simeon Bekbulatovič. The tsar temporarily left Moscow and adopted a humble name *Ivanec Vasil'ev*, until he formally returned to power a year later. Historians will argue forever about the hidden motives of this political masquerade. What matters here is the fact that playing with Genghisid puppet princes had a long tradition in the steppe and was mastered by the Muscovian rulers, who knew how to use the prestige of the once

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<sup>560</sup> Robert Croskey, "The Diplomatic Forms of Ivan III's Relationship with the Crimean Khan," *Slavic Review. American Quarterly of Soviet and East European Studies* 43 (1984): 257–269; for similar conclusions, cf. Juzefovič, *Put' posla*, pp. 23–31.

powerful dynasty to promote their aims in both foreign and domestic policy.<sup>561</sup>

If even the Muscovian rulers had pragmatic reasons to invoke their past subordination to the Genghisid dynasty in their current relations with the Crimean khans, no wonder that the latter ones invoked their Genghisid roots even more eagerly. As late as 1672, Selim Giray tried to impress the Habsburg emperor by recalling the name of the Genghisid dynasty in expectation that it should bring the desired effect.<sup>562</sup>

The nature of the Crimean relations with both its northern neighbors: Muscovy and Poland-Lithuania, discloses numerous analogies. The khans, at least officially, regarded both northern rulers as their tributaries, who were expected to send tribute on time and to apply for solemn *yarlıqs*, confirming their possessions. With the passing of time, the rulers concerned began to perceive their relations with the khans in an entirely different light and refer to the goods and cash, which they continued to dispatch to the Crimea, as freely donated gifts or, even better, as an equivalent for the Tatar military assistance, thus presenting the khan and his subjects as paid auxiliaries. Yet, when endangered with an imminent Tatar invasion or in urgent need of Tatar military assistance, the same rulers would return in their vocabulary to the more humble phraseology from the times when the Mongol dominance of Eastern Europe was unquestionable. At times, the humiliating issue of tribute (in such cases termed exactly with this name) was raised in Polish-Lithuanian and Russian internal discourse by the authors who aimed to incite their countrymen to fight the troublesome steppe neighbors and perhaps even evict them from Europe.

Much of the scholarly misunderstandings origin from the fact that the same goods and cash money, sent to the khans by their northern neighbors, were differently termed by different participants and witnesses in different languages and times, and the meaning of the terms

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<sup>561</sup> Omeljan Pritsak, "Moscow, the Golden Horde, and the Kazan Khanate from a Polycultural Point of View," *Slavic Review* 26 (1967): 577–583. A view that Muscovy won the steppe not by challenging its rules but by conforming to them is also persuasively voiced by Edward Keenan in his article published in the same volume; see *idem*, "Muscovy and Kazan: Some Introductory Remarks on the Patterns of Steppe Diplomacy," *Slavic Review* 26 (1967): 548–558.

<sup>562</sup> [...] essendo il nostro regio costume di honorar quelli che professano antica amicitia e fratellanza verso questa nostra augusta Casa Ginghamiana [...] et sapendo che Voi sete delli ben affettionati alla Casa Ginghamiana [...]; for the khan's letter, dated in July 1672 and preserved in Italian translation, see Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Türkei I, 144, f. 69 (January–March 1673), fol. 61a–62a.

used varied from gifts and stipends given at free will to customary payments to obligatory tribute. Quite expectably, the senders favored the former terms while the receivers the latter ones, and in the Muslim chronicles and internal correspondence one even encounters such terms as *harac* or *cizya* (i.e., Ar. *haradj* and *djizya*).<sup>563</sup>

Departing from the fact that in Russian sources the payments to the Crimea were typically referred to as *pominki* (Rus. “gifts” or “souvenirs”), Anna Xoroškevič takes pains to prove that Moscow did not send a tribute to the Crimea except for the short period between 1670 and 1685 (formally abolished in 1700). She nevertheless admits that such a tribute, referred to as *vyxod* (lit. “exit,” apparently a Russian calque from Ar. *haradj*) had been earlier sent to the Golden Horde and, by extension, to the Great Horde, for the last time in 1502. According to Xoroškevič, when the Muscovian rulers sent gifts to the Crimean Tatars, they did it out of their free will and in return expected military service.<sup>564</sup> The weakness of the above arguments can be demonstrated even without referring to Oriental sources<sup>565</sup> by invoking three points: firstly, the term *vyxod* was at times still used in reference to the sums dispatched to the Crimea, for instance in the will of Ivan III;<sup>566</sup> secondly, by acknowledging Mengli Giray as the legitimate successor of Sheikh Ahmed after the latter’s catastrophe in 1502, Ivan III tacitly agreed to extend the character of his earlier relations with the Great Horde onto the Crimean Khanate, even though he certainly tried to obtain the Crimean military assistance in return for his payments;<sup>567</sup> and thirdly, Xoroškevič does not sufficiently explain why Russia, if it had not indeed paid tribute in the 16th century, should have agreed to such humiliating conditions in 1670, when it was incomparably stronger. Her

<sup>563</sup> Cf. n. 190 in Part I.

<sup>564</sup> Xoroškevič, *Rus’ i Krym*, pp. 225–258.

<sup>565</sup> This was nonetheless done by Inalcık, who demonstrated that in the seventeenth-century Crimean-Muscovian correspondence *prior* to the year 1670 such terms were commonly used as *uluğ hazine* (“great treasure”) and *vergü* (“tax,” lit. “something given”); see *idem*, “Power Relationships between Russia, the Crimea, and the Ottoman Empire as Reflected in Titulature,” pp. 394–398 (an appendix entitled: “Notes on tribute paid to the Tatars”). In the Crimean seventeenth-century sources, the same terms refer to the “gifts” obtained from the Polish kings, whereas these Polish “gifts” to the khan are commonly regarded in historiography—also by Xoroškevič—as a form of tribute.

<sup>566</sup> Cf. Croskey, “The Diplomatic Forms of Ivan III’s Relationship with the Crimean Khan,” p. 267.

<sup>567</sup> Cf. Vinogradov, *Russko-krymskie otnošenija*, vol. 1, pp. 60 and 123, n. 21.

argument that the tribute was paid only from left-bank Ukraine, recently acquired from Poland, because the Polish kings had paid it previously, does not make sense because many more lands, in fact amounting to one third of the Lithuanian territory of that time, and previously “donated” to Vilnius with the *yarliqs* of Hadji and Mengli Girays, had been acquired by Muscovy in the years 1492–1514, so the need of a “compensation” for the khan would be no less feasible in 1514 than in 1670. The argument that in 1670 Moscow needed to appease the khan because it feared an Ottoman invasion is not persuasive either: a large scale Ottoman invasion of the Russian held left-bank Ukraine was unthinkable before the prior conquest of the Polish held right-bank Ukraine, which did not occur until 1672. The Russian negotiators who agreed to pay tribute to the khan in 1670 could not predict the results of the campaign, which was resolved in the fall of 1671 and effected a year later.<sup>568</sup>

Xoroškevič seems to suggest that while the Muscovian rulers proudly defended their prestige, the Polish-Lithuanian rulers willingly maintained tributary relations with the Crimea. Yet, such a statement stands in a curious contradiction with Usmanov’s thesis that the khans regarded the kings as their equals and the Muscovian grand dukes as their vassals.<sup>569</sup> As a matter of fact, since the 16th century, court pamphletists and diplomats in both Poland-Lithuania and Muscovy had done their best to assure the domestic as well as foreign (especially Western) audience that it was the other ruler who was the khan’s tributary while the author’s patron bravely defended Europe from infidel Asiatic barbarians. At the same time, in their direct correspondence with the khans, both Polish-Lithuanian and Muscovian rulers depicted their Christian rival as the common eternal enemy and expressed their loyalty and friendship towards the Tatars. The khans played the same game and assured the correspondents of their predilection towards

<sup>568</sup> For the arguments of Xoroškevič regarding the tsar’s decision taken in 1670, see *eadem*, *Rus’ i Krym*, pp. 238–239.

<sup>569</sup> Cf. esp. Xoroškevič, *Rus’ i Krym*, p. 231 and Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, p. 198. To be sure, the Muscovian (as well as Polish-Lithuanian) rulers not once tried to abolish the practice which they surely perceived as humiliating; for instance, in 1578 the Muscovian envoys to the Crimea were instructed to deliver gifts in exactly the same value as the gifts that they were to receive, but under no circumstances were their gifts to exceed the value of those received; hence, a clear difference was seen between the accepted practice of gift exchange and the tributary relations; see Filjuškin, “Proekty russko-krymskogo voennogo sojuza,” p. 329.



the “old trusted friendship,” even though—as they usually hastened to add—the rival had recently proposed to augment his tribute. A fitting illustration of such (un)diplomatic language is contained in the instrument of Saʿadet Giray, sent to Sigismund I in 1527, in which the khan bemoaned the spoiling of the ancient amity that enabled “the Muscovian duke Ivan, the slave [Ruth. *xolop*] of your [ancestors] and our ancestors, and also our and your enemy, the son of a serf [Ruth. *smerd*] by descent, unworthy to remain in brotherhood and friendship with us,” to enter the alliance with the Crimea, in whose course “notwithstanding his being a serf, [he nevertheless] fulfilled his word and oath, and [...] never delayed [the delivery of] his fitting gifts.”<sup>570</sup>

Perhaps instead of finally resolving the question whether the kings and the tsars were the tributaries of the Crimean khans, it is better to point—in perfectly postmodernistic fashion—to various real and pragmatic functions of the dispatched “gifts” or “tribute.” For the senders, it was a tool, sometimes cheaper than maintaining troops and fortresses, intended to fend off Tatar slavers and prevent devastations that would be caused by their raids; even better if these raids could be directed against a rival Christian neighbor.<sup>571</sup> For the khan, frequent arrivals of foreign embassies along with gifts from foreign rulers certainly helped to build his domestic prestige. By distributing the obtained goods among his loyal family members and clients, the khan could strengthen his position in domestic politics. In times of drought, the obtained means could relieve his subjects from a famine, again strengthening his position as a good ruler and patron. Understanding these internal mechanisms, we may better understand the unabashed insistence of the khans, displayed in their letters to the northern courts, on the timely delivery of gifts, and the detailed lists of expected items and prospective beneficiaries, including their women-folk and domestic servants, which were attached to these letters.<sup>572</sup> To

<sup>570</sup> See Document 22.

<sup>571</sup> Zbigniew Wójcik concluded that the cost of the Crimean alliance, in result of which Tatar auxiliaries fought in the years 1654–1666 against the Commonwealth’s Muscovian and Swedish enemies, had been surprisingly low if compared with the expenditures of the Polish-Lithuanian treasury on maintaining its own regular army; the average yearly cost of the Crimean alliance, including the cost of the “gifts,” amounted in these years to 200,000 *zlotys* or 67,000 *thalers*; see *idem*, “Some problems of Polish-Tatar relations in the seventeenth century,” pp. 101–102.

<sup>572</sup> For one such list (*defter*) from 1635, drawn on the order of Inayet Giray and sent to Moscow, see *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskogo xanstva*, pp. 137–147; many more

their contemporary addressees (as well as a modern reader), such petty claims might appear as not befitting a monarch, but foreign opinion was less crucial for maintaining the khan's position and throne than the domestic one, and the latter heavily depended on the khan's effectiveness in bargaining the delivery of the gifts (or tribute) due from the real and imaginary vassals.<sup>573</sup>

While the tribute issue at least formally assigned both northern rulers the role of the Crimean tributaries, another factor constantly weakened the khans' position in their external relations. Scholars often attribute the gradual loss of Crimean sovereignty to the institution of hostages, introduced on Ottoman demand, according to which a number of Giray princes constantly resided at the Porte; such hostages guaranteed the khan's obedience and could at any time willingly replace a "troublesome" ruler. It should not be forgotten that an analogous institution functioned in Muscovy in the form of the puppet Khanate of Kasimov on the Oka river, ruled by members of various branches of the Genghisid dynasty, who remained under the Russian patronage, and existing until the 17th century; significantly, in the years 1486–1512 the throne in Kasimov was held by Mengli Giray's refugee brother, the former Crimean khan Nur Devlet, and his sons. Less than a century later, after the violent deposal and murder of Mehmed II Giray, instigated by the Porte in 1584, his three sons found refuge in Russia; the often deplored servility of the new khan, Islam II Giray, displayed towards Istanbul, was largely conditioned by his constant fear of the return of the runaway princes. Hence, when in the 18th century, Catherine II interfered in the Crimean politics by supporting her protégé, Shahin Giray, in fact there was nothing new in her politics that simply followed the old patterns.

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lists of this type, both in the original and translations, can be found in the Russian and Polish archives.

<sup>573</sup> On the visualization of power aimed for domestic audience, cf. William Roosen, "Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial: A Systems Approach," *The Journal of Modern History* 52 (1980): 452–476, esp. pp. 472–475. The domestic factor is also invoked by Ronald Toby in his generally positive assessment of the early modern Japanese diplomacy; according to the author, a selective seclusion helped the Tokugawa shoguns to consolidate their reign and gain internal prestige by presenting the subjects with a desirable image of the outside world that accepted Japan's status as the universal empire; the question whether this image was shared abroad was irrelevant as long as foreigners were effectively kept out of Japan; see *idem*, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan. Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu* (Stanford, 1991), pp. 201–203.

If measured against the hordes of Genghisids residing in the Ottoman Empire and Russia, the number of Genghisids, who found themselves in Lithuania or Poland, with or against their will, was rather unimpressive. Yet, the early prestige of Vilnius in the Crimean eyes was earned by the assistance once extended by Vytautas to Tokhtamish and his sons, then to Ulug Muhammed, and finally to Hadji Giray, who had all been granted temporary refuge in Lithuania. Casimir earned no less gratitude from the side of Mengli Giray by imprisoning his main rival, Seyyid Ahmed (Tokhtamish's grandson), in 1454. After the Lithuanian-Crimean relations had deteriorated in the late 15th century, nothing contributed more to their appeasement than the decision of Vilnius to detain its former ally, Sheikh Ahmed, after he came to seek asylum in 1503. While the unlucky khan spent in the Lithuanian "golden cage" almost twenty-five years, the peace with the Crimea could be restored. In 1512, Mengli Giray consented to an unprecedented move and sent his grandson, Djalaleddin, to Sigismund as a guarantee of peace. The young prince died in Vilnius in the following year and the sending of another Giray prince, although negotiated, never materialized, but this very move put in question the tributary character of the relations between Qırq Yer and Vilnius: would a suzerain send his grandson as a hostage to a vassal?

In the later decades and centuries, dissident Giray princes not once found shelter in Poland-Lithuania or invoked its help. In the 1520s and 1530s, Vilnius tacitly supported Islam Giray, who repeatedly rioted against his uncle, Sa'adet Giray. In 1581 two rebel Giray princes, chased by Khan Mehmed II Giray (the same who was murdered three years later and whose sons found refuge in Russia), arrived in Poland and were forced to take a loyalty oath by the Polish dignitaries. One of them, Selamet Giray, would later ascend the throne and invoke this oath in his instrument issued in 1609. In the 1620s, the Polish court maintained secret contacts with the brothers, Mehmed III and Shahin Girays, when they opposed the Ottoman protégé, Djanibek Giray, although Warsaw was careful not to openly provoke the Porte. The sojourn in Poland of the future khan Islam III Giray in the years 1629–1634 had a different character as he was taken prisoner and did not display any wish to be manipulated against the ruling khan. Nevertheless, his detainment was also used to soften Baghchararay and the talks regarding his release played a prominent role in the mutual relations.

No matter how splendid was the Genghisid tradition and still formidable the Tatar cavalry in the East European theatre of war, the mere

comparison of the population and territory of, on the one hand, the Crimean Khanate, and on the other, Poland-Lithuania or Muscovy (and later the Russian Empire), made equal relations questionable. Apparently aware of this, with a rising frequency the khans invoked the Ottoman might that stood behind their back. Yet, by doing so they put in question their own prestige that they deserved as “free sovereigns.”<sup>574</sup> This “schizophrenic” situation transpires from the direct Ottoman-Polish correspondence already in the first half of the 16th century. In 1531, Suleyman the Magnificent notified the Polish court that the Poles did not need to negotiate separately with Sa‘adet Giray, since the khan was *not* a sovereign ruler, owing his position to the sultan and obliged to obey him. Accordingly, the Ottoman *‘ahd-name* sent to Poland in 1533 referred to the sultan’s request addressed to the new khan, Sahib Giray, who was asked to maintain friendship with Sigismund on the condition that the latter did not assist the khan’s rioting relatives (a clear allusion to Islam Giray). Yet, when the Polish court was still unsatisfied and asked the powerful Ottoman vizier, Ibrahim Pasha, to strongly order the khan to keep peace, the vizier’s letter, written in July 1533, contained a Pythian answer. Although admitting that Sahib Giray was like a son to Suleyman and owed his throne to the sultan, Ibrahim yet stressed that the khan was a sovereign ruler of another country (*müstaqil selatin ‘idadından olub başka memlekete vali ve hakimdir*) and it was not *fitting* to include him in a Polish-Ottoman treaty.<sup>575</sup> Nevertheless, he promised to write to the khan, expecting that the latter would behave in a friendly manner towards the king.

On his part, in the instrument sent to Sigismund in 1539 Sahib Giray declined any responsibility for the raids effected from the territories controlled by the Ottoman sultan, but he engaged that if such individuals came to his lands, he would punish them as “His Imperial Majesty [i.e., the Ottoman sultan] will not reproach us for [punishing] them.”<sup>576</sup> A closer Ottoman-Crimean cooperation, or even shared sovereignty on the Black Sea steppe, is already witnessed by the instrument of Sahib’s successor, Devlet Giray, issued in 1552. In regard to

<sup>574</sup> On this expression, see n. 310 above.

<sup>575</sup> The aforementioned Polish-Ottoman correspondence from the years 1531–1533 is already quoted in Part I; for the sources of the quotations, see notes 218, 220, and 221 there.

<sup>576</sup> *Dla tych Cesarz Jego Miłość nam nic nie uczyni*; see Document 28.

the same issue, namely the raids effected from the Ottoman territories, the khan assured the king that: "I have the authority to restrain them [...]; as His Majesty, the Turkish emperor, allowed me to keep a tight rein on these cossacks and restrain them from such acts, even if I punish them for their transgressions, then His Majesty, the Emperor will not reproach me for this."<sup>577</sup> References to the Ottoman sultans would then appear with a rising frequency in the khans' correspondence with their northern neighbors, although neither side wished to resign from maintaining direct diplomatic contacts, even if such contacts were at times discouraged by the Porte. To be sure, also Warsaw and Moscow knew how to intimidate Baghchasaray with a warning to directly address Istanbul and to exert pressure on "unruly" khans by invoking the possible wrath of the Porte.

*Envoys: recruitment and status*

Perhaps a reasonable method of measuring the relative status and importance of two states in each other's eyes is to compare the rank of their diplomats sent to the other party and the status enjoyed by these diplomats in their own societies. For instance, among the Polish-Lithuanian envoys sent in solemn embassies to Rome, Paris, Istanbul, or Moscow one recognizes the members of the most prominent families, who occupied senatorial posts and sometimes, typically after the accomplishment of their missions, advanced to the most prominent offices in the Commonwealth. The retinues of these envoys, especially in the 17th century, could reach several hundred horsemen. In the Polish-Lithuanian relations with the Porte, the Crimea, and Muscovy, a more complicated diplomatic hierarchy was devised than in the relations with Western courts. While an envoy sent to a West European court was simply referred to as *nuncius* or *orator*, diplomats sent to the sultans, khans, and tsars were divided into "great" and "small" envoys, the latter also known as "light" or "swift" envoys, or referred to by the Latin term *internuncius*.<sup>578</sup> This hierarchy, apparently developed

<sup>577</sup> [...] *bo ja mam yx moc ot toho povstehaty [...]; bo Cesar Eho Mylost' tureckyj przyvolyl, aby tyx kozakov vo stjazlyvosty mel, a ot toho yx povstehal, bo xotja byx za vystup yx y karal, tohdy my Cesar Eho Mylost' ny slova za to ne reknet*'; see Document 32.

<sup>578</sup> Cf. Zbigniew Wójcik (ed.), *Polska służba dyplomatyczna XVI–XVIII wieku* (Warsaw, 1966), pp. 45, 104, and 173.

under Oriental influence, was nevertheless misleading: a “great envoy” sent to the Crimea might have stood lower in social hierarchy than an ordinary *nuncius* sent to Rome or Vienna.

In comparison to the envoys sent to the major European courts, those sent to the Crimea were usually of lower status, except for the two early Lithuanian embassies: the mission of Prince Ivan Hlyns’kyj in 1480 and the great embassy of Jurij Zenovevyč, the future governor of Smolensk and court marshal, accompanied by Jakub Ivašencovyč, the governor of Mazyr, in 1507. More typically, the Lithuanian envoys to the khans were recruited from among the courtiers and secretaries of the Grand Ducal Chancery, of noble, but rather modest origin, although some of them could attain a higher status after numerous years of service, like Vasyľ Tyškevyč, the envoy to the khan in 1535, who died as the palatine of Podlachia [Podlasie]. Some of these envoys became genuine specialists of the countries to which they traveled, like Anikij Hornostaj, sent to the Crimea in 1520, 1522, 1534, and 1541. Perhaps the most intellectually prominent among the Lithuanian envoys was Venclav Mykolaevyč, sent to the Crimea in 1542. His treatise *De Moribus Tartarorum*, published in Basle in 1615 under the pen name Michalon Lituanius, provided valuable information on the Crimea and its inhabitants, although it also contained—like most travel literature—hidden allusions regarding the social life and jurisdiction in the author’s homeland.

The Polish envoys, sent to the khans from Cracow and then Warsaw, were likewise typically recruited from among the royal courtiers and secretaries, to mention only Marcin Broniowski, Ławryn Piaseczyński, or Florian Oleszko. Broniowski, who traveled five times to the Crimea between the years 1578 and 1592, published his famous treatise *Tartariae descriptio*, in 1595, in Cologne. It became the standard source of knowledge on the Crimea in Europe, used by scholars until today. Piaseczyński’s equally rich report from his three embassies performed in the years 1601–1603 was less fortunate and remained in manuscript until 1911, when its large excerpts were published by Kazimierz Pułaski. Alas, even today it is rarely used except for the Polish historians.

Usually descending from less affluent noble families, the royal secretaries are sometimes regarded today by historians as the core of professional bureaucracy, if one can speak at all about professional bureaucracy in early modern Poland-Lithuania. Unlike the magnates sent in great embassies to major European courts, for whom these embassies were but steps in further career, the secretaries often turned

into career diplomats, sent several times to the same courts and gaining rich expertise from visited countries.<sup>579</sup> Hence, paradoxically, the lower status of the Crimean Khanate in the Polish court's diplomatic hierarchy resulted in the fact that the missions to Baghchasaray were performed by more experienced envoys.

The analysis of the social status of the Muscovian envoys sent to the Crimea is certainly beyond the scope of the present study, but it is worth to quote a telling example, already invoked by Croskey: in 1492, Ivan III instructed his envoy to the Crimea that he should publicly address the previously sent Muscovian envoy (Kostjantin Zabolockij), whom he was about to meet at the khan's court, as a boyar. Croskey observed that the instruction would have been unnecessary if Zabolockij had been a boyar indeed.<sup>580</sup> In spite of the hosts' expectations,<sup>581</sup> Moscow sent to the Crimea nobles, but not boyars.<sup>582</sup> Like in the Polish-Lithuanian case, the predilection towards lower ranked envoys was paradoxically beneficial for the professionalization of the diplomatic corps as those chosen to go were usually experienced and often specialized in diplomatic missions to a given country. The professionalization of the Muscovian diplomacy was strengthened by the role of *d'jaks*, chancery clerks who participated in the missions and ranked second after the envoys.

If compared with the Lithuanian, Polish, and Muscovian envoys, sent to the khans, the Crimean envoys dispatched to the neighboring

<sup>579</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 142–143, 179–180, and 364–366.

<sup>580</sup> Croskey, "The Diplomatic Forms of Ivan III's Relationship with the Crimean Khan," p. 263; on the practice of temporary bestowing of the badge of boyars onto the Muscovian envoys sent to the Crimea, see also Xoroškevič, *Rus' i Krym*, p. 198.

<sup>581</sup> In 1680, Murad Giray invited Vasilij Šeremetev, the unlucky commander of the Russian army who had spent already 20 years in the Tatar captivity, to join the negotiations with the newly arrived Russian embassy, evidently aware that Šeremetev's boyarly status was higher than that of the envoys; nevertheless, Šeremetev was not empowered to conduct the negotiations and even refused to sit down in the presence of his sovereign's official representatives; see "Spisok s statejnago spiska [...] Vasil'ja Mixajlova syna Tjapkina, d'jaka Nikity Zotova," p. 599.

<sup>582</sup> In this aspect, the Russian rulers and aristocrats were unusually united: the former did not want to jeopardize their prestige by sending high-ranked envoys, who might have been deliberately humiliated by the khan or detained as hostages, while the latter were anything but enthusiastic about going in missions to the Crimea; in 1535, in a rare case when Moscow decided to send an aristocrate, Prince Aleksandr Strigin-Obolenskij to Qalga Islam Giray, who promised to overthrow Khan Sahib Giray and terminate the Tatar-Lithuanian alliance, Obolenskij plainly refused to go, giving as an excuse the fact that Islam's envoy, who was to arrive at Moscow, was of lower rank than he was; see Juzefovič, *Put' posla*, p. 35.

courts seemed to have enjoyed a relatively higher status. Several envoys, sent to the northern capitals in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, descended from the most prominent Crimean clan of the Shirins, to mention Devletek, the son of Eminek and the future Shirin *qaraçı* sent in 1475 to Moscow, Bashıbek, Devletek's son sent in 1515 to Cracow, Evliya, Bashıbek's brother sent in 1520 to Poland-Lithuania and detained as honorary hostage, Djan Giray, Evliya's nephew who replaced his uncle and was detained in Lithuania until 1526, and finally Ma'qul, Djan Giray's brother sent in great embassy to Sigismund in 1531.

Ma'qul's embassy coincided with the failed Shirin conspiracy against Khan Sa'adet Giray, headed by Bakhtıyar, the father of Ma'qul and Djan Giray, and Evliya, Bakhtıyar's brother and a former envoy. Staying at Sigismund's court, Ma'qul escaped the fate of his father, uncle and other relatives, massacred by the khan, but the latter notified Sigismund that the Shirin lost his diplomatic status. In 1532, the Crimean throne was ascended by Islam Giray, Sa'adet's long-term rival, who requested for Ma'qul's release and aimed to restore the Shirins' position. Unfortunately for the Shirins, the Porte did not acknowledge Islam Giray on the throne and installed Sahib Giray instead. The new khan did his best to diminish the influence of the powerful clan and in the following period the Shirins no longer performed embassies to Poland-Lithuania.

In 1512, when Mengli Giray agreed to send his grandson to Vilnius as an honorary hostage, the dynasty prestige required that the young prince be accompanied by trusted and eminent personages. Apart from two Italians in the khan's service (see below), this task was conferred to Devlet Bakhtı, the *qaraçı* of the Barın clan and the lieutenant (*qaymaqam*) of Qarasu Bazar. This was the only occurrence that an acting *qaraçı* performed an embassy to Poland-Lithuania. After Prince Djalaleddin's premature death, in 1513 Devlet Bakhtı returned to the Crimea along with Sigismund's instrument of peace.

The Shirins and Barıns along with the Arghıns and Qıpchaqs traditionally formed the four most prominent clans among the Crimean nobility. Yet, their position was challenged by the Nogay newcomers from the Volga known as the Manghits or Mansurs. In the 15th century, the Manghit leader Temir had been the *beglerbeg* (a post reminiscent of the grand vizier) in the Great Horde, while his daughter, Nur Sultan, had married Ibrahim, the khan of Kazan, and after the latter's death became the wife of Mengli Giray. Temir's son, Tevkel,



inherited his father's position in the Great Horde, but after its collapse entered the Crimean service and founded the powerful clan that became a new factor in the Crimean domestic politics. When Sahib Giray ascended the throne in 1532, Tevkel's sons, Baki and Devey, were his most powerful supporters against his rival and pretender, Islam Giray, who enjoyed the support of the Shirins. In consequence, the new khan consciously promoted the Manghits to the position once enjoyed by the Shirins. It is in the above context that we should regard the appointment of Tevkel's younger son, Devey, as the envoy to Vilnius in 1534. In 1537, the former envoy assisted his older brother Baki in the assassination of Islam Giray. Although at first it secured them Sahib Giray's gratitude, Baki's unruliness soon drew a disaster and in 1541 he was executed. Devey was more lucky and survived, to be promoted in 1563 to the post of *qaraçı* by the new khan, Devlet Giray. He ended his adventurous life in the Muscovian captivity somewhere after 1576. In the following period, the rising tensions between the khans and their Nogay subjects and—on the other hand—Kantemir's activity in Budjak, especially resented in Warsaw, made the appointment of a Manghit to an embassy to Poland rather unlikely.

Among other prominent clans, whose members acted as envoys to Poland-Lithuania, one should mention the Külüks, whom a Russian embassy report from 1681 listed among the five most prominent Crimean families along with the Shirins, Manghits, Arghins, and Sulesh-oghlu.<sup>583</sup> Unlike the great clans, whose leaders aspired to the posts of *qaraçıs*, the Külüks and their chief rivals, the Sulesh-oghlu, owed their rise to the service at the khan's court and formed an intermediate group between the Crimean aristocracy and the service beys. In the second half of the 16th century, the Külük leader, Dervish Bey, headed the "Polish-Lithuanian faction" at the khan's court (perhaps he should also be identified with the envoy to Poland in 1552). His son, Sefer Ghazi Bey, was sent in embassies to Sigismund III in 1604 and 1609. He then actively participated in the Polish-Crimean negotiations during Oleszko's fateful mission to Baghchararay in 1619. In 1624, he was again sent to Poland and died at a sea accident on his return.<sup>584</sup> The next leader of the Külük clan, Ibrahim Bey, headed the Crimean embassy to Cracow in 1633.

<sup>583</sup> Cf. Document 49, n. 7. It is curious that the report did not list such traditionally prominent clans as the Barıns, Qıpchaqs, and Sedjevüts. Mentioning the Sulesh-oghlu in a Russian report can be explained by the prominent role of this clan in mediating the relations between Baghchararay and Moscow.

<sup>584</sup> Cf. Document 41, notes 2 and 5, and n. 399 in Part I.

A second group of Crimean diplomats consisted of men who owed their position to their merits and loyalty to the khan rather than clan affiliations and were typically referred to as the members of the inner (*içki*) service, i.e., the khan's courtiers. Worth mentioning in this context is such personage as Tevkel Ulan, whose title (*ulan*) might have referred to his Genghisid origin, but who rather owed his position to Mengli Giray's trust and was sent in embassy to Lithuania in 1506 (interestingly, his two brothers then lived in Lithuania).<sup>585</sup> A century later, the leading "expert in the Polish-Lithuanian affairs" in Baghchasaray seemed to have been Djan Ahmed Chelebi, whose title (*chelebi*) referred to his belonging to the educated class.<sup>586</sup> He was sent in embassies to Poland-Lithuania in 1595 (directly from Țuțora), 1597, 1601, and 1602, and his expertise was needed not only abroad. During Piaseczyński's sojourn in the Crimea, in August 1601, the khan put Djan Ahmed Chelebi and a scribe named Hüseyn in charge of drafting the treaty, negotiated with the Polish envoy. According to Piaseczyński's report, they spent together two days working on the text in the envoy's residence in Süyrü Tash (*Sujurtasz*) near Baghchasaray, while the Tatars did not refuse to try the Polish vodka (*pod-pili gorzałką*). Apart from his numerous embassies to Sigismund III, Djan Ahmed Chelebi traveled with missions to Moscow. In 1602, he delivered Ghazi II Giray's *şartname* and witnessed the oath taken by Tsar Boris Godunov. His following mission in 1604 was less successful as it coincided with the beginning of the Time of Troubles.<sup>587</sup>

The position of Dedesh Agha, who indefatigably traveled between Baghchasaray and Warsaw in the 1650s and 1660s, was even stronger. He was not only a diplomat, but also a military commander. In 1663, he headed—along with two Giray princes—the Crimean auxiliary troops in John Casimir's campaign against Muscovy. When in 1666 Adil Giray—an "upstart" Choban Giray despised by the Crimean elite—ascended the throne, although suspicious towards his predecessor's advisers, he had yet to reckon with Dedesh's expertise. Hence, the diplomat was again sent to Warsaw with the task of prolonging the peace on behalf of his new lord. In 1680, when a Russian embassy

<sup>585</sup> Cf. Document 7, n. 2. On the term *ulan*, see n. 348 above.

<sup>586</sup> In the Crimean context, it commonly referred to bureaucrats who did not descend from the Tatar nobility, but nevertheless were granted fiefs (*timars*) by the khan; *chelebis* stood lower in hierarchy than aghas; cf. Matuz, *Krimitatarische Urkunden im Reichsarchiv zu Kopenhagen*, p. 7.

<sup>587</sup> See Pułaski, "Trzy poselstwa Piaseczyńskiego," p. 365; for Djan Ahmed Chelebi's biography, cf. Document 36, n. 2.

arrived at Baghchasaray, Dedesh was still prominent, listed among the closest advisers (*bližnie ljudi*) of Khan Murad Giray and ranked second after the Crimean vizier, Ahmed Agha.<sup>588</sup>

A special sub-category among the second group of Crimean diplomats consisted of the Italians in the khan's service. One of them, already mentioned several times, was Augustino de Garibaldis, a Genovese from Caffa who traveled repeatedly between Mengli Giray and Sigismund I and largely contributed to their reconciliation. In 1514, he composed in his native language—partly with his own hand—the Crimean instrument of peace issued on behalf of the khan. The years in the khan's service earned him the Tatar title of bey, but he did not sever his relations with the Genovese diaspora in the West and his brothers are known to have lived in Spain. The curriculum of the second Italian, Vincenzo de Guidulphis, was perhaps even more picturesque as he was the son of the Genovese ruler of Matrega and of a Circassian princess. In 1512, he was chosen along with the Barin *qaraçı* and yet another Italian, Giovanni Baptista de San Nicolo, to accompany the Giray prince to Vilnius.<sup>589</sup> To be sure, these were not the only Italians who traveled at that time as Crimean envoys to Poland-Lithuania. A century later, one of the most active Crimean diplomats was Gianantonio Spinola, also of mixed Genovese-Circassian origin, whose surname disclosed his descent from the once affluent merchant family in Caffa. In the years 1589–1622, he traveled seven times to Poland-Lithuania, and in addition to Sweden and Austria. Fully assimilated in the Tatar society, he used an alternative form of his first name—Djan Anton—and perhaps did not even know Italian, certainly not the written language.<sup>590</sup> One might wonder what criteria, if not the language fluency, predestined him for diplomatic service: religion?,<sup>591</sup> or perhaps simply his loyalty to the khan? The predilection of early modern rulers towards all kinds of “strangers,” who did not

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<sup>588</sup> “Spisok s statejnago spiska [...] Vasil’ja Mixajlova syna Tjapkina, d’jaka Nikity Zotova,” p. 589.

<sup>589</sup> On Vincenzo de Guidulphis and Augustino de Garibaldis, see also Document 16, notes 10 and 18.

<sup>590</sup> Cf. Document 45, n. 8.

<sup>591</sup> The Italians in the khan's service probably preserved their religion longer than their language; also many Circassians in the khan's service were Christians; Piaseczyński reported in 1602 that he was led for the audience with Ghazi II Giray by two Circassian Christians, Biytemir and Kantemir, while none of the khan's Muslim courtiers was in his escort, “as this was the custom” (*przyszli po mnie od cara dwaj Petyhorcy: Bij Timir a Kan Timir, chrześcijanie, abym szedł do cara [...]; a z dworzan*

descent from local nobilities and were therefore more dependent and more loyal, was certainly not only the Crimean speciality.

*The size, logistics, and the routes traveled by the embassies*

As the Lithuanian and Polish envoys to the Crimea usually did not speak the Tatar language,<sup>592</sup> the embassies were joined by interpreters. The Lithuanian diplomacy relied in this aspect on the Tatars, who had settled in the Grand Duchy in the 14th century and later. The exemplary role of Ibrahim Tymirčyn, who assisted the great embassy of Jurij Zenovevyč and Jakub Ivašencovyč in 1507, traveled with individual missions to the Great Horde and the Crimea, and founded the entire clan of Tatar interpreters, has already been mentioned.<sup>593</sup> After 1569, when the relations with the Crimea became the speciality of the Polish chancery, the monopoly of Lithuanian Tatars was challenged by the Armenians whose ancestors had settled in Red Ruthenia (i.e., Galicia) and Podolia in the middle ages and whose everyday language was Kipchak Turkic, not much different from Tatar.<sup>594</sup> At times, the interpreters also served as couriers or even performed individual missions. For instance, in 1623, when the Polish court was scandalized by the long detainment of the previous envoy, it consciously lowered the level of diplomatic exchange and confided the following mission to a Tatar interpreter, Suliman Rubaj.<sup>595</sup> During the years 1658–1659, when the Polish-Tatar relations were especially intensive in result of the military alliance, an Armenian interpreter Zachariasz Piotrowicz traveled as many as eight times between the two sides.<sup>596</sup> The Crown hetmans, who were authorized to maintain diplomatic communication with the Crimea, also sent in missions trusted and experienced officers, who spoke a mixture of Ruthenian, Tatar and Polish that served as a

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*jego muzułmanów, jako był obyczaj, żaden mnie nie prowadził*); see Pułaski, "Trzy poselstwa Piaseczyńskiego," p. 757.

<sup>592</sup> Among the rare exceptions one may name Stefan Narajowski, sent to the khan in 1634, or Krzysztof Dzierżek, sent in 1639; the latter belonged to the family whose several members served as Ottoman Turkish translators at the Polish chancery.

<sup>593</sup> Cf. n. 61 above.

<sup>594</sup> Actually, it had been acquired by the members of the Armenian diaspora in the Crimea from their Tatar neighbors.

<sup>595</sup> Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 245 and 253.

<sup>596</sup> Wójcik, "Some problems of Polish-Tatar relations in the seventeenth century," p. 95.

vernacular on the steppe frontier.<sup>597</sup> Yet, solemn documents, published in this volume, were not entrusted to interpreters or couriers, but to regular envoys.

Unlike the great embassies sent to the major European courts, the embassies sent to the Crimea rarely exceeded a dozen members, although they were often accompanied by merchants, who expected greater travel security and hoped for tax exemptions. On the way home, the embassy could be joined by former captives and slaves, redeemed by their relatives or released by the khan in a gesture of goodwill. Logistical problems arose when a royal embassy transported the annual royal gifts (or tribute). For instance, in July 1563 the Muscovian envoys in the Crimea witnessed the arrival of the “Lithuanian treasure” (*litovskoj kazny*), loaded on thirty-six carts.<sup>598</sup>

The security of travel was a major problem, since the route led through the steppe, frequented by Ukrainian Cossacks as well as Nogay and Tatar vagabonds, whose obedience towards any ruler was at best questionable. Until the mid-sixteenth century, envoys and merchants still used the medieval *via Tartarica* that had once connected Central Europe with the Italian Black Sea colonies of Caffa and Tana. Mengli Giray’s instrument from 1507 provided that the fort of Islamkerman, recently built on his order on the left shore of the Dnieper at the river crossing named Tavan’ (< Tat. *Toğan keçidi*), should be a meeting place, where Lithuanian envoys would come on boats and deliver the yearly payments, which were formally assigned for the fort’s maintenance. In return, the envoys would collect previously kidnapped Lithuanian captives as well as Tatar culprits, found guilty of raiding Lithuania, who were to be arrested by the khan and delivered in order to be punished. If such culprits escaped the khan’s justice, their wives and children would be delivered in their stead as hostages.<sup>599</sup> A Lithuanian report from 1542 confirmed that the ancient border ran through Tavan’ and ferry incomes from the Dnieper crossing had been traditionally shared between the Lithuanian and Crimean rulers.<sup>600</sup>

Yet, in 1560 a new clause was entered in the instrument of Devlet Giray, providing that: “when an envoy of our brother is sent from Kiev

<sup>597</sup> Also Jan Sobieski, the hetman and future king, is believed to have known some Turkish.

<sup>598</sup> See Filjuškin, “Proekty russko-krymskogo voennogo sojuza,” p. 314.

<sup>599</sup> See Document 9.

<sup>600</sup> See n. 266 in Part I.

to us, he is not to carry the gifts from [your] treasury [further] than [...] Perekop; [...] and we should order to collect from him the treasures and gifts.”<sup>601</sup> The vaguely formulated novelty meant that from then on the royal side was responsible for the security of envoys and gifts not only within the Lithuanian borders, but also on the route between Tavan’ and Perekop (i.e., Ferahkerman) that led through the Khanate’s territory. The change was evidently related to the demolishment of Islamkerman by Dmytro Vyšnevec’kyj in 1556 and the rising activity of the Dnieper Cossacks, at least nominally the royal subjects, which made the travel through the steppe even more dangerous than before.

While the khan tried to push the responsibility onto the royal side, the latter was no more willing to take the burden. In 1571, a royal envoy tried, in vain, to persuade the khan that Tatar agents should collect the gifts in Kiev or Braclav and transport them further through the steppe on their own risk.<sup>602</sup> The mention of Braclav suggests that already at that time the route leading along the Boh river to Očakiv (i.e., Djankerman), which ran more to the west than the ancient route through Kiev, was gaining in popularity. This was probably the route traveled by Marcin Broniowski, sent five times to the Crimea between 1578 and 1592.<sup>603</sup> Thanks to a shortcut towards the Black Sea, the route bypassed the main area of Cossack activity on the lower Dnieper and the embassy could find shelter in Očakiv, garrisoned by the Ottoman troops. Nevertheless, Broniowski later admitted that even on the Black Sea shore, travelers had been afraid not only to camp overnight, but even feed their horses.<sup>604</sup>

Further envoys traveled the route that was even more to the west and ran through Moldavia. Kossakowski’s travel to Suceava was conditioned by the fact that the khan was then in Hungary, participating in the Ottoman-Habsburg war. Consequently, the instruments exchanged between the king and the khan in 1598–1599 provided that the royal gifts should be delivered in Akkerman, the Ottoman port at the mouth of the Dniester through which the Tatars passed each year

<sup>601</sup> See Document 33.

<sup>602</sup> See n. 303 in Part I.

<sup>603</sup> In his description of the Crimea, Broniowski did not provide his own itinerary; nevertheless, he described the route from Braclav to Očakiv and mentioned that the travel took six to seven days; see *Martini Broniovii [...] Tartariae descriptio*, pp. 1–2.

<sup>604</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 3.

while heading for Hungary.<sup>605</sup> Yet, the royal side found the new route more convenient even when its embassy was dispatched to the Crimea. Ławryn Piaseczyński, who traveled to Baghchasaray in the years 1601–1602, always took the route leading through Jassy to Akkerman and then crossed the sea on rented Ottoman galleys or commercial ships to Kōzlev (Tur. Gözleve), the only large port in the Crimean Khanate. Even in distant Akkerman, the fear of the Cossacks was so great that the Ottoman garrison was constantly on alert and Piaseczyński's galley was once unpacked before departure on the mere gossip of the Cossacks' approaching.<sup>606</sup> After Piaseczyński had departed to the Crimea, the royal gifts began to be slowly amassed in Kamieniec with the intention to release them after the embassy's successful completion. In the royal instrument, sent through Piaseczyński in 1601, a void place was left, in which the place of the gifts' delivery was to be entered, while the envoy was instructed to persuade the khan that Kamieniec was the optimal choice.<sup>607</sup> In desire to evade the additional costs of transport and fearing robbery in Moldavia and Budjak, the Polish side preferred to be relieved from the responsibility already on its own territory.

Ghazi II Giray was unsatisfied with both the delay of the gifts' delivery and the route through which they were transported. His instrument given to Piaseczyński provided that: "as your envoys used to bring us gifts taking the customary old route across the Dnieper and through the field [i.e., steppe],<sup>608</sup> also now [the gifts] should be sent to us in the same manner as they used to in the times of our ancestors." Nonetheless, the khan agreed that the gifts already amassed in Kamieniec could be transported through Moldavia in order to be delivered as soon as possible.<sup>609</sup> It took another seventeen months until the royal gifts were finally brought from Kamieniec to Jassy and entrusted to the khan's representative in the Moldavian capital, in January 1603.

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<sup>605</sup> See Documents 36–37.

<sup>606</sup> Pułaski, "Trzy poselstwa Piaseczyńskiego," pp. 358–359, 472, 648–655, 762. Kōzlev's rapid development under Ghazi II Giray's reign is further confirmed by the establishment of the khan's mint; see Hajvoronskyj, *Poveliteli dvux materikov*, vol. 1, p. 324.

<sup>607</sup> Cf. the empty places deliberately left in Document 39; for the royal instruction to the envoy, see Pułaski, "Trzy poselstwa Piaseczyńskiego," p. 245.

<sup>608</sup> The Polish term *pole* ("field") or *dzikie pola* ("wild fields") referred to the barely inhabited steppe area extending to the north from the Black Sea.

<sup>609</sup> See Document 40.

The demand to transport the royal gifts along the ancient steppe route was reiterated in Ghazi II Giray's successive instrument from 1604, although the request from 1560 that the gifts should be transported as far as Perekop was no longer repeated. The royal envoys were only expected to deliver the gifts "to the hither side of the Dnieper."<sup>610</sup>

For the following two decades the two sides still could not agree on the place where the transfer of gifts should occur. The ready formula of the khan's instrument, prepared by the royal chancery in 1619, contained a specific provision that the khan should send each year his envoys to Kamieniec, where they were to collect the royal gifts and transport them to Akkerman and further to the Crimea on Tatar horses and carts. The embassy's size was not to exceed twelve horsemen and the *starosta* of Kamieniec was to provide for their accommodation, food, and fodder, but their stay in the Polish fortress was not to exceed two weeks, and if they wished to remain any longer, they would have to provide for themselves.<sup>611</sup> Yet, the khan refused to issue the proposed instrument and the Tatars soon joined the Ottomans in their war against Poland-Lithuania.

During the peace negotiations at Hotin in 1621, a compromise was at last reached. It was agreed that the transfer of the gifts for the khan should occur in the Moldavian capital of Jassy. The Polish instrument of the Treaty of Hotin provided that:

Henceforth, the Commonwealth will provide the usual yearly pay [Pol. *żółd*] for the Tatar khan, and send it to Jassy, to the Moldavian hospodar of the time. After notification from the Moldavian hospodar, the khan should send his agents to Jassy in order to collect [the pay].<sup>612</sup>

Yet, when in 1622 Krzysztof Krauzowski was sent to the Crimea in order to formally confirm the peace, he was again provided with a ready formula of the khan's requested instrument, which repeated the stipulation of the earlier formula from 1619 that the transfer should

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<sup>610</sup> "As from the ancient times Their Royal Majesties, the ancestors of our brother, His Royal Majesty, were obliged to send us gifts through their envoys and deliver them to the hither side of the Dnieper, and they have done so accordingly until the present time, also hereafter His Royal Majesty should send us gifts through his envoy, each year, in the same manner;" see Document 41.

<sup>611</sup> See Document 46.

<sup>612</sup> Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 378 and 380; this clause is missing in the Turkish instrument of the treaty, but it is entered in the formal Ottoman *'ahdname*, issued by Sultan Mustafa in 1623; see *ibidem*, pp. 391 and 398.



take place in Kamieniec!<sup>613</sup> No wonder that also the other side returned to its earlier stand. The instrument of Mehmed III Giray, issued in 1624, contained an idealized picture of the past peace and amity, when the kings Sigismund I and Sigismund Augustus “used to send customary treasures or gifts, partly in cash, partly in beautiful textiles [...], as far as to the Crimea, to our prosperous seat in Baghchasaray, having loaded them on their own carts. And those traveling with the gifts, the great envoy, merchants, and other people in his retinue, were not harmed in any way nor were their property or goods damaged.” The khan reminded the addressee, Sigismund III, that earlier, he had also sent gifts to Ghazi II Giray, having loaded them on the royal carts and brought as far as Djankerman [i.e., Očakiv], from where the message of their arrival had been sent across the Dnieper. The document did not openly state that the old route should be reinvigorated, but this was implied by its referring to the idealized past and its expressed hope that the king should send the customary gifts like his ancestors had done.<sup>614</sup>

While Djanibek Giray’s instruments from 1632 and 1634 referred to the gifts but contained no reference to the place of their delivery, Inayet Giray’s instrument from 1635 repeated the clause from 1624 that invoked the old good times of Sigismund I and Sigismund Augustus, when the royal gifts loaded on royal carts had reached Baghchasaray, and the more recent times of Sigismund III and Ghazi II Giray, when the royal carts loaded with gifts had reached as far as Djankerman. By recalling that “from this side men were sent to fetch all these [goods from Djankerman] to Baghchasaray,” Inayet tacitly admitted that he would accept the latter option. Yet, he still refused to accept the route through Moldavia and Budjak, which is hardly surprising if we have in mind his strained relations with the Nogays, who inhabited Budjak and could easily lay their hands on the gifts.

The request that the royal gifts should be transported on Polish carts as far as Djankerman was repeated in the first instrument of Bahadır Giray, issued in 1637. Yet, in the following years the issue was again covered with silence. Curiously, the Polish instrument of the Treaty of Zborów (1649) stipulates that the gifts should be delivered in Kamieniec, but this clause is absent from the Tatar version. Finally, during

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<sup>613</sup> See Document 47.

<sup>614</sup> See Document 48.

the negotiations that led to the military alliance of 1654, both sides agreed that the gifts would be transferred in Kamieniec. The provision was formally entered both in the royal instrument and in Mehmed IV Giray's *'ahdname* brought to Warsaw by Mariusz Jaskólski.<sup>615</sup> The envoy himself traveled from Baghchasaray to Warsaw overland, through Perekop, Očakiv, and Jassy, which was probably the standard route in this period, when the Polish Ukraine had to be bypassed as it was controlled by the insurgent Cossacks.<sup>616</sup>

It seems that by that time the transport of gifts had been finally separated from purely diplomatic missions, which enabled the envoys to travel faster. An envoy or courier could cover the distance between Baghchasaray and Warsaw in three weeks,<sup>617</sup> though most embassies, and especially solemn embassies, traveled much longer. For instance, the great embassy of Bahadır Giray, dispatched probably in late August 1640, arrived at Warsaw on 29 November.<sup>618</sup> In 1601, Piaseczyński departed from Warsaw on 15 April and arrived at Baghchasaray on 14 June, although one must keep in mind that he spent almost two weeks in Lublin and Zamość waiting for additional instructions from Chancellor Zamoyski. On the return way, he departed from Közlev on 4 October and arrived at Vilnius on 29 November. An experienced Tatar envoy, Dedesh Agha, who traveled numerous times between the khan and the king in the mid-17th century, needed similar time to cover this distance. In 1666, he left Baghchasaray in late June and arrived at Warsaw in early August.<sup>619</sup>

Considering that the distance from Baghchasaray to Warsaw, Vilnius, and Moscow was comparable, the time of travel was similar as well. For instance, in 1564 a Russian courier accompanied by his Tatar colleague traveled from Baghchasaray to Moscow six weeks.<sup>620</sup> In the late 15th and early 16th centuries, an average time needed by Mus-

<sup>615</sup> See Documents 59, 60, 61, and 64.

<sup>616</sup> Augustiewicz, "Dwa poselstwa Mariusza Stanisława Jaskólskiego na Krym w 1654 roku," p. 60.

<sup>617</sup> Cf. Baranowski, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie w latach 1632–1648*, p. 42; Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, p. 147.

<sup>618</sup> Baranowski, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie w latach 1632–1648*, p. 117.

<sup>619</sup> For Piaseczyński, see Pułaski, "Trzy poselstwa Piaseczyńskiego," pp. 248–250 and 472–478; for Dedesh Agha, cf. n. 496 in Part I.

<sup>620</sup> They departed from Baghchasaray on 6 January and arrived at Moscow on 17 February; see Vinogradov, *Russko-krymskie otnošenija*, vol. 2, pp. 31–32.

covian envoys to reach the khan's court was two months.<sup>621</sup> Also the Russian envoys who negotiated the Treaty of Baghchasaray (1681) traveled two months from Moscow to the Crimea. Their return trip lasted much longer due to the quarantine imposed by the Russian authorities on the news of a plague in the Crimea. Nevertheless, the report from their embassy reached Moscow within less than three months.<sup>622</sup>

As concerns the Crimean embassies, they were usually much larger than the ones sent by the kings and tsars. Moreover, not only the khans, but also the qalgas, nureddins, and other Crimean dignitaries used to send separate embassies, or at least their envoys joined the embassies sent by the khans.

The khans' solemn instruments of peace were usually entrusted to great envoys, referred to in Turkish as *uluğ elçi* or *uluğ elçi başı*.<sup>623</sup> In 1640, when the qalga and nureddin issued their own *'ahdnames* that were brought to Poland by separate envoys, these envoys were also referred to as "great envoys." In other cases, the qalga and nureddin would rather refer to their envoys in more modest terms, typically as "couriers" (*çapqun* or *çapqun elçimiz*).<sup>624</sup>

The term *çapqun* also referred to the khan's emissaries, who preceded the great envoys and announced their arrival, or who individually performed less prestigious missions. An unusual event occurred in 1635, when Inayet Giray sent to Poland his *'ahdname* through Ghazi

<sup>621</sup> Syroec'kovskij, "Puti i uslovija snošenij Moskvy s Krymom na rubeže XVI veka," p. 207.

<sup>622</sup> The envoys departed from Moscow on 18 August and arrived at their quarters assigned on the Alma river (near Baghchasaray) on 25 October 1680; their return trip began on 9 March 1681, but they were detained in Borisov Gorodok, where their detailed embassy report was composed in June; nevertheless, their first summary report reached Moscow already in May (all dates according to the Old Style); see "Spisok s statejnago spiska [...] Vasil'ja Mixajlova syna Tjapkina, d'jaka Nikity Zotova," pp. 569–578 and 644–658.

<sup>623</sup> The latter term appears in Djanibek Giray's instruments from 1632 and 1634; according to Inalcık, these terms were used alternatively; cf. *idem*, "Power Relationships between Russia, the Crimea, and the Ottoman Empire as Reflected in Titulature," pp. 410–411.

<sup>624</sup> Cf. Document 51, n. 1; Inalcık proposes to translate the term *çapqun* as "envoy," reserving the English term "courier" for *ulaqs*; yet, in consequence there remains no English equivalent for *elçi* (Inalcık proposes the term "diplomatic agent" but it sounds awkward); cf. *ibidem*, pp. 410–411. In his book written in German, Matuz renders the term *çapqun* as *fliegender [Gesandter]*, but again its English equivalent "flying [envoy]" sounds awkward; cf. *idem*, *Krimitatarische Urkunden im Reichsarchiv zu Kopenhagen*, pp. 53–55. In Polish contemporary translations (and probably in Ruthenian and Russian as well; cf. Document 23, n. 10), the term *çapqun* was commonly rendered as *goniec*, i.e., "courier," and it is thus translated in the present volume.

Agha, referred to as “great courier” (Pol. *wielki goniec*, equivalent to Tur. *uluğ çapqun*). The document announced the imminent arrival of the khan’s great envoy, Rüstem Agha, who was empowered to discuss any remaining matters. One might ask why the khan did not wait with entrusting his solemn instrument to the great envoy? Perhaps the decision to send it through a courier was caused by an unexpected delay of Rüstem Agha’s departure? Unfortunately, we do not know whether Rüstem Agha was also provided with an instrument of peace because the documents from his embassy are not preserved.

The great envoy, sent by the khan, was accompanied by the *tet* and the *bahşı*. The term *tet* was already known in the times of the Golden Horde and initially referred to an extraordinary envoy. In the 16th and 17th century, it referred to the khan’s courtier or a young member of Tatar nobility, who was second in rank among the embassy members. The term *bahşı*, also of ancient origin, referred to a secretary and in the 16th century was gradually replaced by its Arabic equivalent: *katib*. Nevertheless, both terms remained in use at least until the 1630s and can still be found in the instruments of Djanibek Giray.<sup>625</sup>

In the 17th century, the Crimean embassies sent to the Habsburg imperial court numbered from seven to twenty-three horsemen, and as a rule the number of horses exceeded the number of riders almost twice.<sup>626</sup> In analogy, the Crimean embassy to Denmark in 1682 numbered thirteen men and twenty-four horses.<sup>627</sup> The Crimean embassies to Lithuania and Poland, especially in the earlier period, had been much more numerous. In early modern Eastern Europe, the living expenses of foreign envoys were customarily covered by the hosting party. Moreover, Tatar envoys expected to receive royal gifts for themselves and their patrons. No wonder that the Polish-Lithuanian rulers tried to limit the number and size of the Tatar embassies. In the royal instrument from 1535, Sigismund promised to send each year the customary gift to the khan but simultaneously added a new clause providing that “our brother, Sahib Giray Khan, should not send us his great envoys, because due to the long road a great detriment is caused to our treasury by providing his envoys with allowance and horses. Only when he needs to notify us about some matter or news, he should

<sup>625</sup> On the terms *tet* and *bahşı*, cf. Document 20, n. 27, and Document 35, n. 21.

<sup>626</sup> Ivanics, “Posol’sva krymskix tatar pri Venskom dvore v 1598–1682 gg.,” p. 233.

<sup>627</sup> Matuz, *Krimtatarische Urkunden im Reichsarchiv zu Kopenhagen*, p. 50.

send us a courier in the company of one, or at most two men [Ruth. *honca samohodruha, a nabolšyj samotretja*]. And if he sends us his great envoy, then we are not obliged to give him any allowance from our proper funds, but solely deduce it from the gift that we are to give to the khan.” This clause was also entered in the ready formula of the khan’s instrument, prepared by the Lithuanian chancery.<sup>628</sup>

Sigismund’s request was ignored as far as it concerned the khan’s proper envoys, but at least Sahib Giray promised to limit the number of Crimean notables entitled to send their own envoys to Vilnius and Cracow; his instrument from 1539 specifically provided that apart from the khan, only his wives, daughters, and daughters-in-law, the *qalga* and other Giray princes, the four *qaraçıs*, and two prominent *mirzas* from the retinue of each *qaraçı* (i.e., eight *mirzas* altogether) could send individual envoys to the king (and—as it was tacitly assumed—count on royal presents).<sup>629</sup>

The issue was again raised in 1541. During the negotiations in Cracow, the Tatar envoy engaged that his lord would limit the number of couriers sent to the king, and the retinue of each Tatar courier should not exceed two men. The royal side no longer tried to prevent the khan from sending great envoys, but it requested that the retinue of each great envoy should not exceed twenty-five men. The allowance of embassy members would be left at the king’s discretion, and if their number exceeded the one agreed upon, the allowance would be deduced from the annual gift to be sent to the khan.<sup>630</sup>

Sahib Giray was visibly irritated by these requests, especially as the royal side still did not recognize the right of his family members and the highest Tatar dignitaries to send separate envoys. In his following instrument from 1542, the khan reiterated the right of his sons and other Giray princes to send embassies to the king. Further on, he rhetorically asked: “as regards the *qaraçıs*, they have each 20,000 or

<sup>628</sup> See Documents 26–27. To shed some light on how much of a burden it was for the inhabitants of royal domains to host Tatar envoys, it is worth quoting two royal orders regarding the inhabitants of Čerkasy and Kaniv: in 1539, the townsmen were obliged to provide food and shelter while the *starosta* was ordered to supply the envoys with honey, and in 1552 the townsmen were ordered to provide transport service and accomodation, and supply Tatar envoys, “whenever they come,” with hay, bread, meat, and honey from the castle; see Čerkas, *Ukrajina v polityčnyx vidnosynax*, p. 50.

<sup>629</sup> See Document 28.

<sup>630</sup> See Document 29, articles 10–11.

30,000 servants and they used to send envoys and couriers; should we now reduce their number [i.e., the number of their envoys]? They used to send envoys in the times of our ancestors and fathers, we cannot reduce their number. As you have the Lithuanian and Polish lords at your side, so they are their peers at our side.” In consolation, he assured the king that there was no need to receive and feed envoys sent by other Tatar individuals who were not authorized by the khan to send embassies: “you should send them back with empty hands so that they should not come again.”<sup>631</sup>

The instrument of the new khan, Devlet Giray, issued in 1552, reiterated that the right to send embassies to the king was restricted to the khan, his wives, the qalga and other Giray princes, three *qaraçıs* and two *mirzas*, but nobody else.<sup>632</sup> Devlet Giray’s following instrument, issued in 1560, touched upon another issue that had caused controversies in the earlier correspondence between the two courts. As the embassies were joined by numerous merchants, who hoped for tax exemptions usually granted to envoys, the treasuries of both rulers suffered substantial losses. Therefore, the khan declared that his trading subjects, be they Muslims, Latin Christians, Armenians, or Jews,<sup>633</sup> should not join embassies and couriers, and if they did so, they should pay the ordinary tolls.

The effort to limit the number and size of Tatar embassies was resumed by the royal side in the years 1619 and 1622, when the proposed formulas of the khan’s instruments contained a clause limiting these embassies to twelve horsemen, to be sent each year to Kamieniec (but not further) in order to collect the gifts. In addition, the khan and the qalga would be entitled to send couriers to the royal court under the provision that their retinues would not exceed five horsemen.<sup>634</sup> As we know, the proposals were rejected and the issue did not reappear in the following agreements. Nevertheless, the seventeenth-century Crimean embassies to the royal court seem to have contained less participants than the earlier ones. In the years when the relations

<sup>631</sup> See Document 31.

<sup>632</sup> See Document 32.

<sup>633</sup> Referred to as “the Turks, Franks, Armenians, or Jews” (*Turczı, Frasy, Ormyanie, Żydowye*); see Document 33; curiously, Orthodox Christians are not listed although Greek merchants played a large role in the Khanate’s economy.

<sup>634</sup> See Documents 46–47; these couriers are referred to in the Polish text as *posłańcy*, and probably should be identified with the Tatar *çapquns*, whereas the envoys are referred to as *posłowie* and should be identified with the Tatar *elçıs*.

were strained, the Tatars knew that they could not count on the royal largesse, whereas in the years of alliance the gifts' transfer took place in Kamieniec, and additional small presents were brought to Bagh-chasaray by the Polish envoys.<sup>635</sup>

As the Muscovian court faced similar problems in regard to Tatar embassies, it also tried to find similar solutions. The Treaty of Bagh-chasaray (1681) provided that only the khan, the qalga, and the nureddin were entitled to send embassies to Moscow, ranked either as envoys (*elçi*), no more than five persons whose escort should not exceed twenty men, or as couriers (*çapqun*; rendered in Russian as *gonec*), no more than three persons (apparently representing the khan, the qalga, and the nureddin) whose escort should not exceed twelve men.<sup>636</sup>

*The standard peacemaking procedure and the diplomatic ceremonial*

While studying the Crimean documents and diplomatic ceremonial, one often encounters forms that seem anachronous, redundant, or meaningless, like corroborating a document with the seal of the former khan who was long dead (1514), reissuing a document of the khan's predecessor without even changing its heading (1532), repeated fictitious granting of lands which in fact belonged neither to the sender nor to the addressee (until 1560), and, most typically, invoking the ancient friendship that had supposedly reigned in the times of the two rulers' predecessors. Yet, we must keep in mind that the term "ancient" had usually positive connotations in early modern societies, so invoking "ancient" documents and obeying "ancient" customs was both expected and valued, notwithstanding the fact that the term "ancient" sometimes veiled new political contents.<sup>637</sup> Even today,

<sup>635</sup> To give just one example: in 1654 Mariusz Jaskólski brought numerous presents to various Crimean dignitaries, including the wife of the powerful Crimean vizier, Sefer Ghazi Agha. The Polish envoy recorded in his diary that the presents had been delivered in secret so that the vizier's wife should not be the subject of jealousy of the khan's wives (*aby invidiey u chańskich żon nie miała*); see AGAD, Libri Legationum, no. 33, fol. 43a.

<sup>636</sup> *Materiały dla historii Krymskiego xanstwa*, pp. 652–653; for the Russian translation, see *Pamjatniki diplomaticeskix snošenij*... Edited by F. Laškov, p. 177.

<sup>637</sup> Cf. the illuminating remarks by Mixail Krom on the Russian/Ruthenian term *starina/staryna* ("antiquity"), which to the contemporaries embodied the idealized past law, order, and good life of their ancestors; knowing the expectations of their

protocol and ceremonial, rooted in a distant and “anachronous” past, still matter in diplomacy.<sup>638</sup>

Although the focus is on the procedures and ceremonial reigning in the diplomatic exchange between the Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania, numerous analogies from the Crimean-Muscovian relations, provided by the immensely rich archival material left by the Muscovian bureaucracy, allow one to draw parallels and supplement knowledge by valuable details. The diplomatic ceremonial at the khan’s court is described in many reports left by the Muscovian envoys sent to the Crimea, while the proceedings held in Moscow between the Tatar and Russian negotiators have been recorded by the Muscovian chancery clerks.

From the official Crimean point of view, it was the infidel foreign ruler who was to initiate the diplomatic exchange and petition for the khan’s instrument (especially a *yarliq*), offering in return the timely payment of tribute. Nevertheless, pragmatic considerations often caused that it was the khan who initiated the correspondence, for instance by notifying of his accession or by asking about the foreign ruler’s health and reminding about the ancient friendship. In the times of Ivan IV, the Muscovian diplomacy openly tried to reverse the procedure and demanded that the first move should be made by the khan, who would send his great embassy and implore for peace while the tsar would generously grant his request, but in 1577, facing a new campaign against Poland-Lithuania, Moscow had to give up due to the exigency to secure its southern border.<sup>639</sup> In fact, with frequent envoys and couriers traveling to and fro between the courts concerned, it was quite easy to claim that the peace negotiations had been initiated by the other side.<sup>640</sup>

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subjects, the Lithuanian and Muscovian rulers often proclaimed that they would follow the ancient custom and would not introduce any novelties; *idem*, *Mež Rus’ju i Litvoj*, pp. 38–39 and 169.

<sup>638</sup> Cf. the remarks of Roosen in *idem*, “Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial: A Systems Approach,” p. 456.

<sup>639</sup> Cf. Filjuškin, “Proekty russko-krymskogo voennogo sojuza,” p. 325.

<sup>640</sup> To provide an exotic analogy, in 1606 the Japanese lord of Tsushima, whose commercial interests suffered due to the strained Japanese-Korean relations, sent to Seoul a letter purportedly drawn by the shogun because he knew that neither the shogun nor the Korean court would initiate the diplomatic exchange, as such move would imply admitting the other’s superiority; the forgery enabled the Korean king to send a “response embassy” (thus officially termed) in the following year and the diplomatic



A description of a standard peacemaking procedure is contained in a letter from 1532, sent by Sigismund I to Sa'adet Giray, in which the king proposed the khan to enter a new treaty and confirm it with the exchange of solemn oaths and instruments: "if you take an oath to [keep friendship with] us, along with your beys and *ulans*, in the presence of our envoy, and if you send us your letter of agreement through our aforementioned envoy, and you [also] send us your great envoy, in whose presence we can, too, take an oath to you, our brother, that we should be your good brother and friend, in confirmation of that we will send you our letter of agreement through your aforementioned envoy."<sup>641</sup>

The above description did not mention the fact that also the envoys were expected to take oaths on behalf of their lords during their solemn audiences at foreign courts. Muscovian envoys to the Crimea were specifically instructed that they should take their oath only if the khan was present in person.<sup>642</sup>

The procedure could be even further complicated if an instrument, issued by one ruler and brought by his envoy to a foreign court, was rejected by the addressee. For instance, in the years 1535, 1585, and 1601 the instruments issued by the khans were rejected by the royal side and sent back for corrections.<sup>643</sup> In order to evade such events and the resulting delays in peacemaking procedures, the royal chancery tried to make sure in advance that the khan's instrument will assume the desired form; therefore, Lithuanian and Polish envoys were sometimes provided with ready formulas of the instruments requested from the khans; yet, such measures were rarely effective as the Crimean side was unwilling to passively accept the contents and wording of the proposed versions.

Another way to hasten the negotiations and evade the risk of their disruption, practiced by the royal chancery, was providing the envoys

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relations were formally reestablished; see Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan. Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu*, pp. 31–32.

<sup>641</sup> [...] ty by [...] przed tym naszym posłom prysjahu nam učinyl [s] knjazy y ulany svoymy [...], y dokončan'e svoe na to nam čerez toho našoho posla k nam pryslal, a svoeho posla velykoho k nam poslal, przed kotorym posłom tvoym my także tobe, bratu našomu, prysjahu učinyl [by], yž maem tobe dobrym bratem y pryjatelem byty, y dokončan'e našo čerez toho ž tvoeho posla na to k tobe pošlem; see *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 15*, p. 184.

<sup>642</sup> See Vinogradov, *Russko-krymskie otnošenija*, vol. 2, p. 213.

<sup>643</sup> See notes 233, 321, and 347 in Part I.

with two alternative versions of the royal instrument of peace, both corroborated with authentic seals; the first version was more favorable for the royal side while the second one contained more concessions. The envoys, furnished with both versions, were authorized to present the second one only in the utmost necessity. Of course, the envoy was strictly ordered not to reveal that he had two royal instruments, and the instrument that was not given was to be instantly destroyed. For instance, in 1598, Nikodem Kossakowski was given one royal instrument that did not mention the Cossack issue, and another one, equally corroborated with the royal seal, in which Sigismund III unwillingly engaged that he would restrain the Cossacks from raiding the Crimean lands.<sup>644</sup>

From a letter of Sahib Giray addressed to Sigismund I in 1534, we learn that the practice of issuing multiple versions of one instrument was also known in the Crimea, although its rationale was somewhat different. The khan openly admitted that he had provided his envoy with two instruments of peace, suggesting that the king should choose the document of his liking, and send the other one back to the Crimea.<sup>645</sup> The striking frankness of the above letter can be tentatively explained by the khan's priorities: what mattered to him was the timely delivery of the royal gifts and—with this priority in mind—Sahib Giray was ready to adjust the form of his document in accordance with the royal desire, certainly within certain limits.

Perhaps the most extended procedure in the history of the Crimean-Lithuanian-Polish relations can be observed in the years 1513–1522. In September 1513, after the unexpected death of Prince Džalaleddin, the Crimean honorary hostage who had been dispatched to Vilnius in 1512, Sigismund reassured Mengli Giray of his friendship by issuing two instruments, one in Ruthenian on behalf of Lithuania and another in Latin on behalf of Poland, and by confirming their contents with his oath taken in the presence of the Crimean envoys. Having received the royal instruments, Mengli Giray issued a “donation *yarlıq* cum *şartname*” and confirmed his engagements with an oath, taken in the presence of four royal envoys then present at his court: Stanisław

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<sup>644</sup> See Skorupa, “Poselstwo na Krym Nikodema Kossakowskiego,” p. 33. In 1533, the royal envoy dispatched to Istanbul was also secretly provided with two alternative versions of the royal instrument; cf. Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, p. 71.

<sup>645</sup> Cf. n. 230 in Part I.

Skinder, Hryhoryj Hromyka, Jacek Ratomski, and Myxajlo Svynjuska. The khan's instrument along with his oath, whose text was recorded separately, were brought to Vilnius in February 1514 by two Crimean envoys: Keldish and Augustino de Garibaldis, who were joined by two returning royal envoys: Ratomski and Svynjuska. In the spring of 1514, Sigismund promptly sent back the Crimean envoys in the company of Svynjuska, asking for urgent Tatar military assistance against Muscovy. Instead, Mengli issued a new "donation *yarlıq* cum *şartname*," closer in wording and content to the royal instrument from September 1513, apparently due to the editorial assistance of Skinder and Hromyka who were still present at the khan's court. The document was sent through new Crimean envoys, Abdullah Ulan and Abdıq Bey, who were accompanied by Skinder and Hromyka, finally sent back to the king. This second *yarlıq* was brought to Vilnius in July 1514. Having already received two instruments in the same year, in September Sigismund asked Mengli for yet another one on behalf of the Polish Crown. The royal wish was granted and in October 1514 the khan issued a separate *şartname* concerning Poland. The document was issued in Ruthenian, but a month later, in November, its alternative version was issued in Italian. Both versions were apparently brought to Sigismund in January 1515 by Myxajlo Svynjuska.

To sum up, the following instruments were issued and exchanged between September 1513 and January 1515:

<i>date</i>	<i>issuer</i>	<i>type of the instrument</i>	<i>language of the copy</i>
September 1513	Sigismund	instrument regarding Lithuania	Ruthenian
September 1513	Sigismund	instrument regarding Poland	Latin
ca. December 1513	Mengli Giray	donation <i>yarlıq</i> cum <i>şartname</i>	Ruthenian
ca. December 1513	Mengli Giray	recorded oath formula	Ruthenian
ca. June 1514	Mengli Giray	donation <i>yarlıq</i> cum <i>şartname</i>	Ruthenian
October 1514	Mengli Giray	<i>şartname</i> regarding Poland	Ruthenian
November 1514	Mengli Giray	<i>şartname</i> regarding Poland	Italian

The number of instruments, issued in 1513–1514, and the perplexed relation between their contents led Kazimierz Pułaski, who otherwise painstakingly edited the correspondence between Mengli Giray and Sigismund recorded in the Lithuanian Register, to leave out the khan's instruments from June and October, since he mistakenly assumed that their texts were basically identical with Mengli's first instrument,

hence not worth publishing. Pułaski was even more confused by the existence of two contemporary Polish translations of Mengli's instruments, dated in August and September 1514.<sup>646</sup> In fact, the first Polish translation should be identified with the *şartname* from October, and the second one with the "donation *yarlıq* cum *şartname*" from December 1513.<sup>647</sup>

It was bitterly ironical that Mengli Giray died in April 1515, so the whole laborious procedure had to be repeated with his son and successor, Mehmed Giray. Having ascended the throne, the new khan promptly issued an instrument of peace and sent to Cracow, where his envoys were received in August 1515. The Crimean envoys then accompanied Sigismund to Vilnius, where in March 1516 the king issued two parchment documents, again one in Ruthenian on behalf of Lithuania and another in Latin on behalf of Poland. The summer of 1516 brought a Crimean rapprochement with Moscow and a large Tatar raid of Poland-Lithuania, but the relations between the khan and the king were restored by the end of the year. To confirm his sincerity, Mehmed Giray promised to send one of his younger sons as an honorary hostage to Vilnius, but then he changed his mind under the pressure of the boy's mother. The khan's oldest son, Bahadır, who was to escort his younger brother to Vilnius, arrived empty handed at the meeting scheduled in Čerkasy. In desire to console his Lithuanian partners, he solemnly reconfirmed his father's instrument from 1515 with his own instrument and oath, taken in Čerkasy in late May or June 1517. The years 1518–1519 brought a new Crimean-Muscovian rapprochement and renewed Tatar raids of Poland-Lithuania, but in 1520 the khan resolved to frontally attack Muscovy and again needed a peace with Sigismund. New embassies were exchanged and in October 1520 Mehmed Giray issued two solemn instruments: a "donation *yarlıq* cum *şartname*" in Ruthenian regarding Lithuania and a *şartname* in Khwarezmian Turkic regarding Poland. The khan confirmed his instruments with an oath and sent to Sigismund his envoy, who also acted as a hostage, Evliya Mirza from the Shirin clan. As the king was on campaign against the Teutonic Order, the Crimean embassy found him in distant Toruń (Thorn) in April 1521. Evliya was then taken to

<sup>646</sup> Cf. his comments in Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyną*, pp. 187, n. 2, and 422.

<sup>647</sup> For the identification done by the present author, see Document 12. n. 1, and Document 15, n. 2.

Lithuania and detained until the Diet in Hrodna, which was held in February and March 1522. Having taken a solemn oath on behalf of the khan, the envoy was finally released in return for his nephew Djan Giray, who came to replace him as a hostage.

To sum up, the following instruments were issued and exchanged between 1515 and 1522:

<i>date</i>	<i>issuer</i>	<i>type of the instrument</i>	<i>language of the copy</i>
ca. June 1515	Mehmed Giray	donation <i>yarlıq</i> cum <i>şartname</i>	Ruthenian (unpreserved)
March 1516	Sigismund	instrument regarding Lithuania	Ruthenian
March 1516	Sigismund	instrument regarding Poland	Latin (unpreserved)
May–June 1517	Bahadır Giray	copy of instrument from 1515	Ruthenian
October 1520	Mehmed Giray	donation <i>yarlıq</i> cum <i>şartname</i>	Ruthenian
October 1520	Mehmed Giray	<i>şartname</i> regarding Poland	Khwarezmian Turkic

In addition, Evliya's oath taken in Hrodna in February or March 1522 was recorded and entered in the Lithuanian Register.

Mehmed Giray's instruments sent to Poland-Lithuania have been recently studied by Feliks Šabul'do. In his article, the Ukrainian scholar persuasively proves the existence of the first instrument from 1515, whose text is not preserved. Yet, his further conclusions are misleading. The author fails to notice that the *dokončane na Korunu Pol'skuju* from October 1520, recorded in the Lithuanian Register (published in the present volume as an appendix to Document 20), is simply the Ruthenian translation of the khan's *şartname*, which is preserved in the Khwarezmian Turkic original. Moreover, had Šabul'do analyzed the text and contradictory dating of the instrument preserved in a Polish translation in *Acta Tomiciana*, he would have found that this translation is based on the "donation *yarlıq* cum *şartname*" from October 1520 and cannot be attributed to 1522. In result, while Šabul'do finds as many as four instruments of Mehmed Giray issued in the years 1520–1522, in fact there are only two, both issued in October 1520.<sup>650</sup>

<sup>648</sup> On this instrument, see n. 153 in Part I.

<sup>649</sup> On this instrument, see n. 154 in Part I.

<sup>650</sup> Cf. Šabul'do, "Jarlyki," pp. 262 and 275–281; on the perplexed dating according to the Muslim and Christian calendars of the instrument entered in *Acta Tomiciana*, see Document 19, n. 1.

Foreign envoys who arrived at the khan's capital usually had to wait for the audience from a few days to several months. The hosts often deliberately informed the Polish-Lithuanian and Muscovian envoys about each other's presence and arranged their audiences almost simultaneously in order to "soften" them in negotiations and incite them to make a higher bid. The khan took upon himself the accommodation and living expenses of the envoys, but the latter often resented the offered conditions. In 1680, the Russian envoys were housed in an unfurnished stone building on the Alma river, lacking doors and with small windows, covered with manure (apparently to keep warmth) and already crowded by the members of the previous Russian embassy. They commented in their report that "in the Muscovian state, dogs and pigs have cosier and warmer conditions" (*psom i svinijam v Moskovskom gosudarstve daleko pokojnee i teplee*). Their trauma was so deep that in the ensuing negotiations they formulated a separate clause that obliged the khan to build convenient lodgings for future embassies in Baghchararay.<sup>651</sup> To be sure, the living conditions were not always so deplorable. Piaseczyński seemed satisfied with his lodging in Süyrü Tash (*Sujurtasz*), a Circassian village near Baghchararay, where he was put up in a house belonging to certain Djanibek (*w domu Dżan-Bekowym*), especially when on the following day the Tatars delivered an oxen, ten sheep, bread, fish, olives, and wine.<sup>652</sup>

Prolonged detainment, limited freedom of movement, shabby housing, and even diminished food rations were all intended to "soften" a foreign envoy so that he would concede to the hosts' requests more easily. It could get even worse, especially when the envoy refused to deliver the expected gifts, both to the khan and the Crimean dignitaries. The reports of Muscovian envoys are full of descriptions of frustrated Crimean officials and nobles, who—with or without the khan's consent—broke into the envoys' lodgings and took by force whatever they considered their due gifts.<sup>653</sup> In 1629, a young Nogay relative of Kantemir, named Veli-shah, entered by force the Muscovian embassy quarters, beat up both envoys, pulling one envoy's beard, struck the

<sup>651</sup> "Spisok s statejnago spiska [...] Vasil'ja Mixajlova syna Tjapkina, d'jaka Nikity Zotova," pp. 578 and 621.

<sup>652</sup> See Pułaski, "Trzy poselstwa Piaseczyńskiego," p. 359. To the envoy's utmost regret, most of the wine had been consumed by the Tatars on their way and the rest turned into vinegar.

<sup>653</sup> See Xoroškevič, *Rus' i Krym*, pp. 255–256.

embassy's interpreter with his saber, and left with a number of precious furs. The saber blow was so severe that the interpreter—apparently a Tatar in Muscovian service named Redjeb (*Rezep* in Russian sources)—died soon after. Although Djanibek Giray admitted his subject's guilt in the ensuing correspondence with Moscow, he did not want to jeopardize his relations with Kantemir, to whom in fact he owed his throne.<sup>654</sup> An even more humiliating event occurred in 1546, when a clerk (*pod'jačij*) of the Muscovian embassy was exposed naked in the bazaar with his nostrils and ear-conchs sewn (*nos i uši zašival i, obnaža, po bazaru vodil*) in allusion to a common punishment: cutting off one's nose and ears.<sup>655</sup>

Frequent allusions to abusing the envoys can also be found in the correspondence between the Jagiellonian court and the Girays. In a letter to Mehmed Giray, Sigismund complained that his envoys no longer wished to go to the Crimea.<sup>656</sup> The interventions brought some effect, at least on paper, as the instruments from 1539, 1542, 1552, and 1560 contained the clause, in which the khans engaged to respect the envoys. In 1552, Devlet Giray declared that: "when an envoy or courier comes from you, our brother, we will not detain him for a longer time and we will not make him any trouble, and we will send him back without delay. Neither will we let our brothers and children, the *sultans*, [and] the *ulans*, beys, *mirzas*, and all our people hurt or oppress your envoys, couriers, interpreters, or their servants. As they arrive out of their free will, so they will depart."

It is nevertheless curious that the descriptions of tribulations, suffered by Lithuanian and Polish envoys in the Crimea, are somewhat less "picturesque" than the descriptions of their Russian colleagues. One might propose several explanations, although none of them seem entirely satisfying:

- A. the Polish-Lithuanian envoys were treated better indeed because:
  - a) their ruler's position was higher in the Crimean eyes than that of the Muscovian ruler;

<sup>654</sup> Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba Moskovskogo gosudarstva s Tatarami*, pp. 187–188.

<sup>655</sup> See Juzefovič, *Put' posla*, p. 36.

<sup>656</sup> See the royal letter dated 10 September 1522, published in *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 11 (1518–1523). Įrašų knyga 11*. Edited by A. Dubonis (Vilnius, 1997), p. 118.

- b) apart from the turn of the 15th century, the Crimean relations with Poland-Lithuania were usually better than with Muscovy;
  - c) Polish-Lithuanian nobles, sent as envoys to Baghchasaray, enjoyed more respect among the Tatar nobility than Muscovian bureaucrats; it is worth noting that the most excessive abuses against the Muscovian diplomats, described above, were directed not against the envoys themselves but against lower ranked embassy members: a clerk and an interpreter;<sup>657</sup>
- B. the Polish-Lithuanian envoys were treated equally bad but:
- a) the information is missing because the Polish-Lithuanian chancery records are less detailed than the Muscovian ones;
  - b) unlike their Russian colleagues, the Polish-Lithuanian envoys preferred not to expose their humiliations because that would affect their personal prestige back home.

There is probably a grain of truth in all the above explanations, which do not necessarily exclude each other. The last option (Bb) which stresses the literary and narrative character of early modern diplomatic reports, has been raised by the present author in another place. If we read the seventeenth-century Polish embassy reports, even those not intended for a larger audience, they usually present their protagonists as noble and valiant defenders of their king's honor and of the Commonwealth's noble liberties.<sup>658</sup> During his second mission to the Crimea in 1602, Piaseczyński also heard a warning that "envoys who come with false missions have their noses and ears cut off," yet, according to his report, he retorted by shaming the khan and his entourage

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<sup>657</sup> Likewise, one of the most drastic events in the history of the Ottoman diplomatic relations with the West was the strangulation of a Venetian dragoman in 1649 while the *bailo* suffered only temporary imprisonment; cf. Kołodziejczyk, "Semiotics of behavior in early modern diplomacy: Polish embassies in Istanbul and Baghchasaray," *Journal of Early Modern History* 7 (2003): 245–256, esp. p. 252.

<sup>658</sup> Cf. my article quoted in n. 657 above. To be sure, Muscovian reports were no less literary; cf. Juzefovič, *Put' posla*, pp. 292. Yet, they were addressed to another audience—the tsar and fellow bureaucrats rather than the individualistic nobility whose ideals were inspired by medieval chivalry mixed with Cicero's republican writings, then taught in Jesuit schools in Poland-Lithuania. A loyal bureaucrat did not need to be ashamed of his sufferings and even humiliations experienced in the tsar's service. Pulling one's beard has numerous analogies in the *vitae* of Orthodox martyrs, hence one who suffered for the tsar in this way was reminiscent of a martyr who defended Christ.



and invoking “the law of all the nations” (*prawo wszech narodów*).<sup>659</sup> This must have been his favorite rhetorical figure as already in 1601, during his first mission, he admonished Ghazi II Giray for interrupting his speech by invoking “the law of all the nations” which required that an envoy should be listened to in silence.<sup>660</sup> If we are to believe Piaseczyński’s report, the confused and ashamed khan turned red and fell into silence. Yet, are we really to believe that the khans listened like naughty pupils to the admonitions of Polish envoys while at the same time Russian diplomats were conducted naked through the bazaars? Or rather, the difference was rooted in imagination rather than reality? What could serve well the self-image of a Muscovian diplomat, could endanger the self-image of a Polish noble: defending one’s king and liberty by being martyred with a sword in hand was one thing, but being robbed and beaten up or having one’s beard pulled (after all, beards were not fashionable in seventeenth-century Poland) was another thing and would be better covered with silence.

Arguably, the average treatment of diplomats at the Crimean court was less humiliating than described in the Muscovian reports, but less honorable than stated in the Polish ones. A prestigious issue that often provoked discussions was the form of greeting the khan during the solemn audience. Marcin Broniowski admitted that during an audience, envoys had to remain on their knees (*genibus flexis*). Piaseczyński tried to bargain, proposing that if he did not have to kneel, the Tatar envoys in Warsaw would be also allowed to remain standing, but his offer was rejected and he had to kneel, although he proudly recorded that he only kneeled on his right knee. The Russian envoys sent in 1680 bowed their heads to the ground but they had successfully negotiated in advance that the khan’s retinue members should not bend their heads by force like it had been practiced with former envoys.<sup>661</sup> During the first audience, the envoy also submitted the letters of his lord and the khan asked about the latter’s health. If a Polish-Lithuanian envoy was furnished with a royal instrument of peace, its solemn delivery usually took place during the first solemn audience. The delivery of royal gifts also occurred during this audience, which ended with dressing

<sup>659</sup> Pułaski, “Trzy poselstwa Piaseczyńskiego,” pp. 758–759.

<sup>660</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 363.

<sup>661</sup> *Martini Broniovii [...] Tartariae descriptio*, p. 18; Pułaski, “Trzy poselstwa Piaseczyńskiego,” p. 361; “Spisok s statejnago spiska [...] Vasil’ja Mixajlova syna Tjapkina, d’jaka Nikity Zotova,” p. 583; on the issue of kneeling, cf. also Kołodziejczyk, “Semiotics of behavior,” pp. 250–251.

the embassy members in robes of honor. The last two acts were highly symbolical, hardly pleasing for the foreign ruler: while the gifts embodied the tribute, the act of putting a robe of honor on the envoy's shoulders stressed the khan's ultimate sovereignty over both the envoy and his lord.

If a mission was to result with the issue of the khan's solemn instrument, its contents were negotiated during the foreign envoy's stay in the Crimea. The instrument was to be ready by the farewell audience, yet, it was not given to the foreign envoy but to the khan's envoy who was to travel to the foreign court. Polish-Lithuanian envoys often complained that they were not allowed to examine the final document whose contents they had negotiated because it could be unpacked only in the royal presence.

The peacemaking procedure required an exchange of oaths that also took place during the farewell audience. The royal envoy took an oath on behalf of the king and the khan pronounced his oath in the envoy's presence so that the latter could confirm this fact before his lord. The khan's oath was typically mentioned and sometimes even recorded in his written instrument. The text of the oath could be recorded separately as well.

The expression "to drink an oath" (*pit' šert'* or *pit' rotu*), encountered in the early sixteenth-century Crimean-Muscovian correspondence preserved in Russian, probably refers to the ancient custom known among various peoples, according to which the partners who exchanged their oaths of brotherhood also drank each other's blood. We do not know whether the Tatars had ever practiced this custom and—if so—when had they abandoned it.<sup>662</sup> In the early modern era it was certainly not practiced at the Crimean court and the khan simply took his oath on the Koran. In 1637, Inayet Giray recalled in his letter to Vladislaus IV that he, along with his qalga, had taken an oath in the presence of the royal envoy "having laid the Koran on our heads" (*Alkorań na głowach naszych położywszy*).<sup>663</sup> One should not imagine that the khan actually put the Koran on his head; rather, the expression reflected his obeisance to the word of God and was the calque of the Turkish term *baş üstünde*. The same calque can be found in the Crimean-Muscovian correspondence recorded in Russian, where it typically referred to the obedience to the khan's word (e.g., *carevo*

<sup>662</sup> Cf. Xoroškevič, *Rus' i Krym*, pp. 206–207.

<sup>663</sup> Bibl. Czart., ms. 133 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), p. 109.

*slovo na golove deržati*, “to keep the khan’s word on one’s head”).<sup>664</sup> Mariusz Jaskólski described the oath of Mehmed IV Giray that took place during his farewell audience on 22 November 1654. Initially, the khan refused to take it arguing that the oath was already contained in his instrument, yet, persuaded by his vizier, Sefer Ghazi Agha, he agreed. As he could not find his own Koran, the vizier handed him his own copy and the khan pronounced the oath, whose contents were recorded in Polish by the envoy: “May my God kill me if I think about deserting you; indeed, I hereby enter the everlasting friendship directed against all your enemies; so help me God!”<sup>665</sup> Jaskólski did not provide any details about the khan’s posture and gestures, but we know more about the oath procedures followed at the khan’s court during the audiences of Russian envoys. For instance, in 1623 a Russian envoy insisted that Mehmed III Giray should swear on the copy of the Koran brought by the Russian embassy from Moscow, apparently in fear that the Tatars might bring another book and pretend that it were the Koran. The khan was amused but consented and, having pronounced his oath, even kissed the sura pointed to by the envoy in the open book.<sup>666</sup> In 1681, Murad Giray took his oath with the Koran in his hands, while his vizier, Ahmed Agha, stood nearby with the khan’s instrument of peace. After the oath, the khan kissed the Koran as it was expected by the Russian envoys.<sup>667</sup>

A sixteenth-century Muscovian embassy report furnishes evidence that at least in that period a special book, containing the ready text of the khan’s oath, was held in the khan’s palace. In 1564, Devlet Giray pronounced his oath in the presence of Muscovian envoys, reading aloud from an open book referred to as “oath-book” (*kniga šertnaja*).<sup>668</sup>

Well aware of the decentralized structure of the Crimean politics, the Khanate’s northern neighbors insisted that the oath should be taken not merely by the khan, but by his family members, dignitaries, and

<sup>664</sup> Cf. Xoroškevič, *Rus’ i Krym*, p. 203; Juzefovič, *Put’ posla*, p. 25.

<sup>665</sup> *Bodaj mnie Bóg mój zabił, jeśli was myślę odstępować, i owszem wieczną przyjaźń przeciwko wszystkim nieprzyjaciołom waszym zawieram. Tak mi Panie Boże dopomóż!*; see AGAD, Libri Legationum, no. 33, fol. 44a–44b.

<sup>666</sup> Novosel’skij, *Bor’ba Moskovskogo gosudarstva s Tatarami*, p. 111.

<sup>667</sup> See “Spisok s statejnago spiska [...] Vasil’ja Mixajlova syna Tjapkina, d’jaka Nikity Zotova,” p. 638.

<sup>668</sup> [...] vele [...] *prinesti knigu šertnuju. [...] I car’ vzbav knigu šertnuju i učal pered nami v knigu smotriv govorit: šertuju svoemu bratu, velikomu knjazju Ivanu na tom [...]*; see RGADA, f. 123, op. 1, no. 10, fol. 313a.

prominent Crimean clans as well. An incredibly long list (*defter*) of those who had taken an oath to keep peace with Muscovy in 1524 has been preserved in a Russian copy in the Muscovian archives. It consists of over two hundred names, grouped into the following categories: Muslim clergymen (seyyids and mullahs), the Giray princes, the beys and *mirzas* from the Shirin and Barin clans, the members of the khan's council (*divan*), the khan's mother and other prominent harem ladies, the Manghits, the sheikhs and kadis, the palace clerks and the khan's courtiers, Qalga Özbek Giray's retinue members, Prince Islam Giray's retinue members, the *ulans*, the Sedjevüts, Arghins, Qıpchaqs, Qongrats, Qiyats, and others.<sup>669</sup>

Although not as long, the list of the Crimean dignitaries, who corroborated with their oaths Mengli Giray's *şartname* sent to Sigismund in 1507, is also impressive. Apart from the khan, the document lists the following names that can be grouped into three categories: the dynasty members, the Muslim clergymen, and the leaders of the Crimean nobility.<sup>670</sup>

*dynasty members:*

- Yaghmurcha (the khan's younger brother and qalga)
- Mehmed Giray (the khan's oldest son, the future qalga and khan)
- Ahmed Giray (the khan's second son)
- Yapancha (Yaghmurcha's son)
- Mahmud Giray (the khan's third son)
- Feth Giray (the khan's fourth son)
- Burnash (the khan's fifth son)

*Muslim clergymen:*

- Babaka Seyyid<sup>671</sup>
- Mullah Sultan Ali Abdulghani<sup>672</sup>
- Baba Sheikh (on him see below)

<sup>669</sup> RGADA, f. 123, op. 1, no. 6, fol. 86b–88b; published in Malinovskij, "Istoričeskoe sobranie," pp. 412–415; in Central Asia, the Qiyats originally formed a subsection of the Qongrats.

<sup>670</sup> For more details about the listed personages, see Document 9.

<sup>671</sup> Babaka or Babike Seyyid, the brother-in-law of Mengli Giray.

<sup>672</sup> Probably identical with the "great mullah Ali," mentioned by Mehmed Giray in his letter to Vasilij III from 1516 and referred to as "my great mullah, superior to all our mullahs, and also my great kadi."

ulans and beys:

- Mamış Ulan, the lieutenant (*qaymaqam*) of Qırq Yer<sup>673</sup>
- Saqal Bey, the leader of the Crimean branch of the Qıyats<sup>674</sup>
- Tevkel Bey, the leader of the Crimean Manghits and the khan's brother-in-law<sup>675</sup>
- Mamış Bey, the leader of the Sedjevüts (Sedjeuts) and the khan's brother-in-law
- Ağış Bey, the *qaraçı* of the Shirins
- Devlet Bakhtı Bey, the *qaraçı* of the Barıns and the lieutenant of Qarasu Bazar<sup>676</sup>
- Merdan Bey, the *qaraçı* of the Arghins
- Mahmud Bey, the *qaraçı* of the Qıpchaqs.<sup>677</sup>

Apart from those mentioned by names, many more Tatar nobles and courtiers participated in the oath ceremony. A year later, in 1508, a Muscovian envoy Kostjantin Zabolockij resolved to remunerate each individual, who had sworn to keep peace with Moscow, with one sable. It soon turned out that he had no sables left and twenty dissatisfied Tatars remained with empty hands.<sup>678</sup>

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<sup>673</sup> Mamış Ulan, son of Sarmak Ulan, figured prominently in the diplomatic negotiations with Muscovy and Lithuania and headed embassies to these countries. Syroëčkovskij's assumption that he belonged to the Qıpchaq clan has been challenged by Beatrice Forbes Manz, who has considered him a "service beg" and not a member of the clan aristocracy; see *eadem*, "The clans of the Crimean Khanate," pp. 292–293. Although it cannot be excluded that he belonged to the Qıpchaq clan, in the period concerned, the post of the Qıpchaq *qaraçı* was occupied by Mahmud Bey (see below), whose political influence was nevertheless much weaker than that of Mamış Ulan.

<sup>674</sup> Saqal's father (or perhaps more distant ancestor), Qıyat Mansur, was the founder of the branch of the Qıyat clan that had left the Volga region after 1380 and settled in Lithuania and the Crimea.

<sup>675</sup> Tevkel, son of Temir, was the Manghit (i.e., Nogay) leader who had entered the Crimean service in 1503, after the collapse of the Great Horde; his sister, Nur Sultan, was Mengli Giray's wife.

<sup>676</sup> Devlet Bakhtı also figured prominently in the Crimean international policy and led embassies to King Sigismund I (1512–1513) and to the Ottoman sultan Selim I (1515).

<sup>677</sup> The last two beys are not listed by names in the instrument proper but their names can be found in the appended list that has been recorded in the Lithuanian Register along with the *şartname*; the list also contains the names of Mehmed Giray, Mamış Ulan, Ağış Bey, and Devlet Bakhtı Bey, who are already mentioned in the *şartname*; on the whereabouts of Merdan and Mahmud, who also swore an oath to keep peace with Muscovy in 1508, cf. Document 9, n. 40.

<sup>678</sup> Xoroškevič, *Rus' i Krym*, p. 252.

It is worth noting that both in 1507 and 1524 Muslim clergymen were listed before the clan leaders. This was also the case in 1508, as we learn from the list of the Crimean dignitaries who swore to keep peace with Muscovy.<sup>679</sup> The head clergyman in 1508 was Hadji Baba Sheikh, the mullah at the khan's court, referred to in the Russian sources as *molna* and *bogomolec*, regarded as pro-Muscovian and known for his participation in the raids against Lithuania. One of his sons, Hadji Mehmed Sheikh-zade, was then the mullah at the court of Prince Mehmed Giray, and another, Qurtqa, figures among the clergymen on the list from 1524. In the list from 1507, Baba Sheikh was preceded by two other Muslim hierarchs, but three years later Sigismund asked him to mediate the peace, invoking his great influence on the khan. In the Polish sources, Baba Sheikh was then referred to as *archiepiscopus imperatoris*.<sup>680</sup> We might assume that his prestige, already high in the Crimean society, was further elevated due to the correspondence with Sigismund, where the mullah was explicitly compared with the archbishop of Gniezno, who in Poland crowned the king and acted as interrex during the interregna. Unfortunately, the role of the Muslim ulema and sheikhs in the Crimean society is still very much underresearched.

Any textbook of the Crimean history underlines the political role of the *qaraçıs*, the leaders of the most prominent Crimean clans, who initially were the Shirins, Barıns, Arghıns, and Qıpchaqs. It was Agışh Bey, listed above, who in 1508 boastfully disclosed the political aspirations of the Shirins in his letter to the Muscovian ruler: "Are there not two shafts to a cart? The right shaft is my lord the khan, and the left shaft am I, with my brothers and children."<sup>681</sup> Nevertheless, already in the instrument from 1507, the leaders of other clans: the Manghits, Sedjevüts, and even Qıyats, were listed along with the *qaraçıs*, or even before. With the passing of time, the term *qaraçı* began to be used in relation to the leaders of the Manghits and Sedjevüts as well. Devlet Giray once referred to his "six *qaraçıs*:" the beys of the Shirins, Manghits, Barıns, Arghıns, Sedjevüts, and Qıpchaqs, as if the khan were not aware that according to the Turco-Mongol tradition the

<sup>679</sup> See *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 2, p. 20.

<sup>680</sup> Cf. n. 116 in Part I; on Hadji Baba Sheikh, cf. Document 9, n. 11.

<sup>681</sup> Quoted after Manz, "The Clans of the Crimean Khanate," p. 282; the text recorded in Russian can be found in *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 2, p. 40.

number of *qaraçıs* should not exceed four.<sup>682</sup> The permanent advance of the Manghits and Sedjevüts, parallel with the decreasing role of the Barins and Qıpchaqs, is confirmed by Djanibek Giray's *'ahdname* from 1632, which lists only the four *qaraçıs*: the Shirin, Manghit, Arghın, and Sedjevüt ones.<sup>683</sup> Nevertheless, the hierarchy was never entirely stabilized. For instance, a Russian diplomatic report from 1681 refers to the "five noble Crimean clans" (*Krymskie čestnye pjati rodov*): the Shirins, Sulesh-oghlu, Arghins, Mansurs (i.e., Manghits), and Külüks, while it does not mention the Sedjevüts, Barins, and Qıpchaqs.<sup>684</sup>

While foreign envoys usually insisted that the oath should be taken not merely by the khan, but by his retinue and the whole Crimean nobility as well, the khans often vehemently rejected the idea and stressed their absolute authority over their subjects. In 1623, Mehmed III Giray pointed to the Russian envoy that—unlike in the times of his predecessor, Djanibek Giray—his courtiers were merely his slaves (Rus. *xolopy*) and not his companions so there was no need for them to take an oath.<sup>685</sup> Similarly, in 1654, Jaskólski demanded before his audience, following his instruction, that—as the whole Commonwealth had taken an oath—likewise it should be taken not merely by the khan but by the whole Crimean nobility. He heard in reply from the khan's vizier, Sefer Ghazi Agha, that it was enough if the oath was taken by Mehmed IV Giray and his senior councilors (aghas), because the Crimean system of rule was the *absolutum dominium* and whatever the khan ordered, so it must be.<sup>686</sup> During the audience, it turned out that even the aghas were not allowed to accompany the khan in taking the oath, and the envoy's protests were dashed by Mehmed IV Giray's retort: "like God is one on the earth, so I am the single lord." The vizier hastened with a lengthy explanation of the legal differences between the two states: "In your country His Royal Majesty cannot do anything unless authorized by the law, whereas when the khan utters a word, on his order we are all ready to submit our necks

<sup>682</sup> On the *qaraçıs* and their number, cf. notes 42–43 and 110 in Part I.

<sup>683</sup> See Document 49.

<sup>684</sup> Cf. n. 583 above.

<sup>685</sup> See n. 395 in Part I.

<sup>686</sup> [...] powiedział, że dość na tym będzie, kiedy chan sam z nami agami starszymi przysięże, bo to u nas absolutum dominium. Co chan każe, to być musi; see AGAD, Libri Legationum, no. 33, fol. 42a.

to the sword.”<sup>687</sup> As the envoy was not satisfied, he was ensured that the khan’s oath was taken on behalf of the aghas, too. When he still insisted that at least the Shirin *qaraçı* should take an oath, Jaskólski was told that the latter was absent from Baghchasaray but he might meet him on his way home on the steppe beyond Perekop and there bring him to the oath.

While reading the above dialogues, recorded in Jaskólski’s diary, one cannot help thinking that, like his other Polish colleagues, he slightly embellished the vizier’s words with what one would name today “Orientalistic discourse” in order to lift the self esteem of his audience back home. The Polish-Lithuanian nobility was very proud of the Commonwealth’s laws limiting the *absolutum dominium*, and this Latin term put into the vizier’s mouth belonged to the Polish domestic discourse rather than the Crimean one. It is also quite possible that Sefer Ghazi, who knew well the Commonwealth’s political system, consciously chose the wording that would be understandable for his interlocutor. Nevertheless, it does not mean that the conflict between the throne and the nobles was unknown in the Crimea. For instance, in 1681, the Russian request that the oath should be taken by the “five noble Crimean clans” was plainly rejected. The Russian envoys heard that like their tsar ruled autocratically and bringing his subjects to the oath would diminish his “monarchic honor” (*gosudarskaja čest’*), so it would be unfitting to demand that the khan’s engagement be confirmed by his subjects.<sup>688</sup>

Interestingly, it seems that a century earlier the insistence on the khans’ autocratic prerogatives was less pronounced. Admitting the limitations of the khan’s authority did not hurt his prestige well, but their invoking was sometimes convenient to excuse small Tatar raids that were in fact beyond the khan’s control. In 1566, Devlet Giray declared to the Muscovian envoy that he could only take an oath on his own

<sup>687</sup> *Po wykonanej tej przysiędze upominałem się, aby jako Rzeczpospolita nasza przysięgła, żeby i agowie ich przysięgli. Na co tak odpowiedział: Nie potrzebna to. Jako Bóg jeden jest na ziemi, tak i ja pan jeden. Po tych słowach wezyr: insza jest u was, a insza u nas. U was nie może nic Król Jego Miłość nikomu bez prawa czynić, na co chan niechaj jedno który bąknie, a potym wszyscy, byle chan rozkazał, szyje nasze położyć gotowiśmy, je pod miecz dać. Po tym chan rzekł: Nie trzeba agom moim przysięgać, bom ja już od nich przysięgł; see AGAD, Libri Legationum, no. 33, fol. 44b; cf. also n. 480 in Part I.*

<sup>688</sup> See “Spisok s statejnago spiska [...] Vasil’ja Mixajlova syna Tjapkina, d’jaka Nikity Zotova,” pp. 630–632.



behalf, but not on behalf of “the whole land” (*šertovat’ vsej zemlej* in the wording of the Russian report), because many beys and *mirzas*, along with Qalga Mehmed Giray, were overseas participating in the Hungarian campaign of Sultan Suleyman.<sup>689</sup> The Crimean decentralized political system at times even influenced the Muscovian chancery practice. Aleksandr Vinogradov notices the lasting importance of the noble council (*boyarskaja дума*) in the Muscovian correspondence with the Crimea, even during the “anti-boyar” centralizing reforms of Ivan IV. The Russian scholar suggests that the elevated ceremonial position of the *duma* merely mirrored the structure of the Crimean diplomacy. As the Crimean solemn instruments, arriving at Moscow, were corroborated not only in the khan’s name, but in the name of the Crimean nobility, the tsar resolved that for ceremonial reasons the *boyars* should also figure in diplomatic exchange, even if their political role was in fact more limited than that of their Crimean peers.<sup>690</sup>

While it is well known that the Ottoman and Russian autocratic models inspired the Crimean khans in their centralizing efforts, it seems equally natural that the Polish-Lithuanian republican model inspired the Crimean nobles as it often inspired the Russian ones. Whether the Crimean decentralized system had, in turn, any influence on its neighboring states might be debatable; nevertheless, even if we lack proof of conscious inspiration, we can at least admit the possibility of osmosis.<sup>691</sup>

After their final audience with the khan, the foreign envoys typically paid visits to the qalga and the nureddin (the latter post existed since 1581). During these audiences, the two Giray princes often took

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<sup>689</sup> Vinogradov, *Russko-krymskie otnošenija*, vol. 1, p. 66. The Russian term *vsja zemlja* (“the whole land”), also found in contemporary Russian chronicles, has been convincingly identified with the Tatar noble assembly (*qurultay*); see Xudjakov, *Očerki po istorii Kazanskogo xanstva*, pp. 191–196, and Donald Ostrowski, “Ruling class structures of the Kazan Khanate,” in: *The Turks*, vol. 2, pp. 841–847, esp. p. 844 (both aforementioned studies refer to the Kazan Khanate by their conclusions equally apply to the Crimean Khanate).

<sup>690</sup> Vinogradov, *Russko-krymskie otnošenija*, vol. 1, p. 81.

<sup>691</sup> For some preliminary remarks regarding such osmosis between, on the one hand, the centralized Habsburg and Ottoman political systems, and on the other, the decentralized systems of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Crimean Khanate, see Kołodziejczyk, “Turcja i Krym,” in: *Rzeczpospolita-Europa: XVI–XVIII wiek. Próba konfrontacji*. [Studies in honor of Antoni Mączak.] Edited by M. Kopczyński and W. Tygielski (Warsaw, 1999): 67–76.

separate oaths to honor the newly established peace.<sup>692</sup> They also sent separate embassies with separate letters, confirming the contents of the khan's instrument and invoking their oaths. The idea that they could also issue formal instruments of peace on their own, separately from the khan's instrument, was not alien to the contemporaries, although it rarely materialized. By the 17th century, the elevated position of the qalga and nureddin in the Khanate's constitution was formalized by their exclusive right, shared only with the khan, to use the *tuğra*, to be confirmed in their post with solemn diplomas (*berats*) issued by Ottoman sultans (probably except the nureddin), and to maintain direct correspondence with the Russian tsars.

In 1515 Ivan Mamonov, the Muscovian envoy to the Crimea, was instructed *not* to accept any separate *şartname* from Mehmed Giray's oldest son, Bahadır, should the latter propose to draw such an instrument.<sup>693</sup> Moscow's reluctance was apparently motivated by financial reasons, as in return for his document Bahadır would certainly expect material benefits, but the very possibility of such an initiative was telling, even more if we keep in mind that at that time Bahadır was not even the qalga. He nevertheless perceived himself as the heir apparent, even though the post of qalga had been unwillingly given by his father not to him but to his uncle, Ahmed. In the light of Mamonov's instruction, we can better understand the fact that in 1517, Bahadır issued his own instrument for Poland-Lithuania. In 1519, after the riot and death of his uncle, the Giray prince obtained the long awaited post of qalga that formally confirmed his earlier aspirations.

A formal instrument of peace, issued by a Crimean qalga and referred to as "oath-letter" (Ruth. *lyst prysjažnyj*), was sent to Sigismund I in 1527 by Islam Giray. Although issued during his short-term reconciliation with Khan Sa'adet Giray, it reflected the ambitions of the qalga, who believed that after the tragic death of his father and his older brother—Mehmed and Bahadır Girays—in 1523, the throne should have belonged to him, and not to his uncle. Also a century later, the qalga, Islam Giray, and even the nureddin, Qırım Giray, issued their own instruments titled as *'ahdnames* in the years 1637 (qalga) and

<sup>692</sup> Such was the case during the Russian embassy of 1680–1681; see "Spisok s statejnago spiska [...] Vasil'ja Mixajlova syna Tjapkina, d'jaka Nikity Zotova," p. 641.

<sup>693</sup> [...] *a nešto carevič stanet davati Ivanu svoju opričnjuju šertnuju gramotu, i Ivanu u careviča gramoty ego ne imati; Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 2, p. 215.

1640 (both qalga and nureddin), even though they were not in conflict with their older brother, Khan Bahadır Giray. Still, in the long run, such cases were unusual. Typically, the qalga and nureddin confirmed the peace with their oaths and separate embassies, but their letters were not referred to as *şart-* or *‘ahdnames*, whose issue was reserved for the khan.

The study of the diplomatic relations between Baghchasaray and Warsaw in the mid-seventeenth century fully confirms the rising role of the Crimean viziers in the Khanate’s domestic and foreign policy. In that period, two dignitaries competed for the khan’s favor and held in succession the vizier’s post: Sefer Ghazi Agha and Subhan Ghazi Agha. They acted as the khan’s chief advisers, corresponded with foreign monarchs and chancellors, and led Tatar troops on campaigns. Their role was somewhat similar to the role of the Polish chancellors and hetmans, although the position of the latter vis-à-vis their ruler was incomparably stronger.

The procedure of confirming a treaty at the royal court was parallel to the one observed at the khan’s court. In 1527, Sa’adet Giray announced that his instrument would be delivered to the royal court by his envoy Yankura (or Yanchura) and its contents should be read in the royal presence by his scribe Djanaka.<sup>694</sup> The Crimean envoys were usually expected to confirm the peace with an oath taken on their own behalf and on behalf of the khan. Their oath was solemnly pronounced in the presence of the king and his councilors. In the Moscow Kremlin, a copy of the Koran was held so that the Tatar envoys could take their oath upon their Holy Scripture and according to their own religion (*po svoej vere*).<sup>695</sup> When a Crimean envoy took an oath in Moscow, the Koran was placed on a stand of ca. 0.7 m. in height and the kneeling envoy kept the index and middle finger of his right hand on its top while pronouncing his oath. Thereafter, he was expected to kiss the Holy Scripture.<sup>696</sup> We can assume that the procedure was not much different in the Crimean relations with Poland-Lithuania, because the hosts usually insisted that the Tatar envoys should take their oath according to their faith and custom as only that guaranteed

<sup>694</sup> See Document 22.

<sup>695</sup> [...] *kuran tatarskoj, na čom privodjat tatar k šerti*; see *Opisi Carskogo arxiva XVI veka i arxiva Posol’skogo prikaza 1614 goda*, p. 42; cf. Keenan, “Muscovy and Kazan,” pp. 552–553.

<sup>696</sup> Juzefovič, *Put’ posla*, pp. 290–291.

that the oath would be respected. It is thus possible that copies of the Koran were also held in the royal castles in Vilnius, Cracow, and Warsaw.<sup>697</sup>

The king took his oath upon the Gospel in front of the Crimean envoys, hence we must assume that a copy of the Gospel, and certainly a crucifix as well, were physically present during his oath. Casimir's instrument from 1472, issued in Cracow, invokes the presence of the Crown dignitaries, headed by the archbishop of Gniezno, but it is not clear whether they also pronounced the oath. In turn, Sigismund's instruments from 1513 and 1516, issued in Vilnius on behalf of Lithuania, invoke the presence of the Lithuanian dignitaries, headed by the bishops of Samogitia and Vilnius, respectively (the bishop of Vilnius was absent in 1513), and state that they pronounced the oath and appended their seals to the document. The instrument, issued in Vilnius, in 1513, on behalf of the Polish Crown, invokes three Polish dignitaries who appended their seals, but—like the instrument from 1472—it does not state whether they pronounced the oath. Sigismund's instrument from 1535, issued in Vilnius, again invokes the presence of the Lithuanian dignitaries, headed by the bishop of Vilnius, but for that time they did not append their seals and their oath is not mentioned.

The scarce evidence, invoked above, might suggest a gradual shift from the oath pronounced collectively towards the oath pronounced solely by the king, first in Poland and then in Lithuania, and the replacement of oral engagements with written documents (in the instruments of Sigismund III from 1598, 1601, and 1605 the oral pronouncement of the oath by the king is not mentioned at all). Yet, such a conclusion would be hasty. As late as 1654, the negotiations which took place in Warsaw were crowned with the oaths pronounced on the one hand, by the Tatar envoy, Süleyman Agha, and on the other, by King John Casimir and the Commonwealth's senators and officials. On 20 July 1654, the Crimean envoy was introduced into the Throne Chamber

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<sup>697</sup> A preserved inventory of the Crown archives in Cracow, composed in the years 1681–1682, lists only extant documents but does not mention any attributes that served for official ceremonies; see *Inventarium omnium et singulorum privilegiorum, litterarum, diplomatum, scripturarum et monumentorum quaecunque in Archivo Regni in Arce Cracoviensi continentur*. Edited by E. Rykaczewski (Paris-Berlin-Poznań, 1862); for a cursory description of the Crimean documents then extant in the archives (the oldest one issued by Mengli Giray), see *ibidem*, pp. 165–167 (entry: *Litterae Tartaricae*).

in the Royal Castle, where the king was already waiting, seated on the throne under the baldachin and surrounded by the members of the Senate and the Lower Chamber (the ceremony took place during the Diet that was held in Warsaw). The envoy took his oath first, standing in the middle of the chamber with his hand raised “according to the Tatar custom,” and then the king read aloud the text of his oath, standing bareheaded. The royal oath was followed by the oath sworn by the primate (i.e., the archbishop of Gniezno) and a number of other dignitaries on behalf of the Senate, and by the marshal of the Diet on behalf of the Lower Chamber (i.e., gentry). They stressed that their oaths would be void unless the khan confirmed the treaty with his own oath taken in the presence of the royal envoy. After the ceremony, the Crimean envoy kissed the royal hand and left.<sup>698</sup> The texts of the oaths, pronounced by the king and the dignitaries, have been recorded and are extant today.

Alas, we lack details on the procedure of oath taking in Poland-Lithuania comparable to those regarding the oath of the Muscovian rulers. The latter confirmed their oath with a solemn kiss of a cross that was laid on the instrument of peace.<sup>699</sup> Interestingly, the Kremlin ceremony was performed in the absence of Orthodox clergymen, who often condemned it as pagan. No wonder, if we keep in mind that until the 16th century the Muscovian ruler was expected to spit on the ground before he kissed the cross, apparently in order to chase

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<sup>698</sup> See Ludwik Kubala, *Wojna moskiewska r. 1654–1655* (Warsaw, 1910), pp. 154–155; also quoted in Augustiewicz, “Rokowania w sprawie przymierza polsko-tatarskiego w roku 1654,” pp. 81–82; for the names of the leading dignitaries who swore the oath, see the corroborating formula of Document 61. It is hard to guess whether the fact that, unlike the Crimean envoys in Moscow, Süleyman Agha was standing and not kneeling during his oath, reflected the differences in ceremonial, the changing customs in the Crimean relations with both northern neighbors, or the unusual circumstances of the Polish-Crimean alliance which prompted the royal court to treat the Tatar envoy with special favors. Given that the king stood bareheaded, we can assume that also the Crimean envoy was forced to remove his cap. According to one later report, a Crimean envoy was forced to bare his head already at the entrance to the royal audience room; see the account of the audience of Inayet-shah Mirza by August II held in Warsaw on 7 April 1726; Bibl. Czart., ms. 207 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), p. 173 (*prorowadzony na pokoje królewskie, gdzie w tym pokoju zdjęto mu zaraz przy drzwiach czapkę, w którym Król Jego Miłość z przytomnym Senatem znajdował się*). Still, it is hard to establish whether the custom of removing one’s headgear, standard in the European ceremonial but humiliating for a Muslim, was also observed in the earlier centuries.

<sup>699</sup> Typically, the cross was laid on two instruments, the one of the khan and the one of the Muscovian ruler, touching directly the latter that was on the top.

the demons, thus repeating the ancient ritual of perhaps pre-Christian origin.<sup>700</sup> Paradoxically, it was the Crimean side that insisted on the presence of Christian clergymen during the oath, apparently in the belief that the tsar would then observe his pledge more sincerely. For instance, in 1564, Devlet Giray warned Ivan IV that if the latter would not kiss the cross in the presence of the Orthodox metropolitan, the boyars, and the Crimean envoy (*a sam pered mitropolitom i pered bojary i pered moim goncom kresta ne poceluet*), he would be responsible for the renewal of hostilities.<sup>701</sup> The tsar duly responded in his instrument, issued two months later, that he had confirmed its contents by kissing the cross in the presence of Afanasij, the metropolitan of the whole of Rus', Pimin, the archbishop of Velikij Novgorod and Pskov, his boyars, and the khan's envoy.<sup>702</sup>

*Peacemaking procedures outside of the audience hall*

In the standard procedure, described in the previous section, the embassies traveled between the respective courts and the entire peacemaking procedure took place in the palaces of the two rulers. Yet, negotiations could be initiated at the battlefield as well. In the early modern period, not only the Crimean khans, but also the Polish kings were still expected to perform as military commanders. Only the royal presence on a campaign ensured that the nobles would respond to the announced levy en masse. While some kings acted as commanders-in-chief merely out of duty, the two last Vasas—Vladislaus IV and John Casimir—regarded themselves as genuine kings-warriors, and Jan Sobieski owed his election to the throne to his earlier military performance. Two armed encounters between John Casimir and Islam III Giray resulted in the treaties of Zborów and Żwaniec, negotiated in military camps in 1649 and 1653.

<sup>700</sup> Cf. Xoroškevič, *Rus' i Krym*, p. 207; Juzefovič, *Put' posla*, pp. 282–286.

<sup>701</sup> See RGADA, f. 123, op. 1, no. 10, fol. 315a.

<sup>702</sup> [...] *celoval esmi krest na sej zapisi pered svoim otcom' i bogomol'com Afanasiem, mitropolitom vseja Rusii, i pered svoim bogomol'com, Velikogo Novgoroda i Pskova arxiepiskopom Piminom, i pered vsemi svoimi bojary, i pered brata svoego poslom [...]*; see RGADA, f. 123, op. 1, no. 10, fol. 402a–402b; published in *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij...* Edited by F. Laškov, p. 29; on the Crimean-Muscovian pacification of 1564, see Vinogradov, *Russko-krymskie otnošenija*, vol. 2, pp. 24–34.

When the king was absent, the Polish army was commanded by the Crown grand hetman, the commander-in-chief of regular troops permanently located in the southeastern provinces, precisely because these provinces were constantly endangered by Tatar raids. The autonomous position of the Crown hetmans in the diplomatic relations with Baghchasaray developed in the times of Jan Zamoyski, whose role in the negotiations at Țuțora (1595) was frequently invoked in the correspondence between Sigismund III and Ghazi II Giray. Later on, the hetmans were officially authorized to correspond with the khans and even maintained residents at the khan's court.<sup>703</sup> Especially influential and competent in regard to the Crimean matters were: in the first half of the 17th century—Stanisław Koniecpolski, and in the second half—the future king Jan Sobieski. The intermediary role of Koniecpolski in the peace negotiations between Baghchasaray and Warsaw is openly invoked in Djanibek Giray's instruments from 1632 and 1634. Sobieski negotiated and corroborated the Treaty of Podhajce (1667), which was nevertheless subject to future confirmation by the king and the Commonwealth, embodied by the Diet.

The institution of *rozmen* (Rus. "exchange"), introduced in the Crimean-Muscovian relations, was unknown in the Crimean relations with Poland-Lithuania. Baghchasaray and Moscow agreed that their envoys sent to the other court would depart simultaneously and meet at the border, first while heading for the other court, and then on their way back. Hence, the safety and timely return of the tsar's embassy hosted by the khan was secured by the fact that at the same time the khan's embassy was hosted by the tsar, and vice versa. In the 16th century, the exchange took place near Putivl', then, since the late 16th century near Livny, and in the 17th century on the Uraeva river near Valujki.<sup>704</sup> During their sojourn in the hosting state, the envoys were escorted by a prominent dignitary who was often authorized to start

<sup>703</sup> Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, p. 183. For a study entirely devoted to the grand hetmans' prerogatives in foreign policy, see Waclaw Zarzycki, *Dyplomacja hetmanów w dawnej Polsce* (Warsaw-Poznań, 1976).

<sup>704</sup> See Juzefovič, *Put' posla*, p. 35; Berežkov, *Krymskie šertnye gramoty*, pp. 18–19; Sanin, *Otnošenija Rossii i Ukrainy s Krymskim xanstvom v seređine XVII veka*, pp. 91–93, 97, 185. According to the Treaty of Baghchasaray (1681), the meeting place was moved to Perevoločnaja in the Ukraine, but already in 1683 the two sides agreed that it was too far to the west from the usual route and resolved to restore the *rozmen* at Valujki; see RGADA, f. 123, op. 2, no. 67; published in *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*.... Edited by F. Laškov, pp. 195–197.

preliminary negotiations. In the Crimean Khanate, this task was usually performed by the leader of the Sulesh-oghlu clan. Negotiations initiated on the border sometimes resulted in preliminary instruments, corroborated by the present officials. Nevertheless, such instruments were later subject to confirmation by the two rulers.<sup>705</sup>

The only document in the present volume, which with some reservations can be described as resulting from border negotiations, is the instrument of Bahadır Giray, given to Olbracht Gasztold in Čerkasy in 1517.

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<sup>705</sup> For such instruments, issued in 1682 and 1683 at Perevoločnaja and corroborated by Veli-shah Bey from the Sulesh-oghlu clan, see notes 223–224 above. Invoking analogous agreements reached at Valujki in the mid-seventeenth century, Sanin bitterly observes that in the ensuing negotiations the khans rarely respected the engagements made by their subjects while the latter often made unrealistic promises in expectation for the tsar's gifts; cf. *idem*, *Otnošenija Rossii i Ukrainy s Krymskim xanstvom v seredine XVII veka*, p. 97.



## CHAPTER SIX

### THE POLITICAL ISSUES TYPICALLY PRESENT IN THE INSTRUMENTS OF PEACE EXCHANGED BETWEEN POLAND-LITHUANIA AND THE CRIMEA

Apart from standard declarations to maintain peace and amity, contained in the instruments exchanged between the khans and the kings, one encounters a number of clauses typically entered in these instruments, namely:

- A. “donation” of lands to Lithuania
- B. “common friends and common enemies” clause
- C. specific provision to jointly attack Muscovy
- D. engagement not to commit harm to the other ruler’s domains and subjects
- E. mutual release of captives and prisoners and restoration of captured goods
- F. security of trade
- G. regular sending of gifts (or tribute) to the khan and presents to his retinue members
- H. engagement not to mistreat or detain the envoys of the other side

#### A. *“Donation” of lands to Lithuania*

The “donation” of lands to Lithuania, repeated in the Crimean *yarliqs* until 1560, had a great ceremonial value for the khans as it depicted their relations with the Jagiellonian rulers as ones between benefactors and recipients. For the latter, the value of this clause was political: firstly, by “granting” these lands to Vilnius the khans tacitly engaged not to raid them; secondly, the clause potentially served as the basis for an anti-Muscovian alliance because the khans used to “donate” to Vilnius such contested areas and towns as Černihiv, Novhorod-Sivers’kyj, Smolensk, and even Pskov, Velikij Novgorod, and the Duchy of Rjazan’, all claimed or already controlled by Moscow. Admittedly, this political potential was weakened by the fact that the khans often “donated” the same lands alternatively to Vilnius and Moscow.

year (document no.)	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G. (value and terms used)	H.
ca. 1462 (1)	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1467 (2)	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	–
ca. 1473 (4)	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1480 (5)	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–
1480 (6)	–	x	–	x	–	–	–	–
1506–1507 (7)	–	x	x	x	–	–	–	–
1507 (8)	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1507 (9)	x <sup>706</sup>	x	x	x	x	–	x (4,500 florins) <sup>707</sup>	–
1513 (10, 11)	x <sup>708</sup>	x	x	x	–	x	x (15,000 florins; <i>upomynky</i> ) <sup>709</sup>	–
1513 (12)	x	x	x	x	–	x	x ( <i>pomynky</i> )	–
1514 (14)	x	x	x	x	–	x	x ( <i>vpomynky</i> )	–
1514 (15, 16)	–	x	–	x	–	x	x (15,000 florins; no term used)	–
1516 (17)	x <sup>710</sup>	x	x	x	–	x	x (15,000 florins; <i>upomynky</i> )	–
1517 (18)	x	x	x	x	–	x	–	–
1520 (19)	x	x	x	x	–	x	x (15,000 florins; <i>vpomynok</i> )	x
1520 (20)	–	x	–	x	–	x	x (15,000 florins; <i>bölek</i> ) <sup>711</sup>	x
1527 (22)	–	x	x	x	–	–	x ( <i>pomynky</i> )	x
1532 (24)	x	x	x	x	–	x	x ( <i>vpomynky</i> ) <sup>712</sup>	–
1535 (26)	–	x	x	x	x	x	x (260 pieces of cloth; <sup>713</sup> <i>pomynky</i> )	–
1539 (28)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x (15,000 florins; <i>upominki</i> )	x
1541 (29)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x (15,000 florins; <i>pomynok</i> )	–
1542 (31)	x	–	x	x	x	x	x (15,000 florins; <sup>714</sup> <i>upominki</i> )	x
1552 (32)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x (15,000 florins; <sup>715</sup> <i>upomynky</i> )	x
1560 (33)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x ( <i>upominki</i> ) <sup>716</sup>	x

<sup>706</sup> Referred to but not specified.

<sup>707</sup> Described as the yearly subsidy that should compensate the costs incurred by the maintenance of the fort of Islamkerman, allegedly constructed by the khan in order to prevent his subjects from raiding Lithuania.

<sup>708</sup> Referred to but not specified.

<sup>709</sup> No term is used in the instrument in Latin.

<sup>710</sup> Referred to but not specified.

<sup>711</sup> On this Turkic term referring to a gift, cf. Document 20, n. 32. In the contemporary Ruthenian translation it is referred to as *vpomynok* (cf. Document 20, Appendix).

<sup>712</sup> Mentioned as the factor that persuaded the khan to allow the royal merchants to trade in his domains, but not specified in a separate clause.

<sup>713</sup> Worth in the Crimea ca. 8580 florins; for the calculation, cf. n. 235 in Part I.

<sup>714</sup> And in addition “three sets of nine gifts;” on the symbolic value of “nine gifts,” cf. Document 31, n. 15.

<sup>715</sup> And in addition “three sets of nine gifts;” cf. n. 714 above.

<sup>716</sup> The document introduced two categories of gifts: the ordinary annual gifts (*upominki roczne*) that were treated as a kind of tribute and the extraordinary gifts, to

Table (cont.)

year (document no.)	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G. (value and terms used)	H.
1592 (34)	—	x	x	x	x	x	x ( <i>bölek hazinesi</i> plus <i>tiyiş</i> ) <sup>717</sup>	x
1592 (35)	—	x	x	x	—	—	x ( <i>bölek hazinesi</i> plus <i>tiyiş</i> ) <sup>718</sup>	—
1598 (36)	—	x	x	x	—	x	x ( <i>upominki</i> )	—
1599 (37)	—	x	x	x	—	x	x ( <i>upominki</i> )	—
1601 (39)	—	x	x	x	—	x	x ( <i>upominki</i> )	—
1601 (40)	—	x	—	x	—	x	x ( <i>upominki</i> )	—
1604 (41)	—	x	—	x	—	x	x ( <i>upominki</i> )	—
1605 (42)	—	x	x	x	—	x	x ( <i>upominki</i> )	—
1607 (43)	—	x	x	x	—	x	x ( <i>consueta dona</i> )	—
1609 (44)	—	x	x	x	—	x	x ( <i>zwykle upominki</i> )	—
1611 (45)	—	x	—	—	—	—	x ( <i>upominki</i> )	—
1624 (48)	—	x	—	x	x <sup>719</sup>	x	x ( <i>skarb/upominki</i> plus <i>podarki</i> ) <sup>720</sup>	x
1632 (49)	—	x	—	x	x <sup>721</sup>	—	x ( <i>uluğ hazine</i> plus <i>tiyişler</i> and <i>bölekler</i> ) <sup>722</sup>	x

be sent by the royal treasury in compensation for the Tatar military assistance against Muscovy; the latter were referred to as “the gifts of Mehmed Giray and of Bahadır Sultan” (*upominki machmetgireiowskie, i bohartirsoldanowskie*) in analogy to the gifts once received from Sigismund I by Khan Mehmed Giray and his son and qalga, Bahadır Sultan; now, they were to be sent to Khan Devlet Giray and his own son and qalga, Mehmed Giray (the future khan Mehmed II Giray); cf. Document 33, n. 30.

<sup>717</sup> In the document, the term *bölek hazinesi* (on the term *bölek*, see n. 711 above; *hazine* means literally “treasure”) refers to the customary gift for the khan while the term *tiyiş* to the presents for his retinue (on the term *tiyiş*, cf. Document 34, n. 16); in addition, the king was to send each year sixty pieces of cloth for the qalga, Feth Giray. If the khan was to assist the king against Muscovy, he was to receive an extra allowance.

<sup>718</sup> In addition, the king was to send each year sixty pieces of cloth for the qalga, Feth Giray. If the khan was to assist the king against Muscovy, he was to receive an extra allowance of 5,000 florins.

<sup>719</sup> Only in reference to the goods stolen from envoys and merchants.

<sup>720</sup> In the document, the term *skarb* (“treasure;” apparently a Polish translation of the Turkish term *hazine*) is identified with *upominki* and refers to the yearly payment (in cash and kind) to the khan. The term *podarki* refers to the gifts or presents sent to the khan’s retinue. In fact, the difference between the terms *upominki* and *podarki* in Polish is negligible, like the difference between “gifts” and “presents” in English; nevertheless, in the translation *upominki* are rendered as “gifts” and *podarki* as “presents.”

<sup>721</sup> The instrument stipulated that the king was to release the khan’s stepbrother, Islam Giray Sultan (the future khan Islam III Giray).

<sup>722</sup> The term *uluğ hazine* (translated as “great treasure”) refers to the yearly payment to the khan, while the plural terms *tiyişler* and *bölekler* to the presents and gifts delivered to his retinue.

Table (cont.)

year (document no.)	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G. (value and terms used)	H.
1634 (50)	–	x	–	x	–	x	x ( <i>uluğ hazine</i> or <i>vêrgü</i> )	x
1635 (51)	–	x	–	x	–	x <sup>723</sup>	x ( <i>zwyuczajne upominki</i> )	x
1637 (52–54)	–	x	–	x	x <sup>724</sup>	x	x ( <i>upominki zwyuczajne/wedle zwyuczaju</i> )	x
1640 (55, 56)	–	x	–	x	x	–	x (30,000 florins, <i>hazine</i> or <i>bölek</i> ) <sup>725</sup>	–
1640 (57)	–	x	–	x	–	x	x ( <i>hazine</i> plus <i>hedaya</i> )	x
1646 (58)	–	–	–	x	–	x <sup>726</sup>	x ( <i>hedaya</i> or <i>vêrgü</i> , also <i>pişkeşler</i> ) <sup>727</sup>	–
1649 (59)	–	x	–	x	–	–	x ( <i>zwyuczajne upominki</i> )	–
1649 (60)	–	x	–	x	–	–	x ( <i>vêrgü</i> or <i>pişkeş</i> )	–
1654 (61)	–	x	x	x	–	–	x ( <i>upominki zwyuczajne</i> )	–
1654 (64)	–	x	x	x	–	–	x ( <i>pişkeş</i> plus <i>hedaya</i> )	–
1667 (66)	–	x	–	x	x	–	x ( <i>upominki</i> )	–
1668 (69)	–	x	–	x	x	–	–	–
1672 (70)	–	–	–	x	–	–	x ( <i>upominki</i> ) <sup>728</sup>	–
1742 (71)	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	x

## B. “Common friends and common enemies” clause

The engagement to be “a friend of the other ruler’s friend and an enemy of the latter’s enemy” could likewise form the basis for military cooperation, but more commonly served as the standard ceremonial formula which was also used in the Ottoman chancery.

<sup>723</sup> In fact, the security of merchants and envoys is only invoked in the *narratio*, in the idealized description of the past peace that should be restored.

<sup>724</sup> Only in reference to the goods stolen from envoys and merchants.

<sup>725</sup> In addition, the king was to send presents and gifts, referred to as *hedaya* and *vêrgüler*, arranged in sets of nine objects; cf. n. 714 above.

<sup>726</sup> In fact, the security of merchants is only invoked in the *narratio*, in the idealized description of the past peace that should be restored.

<sup>727</sup> On the term *pişkeş*, explained in the Redhouse dictionary as a “gift brought to a superior,” cf. Document 50, n. 23.

<sup>728</sup> The khan accepted the Polish proposal to supplement the annual quota by a thousand of golden florins and in return promised to restrain his subjects from raiding Poland-Lithuania.

C. *Specific provision to jointly attack Muscovy*

As the “common friends and common enemies” clause was too vague, when a common military action was indeed planned against Muscovy, it was reflected by a specific provision. The clause typically stipulated that the khan should help the king to recapture the Lithuanian lands lost to the Muscovian ruler. In return, the future incomes from these domains were to be shared between the king and the khan or the latter was to obtain extra subsidies from the royal treasury. Characteristically, the clause disappeared in the first half of the 17th century, when the relations between Warsaw and Baghchasaray were often tense, but reappeared in 1654, when the two courts renewed the anti-Muscovian alliance.

D. *Engagement not to commit harm to the other ruler’s domains and subjects*

A standard formula contained the khan’s engagement to restrain his subjects from raiding the royal domains and sometimes also his promise to punish the culprits. On his part, the king resigned from any claims regarding the past raids. The documents, published in the present volume, also reveal the rising importance of the Cossack issue. While keeping in mind the devastating effects of the Tatar and Nogay raids on the economy and everyday life of their Slavic neighbors, one should not forget that with time, the Cossack activity became equally harmful to the Crimean subjects.

The appearance of the Cossack issue is reflected by the speed with which the old Turkic term *kazak/qazaq* has evolved to denote the Slavic subjects of the Polish-Lithuanian and Muscovian rulers, dwelling on the lower Dnieper and Don rivers. Originally, the term referred to free vagabonds of Turkic origin. In 1514, Mengli Giray engaged that the royal merchants, who would travel through the Black Sea steppe in order to extract salt near Kačybej, would not experience any harm from the side of the khan’s cossacks (*ot kazakov našyx*).<sup>729</sup> To be sure,

<sup>729</sup> See Document 14. Admittedly, the earliest known references to the cossacks who were Lithuanian subjects origin from the years 1492–1493; cf. Hruševs’kyj, *Istorija Ukrajinj-Rusy*, vol. 7, pp. 82–83, Čerkas, *Ukrajinna v polityčnyx vidnosynax*, p. 229. Still, in this early period the term primarily referred to Turkic vagabonds.

these Tatar cossacks were hardly controllable and the Crimean instrument from 1517 listed them along with the khan's "unruly subjects" (*ot našyx ljudej lyxyx y ot kazakov...*).<sup>730</sup> A handy definition of this social group is provided by a document from 1528, recorded in the Lithuanian Register, which described the cossacks as loose Tatars who did not have their own dependents (*to tatarie kozaky, što ljudej ne majut*).<sup>731</sup> The royal instrument from 1535 already distinguished three categories: the cossacks unrelated to the khan, probably of Slavic or mixed Turko-Slavic origin,<sup>732</sup> "the khan's cossacks," and finally "the Akkerman cossacks" (*kozaky belohorodskiyi*) who lived under the Ottoman rule. The instrument of Devlet Giray, issued in 1552, clearly differentiated between the khan's cossacks, who were to be restrained from raiding the royal domains, and the royal cossacks, referred to as "your cossacks" (*kozakov vašyx*).<sup>733</sup> Finally, Devlet Giray's instrument from 1560 referred to "your or Muscovian cossacks," evidently in reference to the activity of Dmytro Vyšnevec'kyj, the famous Cossack leader who shifted his loyalty between Vilnius and Moscow.<sup>734</sup> Thus, depending on the context, the same term could refer to Turkic nomads, being the Crimean or Ottoman subjects, or even to the distant Kazakhs who at times invaded the Nogay pasturelands on the Volga,<sup>735</sup> but also to the Dnieper and Don Cossacks (the last term is capitalized in the standard English usage) who were mostly, though not exclusively, of Slavic origin and recruited from among the Polish-Lithuanian and Muscovian subjects. In Ghazi II Giray's instrument from 1592, the latter were labeled as "the Christian cossacks who dwelled on the Dnieper river and who were thieves and robbers" (*Özü suyında olan qristyanning hirsuz harami qazaqları*) and clearly distinguished from "the Tatar cossacks" (*Tatar qazaqları*). The khan demanded that the king should restrain his subjects and expel them from the Dnieper so that they could not raid the Crimean territory.<sup>736</sup> In the years to come, this demand would be repeated like a mantra in

<sup>730</sup> See Document 18.

<sup>731</sup> *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 523 (1528). Viešųjų reikalų knyga 1.* Edited by A. Baliulis and A. Dubonis (Vilnius, 2006), p. 94.

<sup>732</sup> Admittedly, this fragment is unclear; cf. Document 26, n. 3.

<sup>733</sup> Document 32.

<sup>734</sup> Document 33.

<sup>735</sup> Cf. n. 189 in Part I.

<sup>736</sup> Document 34.

the subsequent Crimean instruments and letters, but the kings were unable, and sometimes unwilling, to fulfill it.

*E. Mutual release of captives and prisoners and restoration of captured goods*

The provision to release captives and restore stolen goods was entered relatively rarely. Apparently both sides acknowledged that it was hardly practicable. A khan who would try to deprive his warriors of the booty would risk his throne. Besides, by the time when the instruments were exchanged most of the captives had been probably sold to the Ottoman domains. Also the royal control over the Ukrainian Cossacks, who lived from raiding the Muslim territories, was very weak and an order to release the Tatar captives would be probably ignored. Only the most prominent captives could hope to return home, either redeemed or released in political gesture.

*F. Security of trade*

A common stereotype depicts the Tatars as concerned solely with gifts and booty and thus obliterates the fact that it was the conscious commercial policy of the Genghisids which enabled the first direct trade contacts between medieval Europe and China. In fact, the instruments exchanged between the Crimean khans and the Polish-Lithuanian rulers typically contained the clause that not only assured safe trade within the khan's domains, but also safe transit to Ottoman Caffa. The royal subjects were also allowed to extract salt from the salines near Kačybej (today's Odessa) and bring it to Kiev, Luc'k, and other royal towns, initially for free, and later against payment. A clause entered in 1513 stipulated that the royal merchants, either from Poland, Lithuania, or Germany (*yz ljadskoe zemly, y lytovskoe, y z nemeckoe*) should be able to come and go without suffering any oppression, on the provision that they paid the ancient customary toll (*tamğa*).<sup>737</sup> It is hard to resolve whether the reference to Germany reflected the fact that

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<sup>737</sup> See Document 12; the identification of the Ruthenian term *myto* with the Turkic term *tamğa* is possible on the basis of Document 20, which is preserved in the Khwar-ezmian Turkic original and in a contemporary Ruthenian copy.

many royal merchants, not only from Royal Prussia (e.g., Danzig and Thorn) but also from such major towns as Cracow (Germ. Krakau) or L'viv (Germ. Lemberg), were Germans, or resulted from geographical ignorance at the khan's court. Actually, such geographical ignorance could be perpetuated by those concerned: a merchant from Breslau, Nuremberg, or Lübeck might have preferred to pass as a Polish subject in order to benefit from the clause extended onto the royal merchants, just like the Western ships used to come to the Ottoman ports under the French flag in order to benefit from the Ottoman-French capitulations. The clause from 1513 was repeated in 1520 and, like the former one, regarded the royal merchants "from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Polish Crown, and Germany" (*Lytovskoho Velykoho Kneženja, y Korony Pol'skoe, y Nemec'*). It contained the additional provision reducing the *tamğa* from seven percent to only three percent *ad valorem* and exempting the royal merchants from any other fees. The fees for the transported salt and other products were to be paid to the *amins*, i.e., the khan's intendants, responsible for their collection.<sup>738</sup>

The mutual agreements also regarded the khan's subjects who traveled with the purpose of trade to the royal lands, although in 1560 Devlet Giray promised that his merchants, be they Turks [i.e., Muslims], Franks [i.e., Latin Christians], Armenians, or Jews, should not join embassies and couriers in the hope to benefit from tax exemptions.<sup>739</sup>

In the long run, neither the written warranties of safety nor the reductions of fees could save the medieval *via Tartarica* that had once connected Central Europe with Caffa (cf. Chapter 5 above). The road through the steppe became too dangerous due to the activity of the Cossacks, Nogays, and other loose vagrants who escaped the control of either Baghchasaray or Vilnius/Cracow. Yet, the trade continued, mostly through Moldavia, Budjak, and the Black Sea ports of Akkerman and Kōzlev, and the seventeenth-century instruments of peace, exchanged between the khans and the kings, contained the standard clause that secured the safety of trade, although formulated more

<sup>738</sup> See Document 19.

<sup>739</sup> See Document 33; the document is preserved only in a Polish translation. The omission of Orthodox Christians, who would be referred to as Greeks in the khan's instrument, was probably accidental although it might have reflected the fact that they were less active in the Crimean trade with Poland-Lithuania than in the Black Sea trade and the Crimean domestic trade.



vaguely than in the early sixteenth-century documents. The ultimate triumph of the Budjak route over the ancient *via Tartarica* is evidenced by the last Polish-Crimean treaty instrument from 1742. Its second article, regarding the merchants and trade, is formulated as if the commercial center of the Khanate were not the Crimean Peninsula but Budjak. Selamet II Giray assured that the royal merchants “who come to Budjak and [other] regions of the hither side [i.e., the Crimean Khanate], should not be asked [to give] anything above the customary taxes” (*Bucaq taraflarına ve beri semtlere gelenlerden mu’tad olan vërgülerinden ziyade şey taleb olunmamaq*).<sup>740</sup>

G. *Regular sending of gifts (or tribute) to the khan and presents to his retinue members*

The issue of gifts or tribute has been already discussed in Chapter 5, where we have also proposed to focus on their function rather than stick to the terms used. It is worth noting that while the royal side consequently referred to its annual payments as “gifts” (Ruth. *pomyinky*; Pol. *upominki*), also the khans, at least in their formal instruments sent to Poland-Lithuania, typically used such terms as *bölek*, *hedaya*, *pişkeş*, which all referred to gifts (although *pişkeş* referred to a gift brought to a superior), or the neutral term *hazine* (“treasure”). At times, one also encounters the term *vërgü* (“tax,” lit. “something given”), but never the term *harac*, which was used in reference to the royal payments only in the correspondence between the khans and the Ottoman sultans.<sup>741</sup> Halil İnalcık observes that such terms as *hedaya*, *vërgü*, and especially *pişkeş* had features of a tribute but did not entail actual submission and dependence for the “tributary” state.<sup>742</sup> On the other hand, it is worth remembering that also in the humiliating Polish-Ottoman treaty of 1672 the Ottoman negotiators mercifully replaced the term *harac* with *pişkeş*, while there is no doubt in historiography that the Polish king then formally became an Ottoman tributary.<sup>743</sup>

<sup>740</sup> See Document 71.

<sup>741</sup> Cf. n. 190 in Part I.

<sup>742</sup> İnalcık, “Power Relationships between Russia, the Crimea, and the Ottoman Empire as Reflected in Titulature,” p. 395.

<sup>743</sup> Cf. Document 50, n. 23.

Sending the annual payments to the Tatars was not a novelty for the Lithuanian rulers, but in their relations with the Crimean Khanate the issue had not been formally regulated until the 16th century. Hadji Giray was apparently still too weak to demand a tribute from Vilnius, and the Crimean-Lithuanian hostilities in the initial decades of Mengli Giray's reign prevented a formal treaty that could invoke financial obligations. Negotiations regarding a mutual reconciliation on the condition of annual payments to the khan were initiated in the years 1499–1500, but ended in failure. Finally, an agreement was reached in the years 1506–1507, when Vilnius engaged to pay yearly 4,500 florins, formally as the subsidy towards the maintenance of the Crimean border fort of Islamkerman. In the following negotiations, in 1509, Sigismund proposed to augment this sum to 6,000 florins. Finally, in 1510, both sides agreed to the annual sum of 15,000 florins, to be paid in two installments: by Pentecost and by St. Martin's Day (11 November). The first payment was effected for the year 1512 (although with delay) and the above conditions were reiterated in the subsequent instruments of peace, until in 1520, Mehmed Giray demanded that the whole annual sum should be paid in one installment, by Pentecost. An internal arrangement between Vilnius and Cracow stipulated that half of the annual sum would be paid by Lithuania, and the other half by Poland.

Profiting from the internal turmoil in the Crimea that followed the death of Mehmed Giray in 1523, Sigismund suspended the gifts. In the following decade they were sent rarely if at all and their value was sharply diminished. In 1535, during the negotiations with the new khan, Sahib Giray, Sigismund proposed to renew his annual gifts, but in a reduced value and only in English cloth. The royal instrument stipulated that these gifts would be sent in one annual installment, by 30 June. Sahib Giray resented all the three novelties: the reduction of value, the complete replacement of cash with cloth, and the postponement of the first installment. His instrument of 1539 stipulated that the gifts should amount to 15,000 florins, of which 13,000 should be in English cloth and 2,000 in golden coins, and they should be delivered by St. George's Day (23 April). The negotiations in Cracow, conducted in 1541, brought a compromise: the gifts were to be entirely in English cloth, but their value was to amount to 15,000 florins, to be delivered in two installments: by St. John's Day (24 June) and by All Saints' Day (1 November). Yet, in his instrument of 1542 Sahib Giray again demanded that 2,000 florins should be paid in cash (i.e., golden

coins) and the standard gift should be supplemented by extra presents. The above conditions were repeated in the instrument of Devlet Giray, issued in 1552, which also stipulated that the gifts should be sent each year by 1 November. In his following instrument, issued in 1560, the khan moved the deadline to Christmas.

In the times of Ghazi II Giray and Sigismund III, the value of gifts continued to amount to 15,000 golden florins and the typical deadline was November or, more precisely, St. Demetrius' Day (5 November), known in the Turkish world as the day of Kasım (*ruz-i Qasım*) and regarded as the beginning of winter.<sup>744</sup> Admittedly, this deadline was rarely met. In the following decades, the gifts were typically not delivered at all due to the frequent hostilities and Tatar raids. In a rare moment of detente, in 1640, Bahadır Giray requested that the gifts should be doubled to 30,000 florins: 15,000 in cash and 15,000 in cloth and furs. Perhaps the longest period when the gifts were sent regularly coincided with the "long alliance" between Warsaw and Baghcharay in the years 1654–1666. Yet, even in that period, delays were common, although in theory the gifts were to be sent by St. John's Day.<sup>745</sup> By that time, the means for the Tatar gifts had been provided mainly by the Polish Crown treasury while the Lithuanian financial participation had become marginal.<sup>746</sup> Finally, in June 1682, one year before the gifts were ultimately discontinued due to the outbreak of a new war, their yearly value amounted to 40,000 *kara gurus*, i.e., Reichsthalers.<sup>747</sup>

#### H. *Engagement not to mistreat or detain the envoys of the other side*

This matter has been already discussed above in Chapter 5. It is worth stressing that the immunity of foreign envoys was repeatedly invoked

<sup>744</sup> Cf. Document 36, n. 9 and Document 43, n. 11.

<sup>745</sup> Wójcik, "Some problems of Polish-Tatar relations in the seventeenth century," p. 100.

<sup>746</sup> Cf. n. 304 in Part I.

<sup>747</sup> Bibl. Czart., ms. 179 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 207–212, esp. p. 209 (a letter of Murad Giray to John III Sobieski, dated on 25 Djumada I 1093 A.H., in which the khan reminds the king that the total value of annual gifts should amount to forty thousand *kara gurus*: *la somme de quarante mille karagrouse, qui nous revient pour le tribut d'une année entière*; the letter is preserved in a French translation prepared by a Crown translator, Antoni Crutta, in 1780). In the Ottoman Empire, the imperial thalers were referred to as *kara gurus* (lit. "black thalers") because they contained less pure silver than the Spanish reals.

in the instruments of peace exchanged between the kings and the khans. To be sure, this immunity was not always respected and at times openly violated. Nevertheless, at least at face value, the inclusion of this clause set a standard for diplomatic relations not much different from the one observed in other early modern states.

### *Regulation of border problems*

One issue to be expected in instruments of peace exchanged between two neighboring states would be the demarcation of the common border. Yet, no formal demarcation was ever effected between the Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania, even though demarcations were effected several times between Poland-Lithuania and the Ottoman Empire.<sup>748</sup>

Mengli Giray's instrument from 1507 regarded the Dnieper crossing named Tavan' as the meeting place, where Lithuanian envoys were to deliver the royal gifts and in return collect the Lithuanian subjects, released from the Tatar captivity.<sup>749</sup> A Lithuanian report from 1542 maintained that since the times of Semen Olelkovyč (the autonomous prince of Kiev who reigned in the years 1454–1470) the border had run between Tavan' and the upper Donec while the ferry incomes from the Dnieper crossing at Tavan' had been equally shared between the two rulers.<sup>750</sup> After the Cossacks had destroyed the Crimean fort of Islamkerman (built at the Tavan' crossing on the left shore of the Dnieper) in 1556, the meeting place was moved further to the south-east, to the Tatar fort of Ferahkerman (Perekop, also known as Or) built in the Crimean isthmus. This transfer was confirmed by Devlet Giray's instrument from 1560.

Yet, the aforementioned stipulations did not imply that the khans had no claims to the steppe territories extending beyond Tavan' and Perekop, which served as Tatar and Nogay pasturages. In reaction to the Lithuanian protests against his subjects who had grazed their herds on the rivers Boh and Synja voda (Synjuxa), Sahib Giray retorted in

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<sup>748</sup> On these demarcations, undertaken in 1542 but failed, and then effected successfully in 1633, 1680, and 1703, see Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 57–67.

<sup>749</sup> Cf. Document 9.

<sup>750</sup> Cf. n. 266 in Part I.

1548, in his letter to the king: “this land is neither yours nor mine, but God’s; whoever is stronger, will keep it.”<sup>751</sup>

The Tatar ambivalent attitude towards the idea of territorial border is best reflected in Bahadır Giray’s instrument from 1640, in which the khan reproached the king: “your [...] Cossacks came many times [raiding] our subjects wandering on the outer side of Or [i.e., Per-ekop], situated on our border moat, [...] and captured a lot of property [i.e., cattle] and many captives” (*serhad cerlerimizde Ordın tışqarı çevire-turğan elimizge [...] qazağınuz niçe kerre kelüb köb mal ve niçe tusnaq aldılar*).<sup>752</sup> Although the khan’s subjects were wandering on the *outer side* of the *border moat* (emphasis mine-DK), it is evident that the khan regarded these territories as his.

The claim to the northern pasturages, situated between the Dnieper and the Boh, is most explicitly expressed in the instrument of 1649, issued by İslam III Giray: “as on the northern side of the Dnieper, on the [rivers] Ingul, Ingulec’, and Chubartıl [Velykaja Vis’] there are pasturages and grasslands belonging to the Crimea, when animals arrive [from the Crimea], while they graze, neither you, nor your commanders should interfere” (*ve Öziniñ canib-i şimalinde İngil ve Ungul ve Çubartılda Qırım vilayetiniñ çera-gah ve otlaqları olup hayvanatları gelüp otladıqlarında taraflıñızdan ve ümerañızdan müdahale etmeyeceklerine*).<sup>753</sup>

Further complications resulted from the Ottoman-Crimean shared sovereignty over the Black Sea steppe.<sup>754</sup> Since the late 15th century, the Ottomans garrisoned Azaq (Azov) and Akkerman, and since the Moldavian campaign of 1538, also Bender (Tighina) and Oçakiv. The last fort, initially constructed by Mengli Giray and known to the

<sup>751</sup> Cf. n. 268 in Part I.

<sup>752</sup> See Document 55.

<sup>753</sup> The Ingul is a left tributary of the Boh, the Ingulec’ is a right tributary of the Dnieper, and the Velykaja Vis’ (Tur. Chubartıl) is a left tributary of the Synjuxa (Pol. Sine Wody), which in turn is a left tributary of the Boh; on the identification of the three rivers, proposed by Abrahamowicz on the basis of the Crimean chronicle by Hadji Mehmed Senai; cf. Document 60, n. 7.

<sup>754</sup> It is worth remembering that elements of shared sovereignty also existed in the Crimea proper; for instance, the khan exerted judicial authority over the Tatar inhabitants of Caffa; moreover, the Ottoman subjects from the Mangup district of the Ottoman province of Caffa used to settle their conflicts at the judicial court in Baghchasaray apparently because the travel time was shorter than to any Ottoman court; see Natalia Królikowska, “Law and Division of Power in the Crimean Khanate. A Study on the Reign of Murad Giray (1678–1683),” pp. 214–219.

Tatars as Djankerman (lit. "the new town"), assumed the new Turkish name (Özü qal'esi, lit. "the Dnieper fortress") and became the center of a new Ottoman province. It was situated at the mouth of the Boh near the remains of Dašov, the ancient Lithuanian fort founded by Vytautas. The Ottoman acquisition of the territory between the lower Dniester and the lower Boh was probably the immediate reason for the fact that the donation *yarlıq*, granted by Sahib Giray to Sigismund in 1539, no longer listed Majak, Kačybej, and Dašov, which had been traditionally "granted" to Lithuania in the previous documents. In 1539, Sahib Giray also explained that he could not prevent the inhabitants of Akkerman, Očakiv, and Azov from raiding the royal lands because they were Ottoman subjects.<sup>755</sup>

Yet, it soon turned out that the Ottomans were unable to control their northern steppe territories without the Tatar cooperation. In 1552 the new khan, Devlet Giray, proudly informed the king that he was authorized by the "Turkish emperor" to "keep a tight reign" on the inhabitants of these lands.<sup>756</sup> In the following years, the Ottomans garrisoned the main strongholds but the authority over the northern Black Sea steppe, extending from the Kuban to the mouth of the Danube, was ceded to the khan. In Budjak, the khan's authority over the local Tatars, Nogays, and even Christians was exerted by his deputy titled *yalı agha* ("the agha of the seashore"), who resided in Hanqışla (lit. "the khan's winter quarters") near Ottoman Akkerman.

In the years 1598–1622, in a somewhat delayed reaction, the Polish diplomacy insisted on obtaining the khan's recognition of its territorial claims reaching the Black Sea shore, notwithstanding the Tatar protests that they could not make such concession without the sultan's authorization. In 1599 and 1607, the Polish efforts were crowned with apparent successes and the respective clauses were entered in Ghazi II Giray's instruments. Yet, it does not seem that the khan treated such promises seriously and was ready to resign from the traditional Tatar and Nogay pasturages. Even more curiously, the same clause reappeared in Mehmed III Giray's instrument from 1624, though admittedly it was issued at the time when the khan desperately needed Polish support against a possible Ottoman intervention. The issue was dropped altogether in 1633, when the Polish and Ottoman commis-

<sup>755</sup> See Document 28.

<sup>756</sup> See Document 32.

sioners demarcated a common boundary passing slightly to the south from the rivers Jahorlyk and Kodyma, quite distant from the Black Sea shore.

According to the Polish-Russian treaty of 1686, the king ceded to the tsar the sovereignty over the Zaporozhian Cossacks and thus the Commonwealth was deprived of its ancient border with the Crimean Khanate, which ran along the lower Dnieper. Nonetheless, in 1699 the Commonwealth recovered its southeastern provinces, lost to the Porte in 1672, and regained its former border with the territories between the lower Dniester and the lower Boh, which remained under the joint Ottoman-Crimean sovereignty. In 1703, the boundary from 1633 was formally restored (with minor changes) in result of a new demarcation. Although it was effected by the Polish and Ottoman commissioners in the absence of the khan's representatives, its instruments, drawn in Latin and Ottoman Turkish, contained references to the khan's subjects, who inhabited the lands situated on the southern, Ottoman side of the border.<sup>757</sup>

With a strengthening control over the steppe exerted from St. Petersburg, Istanbul, and Baghchasaray, one of the last safe havens for all sorts of irregulars and marauders developed on the lower Boh, at the conjunction of the Polish, Russian, Crimean, and Ottoman borders. Not accidentally, the only typical "border clause," found in the Crimean instrument of 1742, referred to this area. The document's fifth article stipulated that as the border area along the lower Boh had become the shelter for "plundering brigands from among the Zaporozhian Cossacks" as well as "some Nogay mirzas," it should be patrolled and settled in order to protect the peaceful subjects of the king and the khan from further depredations.<sup>758</sup>

By tracing the changes in terminology encountered in the correspondence between the khans and the kings, we can observe the evolution of the Slavic term *ukrayna/ukraina*, which had initially denoted any "borderland," but with time assumed its modern primary meaning, namely "the Ukraine"—a land to the north of the Black Sea,

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<sup>757</sup> See Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 627, 632, 637. The fragment, found in both the Ottoman and Polish instruments, refers to a settlement on the border river Jahorlyk, inhabited by the khan's subjects. In the second half of the 18th century, a similar settlement named Balta developed on the border river Kodyma, opposite the Polish town of Józefgród.

<sup>758</sup> See Document 71.

whose name was later adopted by a modern nation and state. When in 1507 Mengli Giray declared that he had donated *ruskaja vkrayna* to Sigismund, we may safely assume that the term still had a vague general connotation and should be translated as “the Ruthenian borderland.” This conclusion can be confirmed by a quotation from Sigismund’s letter from 1514, in which the king deplored the Muscovian raids of his “borderland towns” (*ukraynnyx horodov*) Polack and Vicebsk, in fact situated far to the north in today’s Belarus.<sup>759</sup> Yet, when in 1552 Devlet Giray promised not to raid or bring harm *obejum pan’stvam, Ljackomu y Velykomu Knjazstvu Lytovskomu, abo na ukrayne*, we might assume that the last term already denoted the Ukraine and the fragment should be translated: “to the two states: Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, or to the Ukraine.”<sup>760</sup> Likewise, the reference to the cossacks *z ukrainnych zamków*, found in the instrument from 1560, should be rather translated “from the Ukrainian castles,” although an alternative translation: “from the borderland castles” appears correct as well.<sup>761</sup> The term *kozacy* (“cossacks”), found in the above citation, reflects a parallel development, already described above, from a common to a proper name.

### *Other issues*

In addition to the typical clauses that figured in the instruments exchanged between the khans and the kings, other issues were treated only in certain periods and the fact of their recording reflected their relevance at a given time. As long as the Girays’ claim to the Golden Horde’s heritage was vulnerable, the khans aimed to secure that their rivals would not receive support from Vilnius and Cracow. In 1480, Mengli Giray asked Casimir to hand him over the subjects of his former rival, Seyyid Ahmed, the grandson of Tokhtamish. In the years 1506–1527, the personage of Sheikh Ahmed, the former khan of the Great Horde, kept over twenty years in Lithuanian custody, figured prominently in the negotiations between Qırq Yer and Vilnius. At first, Mengli Giray tried to persuade Sigismund to execute his archrival but had to satisfy himself with the promise that the latter would not

<sup>759</sup> Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, p. 441.

<sup>760</sup> Cf. Document 32, n. 22.

<sup>761</sup> Cf. Document 33, n. 31.



be released (he was eventually released in 1527) and that his followers would be settled in Lithuania far from the Crimean borders. Mengli's unprecedented consent to send his grandson as a hostage to Vilnius (in 1512) was aimed to assure Sigismund of the khan's goodwill and to dissuade the king from using Sheikh Ahmed against the Crimea.

A century later, during the Crimean "time of troubles," in 1632, Djanibek Giray demanded that the royal side should not grant refuge to his enemy, the former qalga Shahin Giray. The prolonged conflict within the Giray family enabled Kantemir, the powerful Nogay commander, to build an independent base of power in Budjak and challenge the khan's rule. Therefore, when in 1634 Djanibek Giray consented to the old Polish request and promised to remove his subjects from Budjak, his decision not only aimed to please the Poles but was in fact intended against Kantemir. The Tatar-Nogay conflict continued during the reign of the new khan, Inayet Giray, and culminated with the open confrontation of 1637, which resulted in the execution of both contenders: Kantemir and Inayet Giray, by the Ottomans. After the new khan, Bahadır Giray, executed a number of Nogay leaders in 1639, Budjak lost much of its political importance, although the Nogays continued to dwell in the northern Black Sea steppes.

The ambitions of Warsaw and Baghchararay to share the patronage over Moldavia, and at times even Wallachia, with Istanbul, are reflected in the instruments exchanged in the years 1598–1609, which invoked the agreement reached in 1595, at Țuțora, between Khan Ghazi II Giray and Hetman Jan Zamoyski. After the war of 1620–1621, Baghchararay changed its official position and in the instruments from 1624, 1635, and 1637 the khans defended the status of Moldavia and Wallachia as the Ottoman tributaries against any Polish claims. Nevertheless, the idea of a triple Ottoman-Crimean-Polish patronage over Moldavia, Wallachia, and even Transylvania, returned in the negotiations of 1654. Not by accident, the Crimean envoy Süleyman Agha, who concluded the preliminary peace in Warsaw and accompanied the Polish envoy, Mariusz Jaskólski, to Baghchararay, was then immediately sent to Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania, to notify their rulers of the newly concluded alliance between the khan and the king.<sup>762</sup>

The Ukrainian Cossacks, typically regarded as a nuisance and blamed for disrupting the peace in the correspondence between

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<sup>762</sup> See Jaskólski's diary in AGAD, Libri Legationum, no. 33, fol. 45a.

Warsaw and Baghchasaray, are treated more favorably in the Crimean instruments issued in the years 1649, 1654, and 1667–1668. All these instruments were issued in similar circumstances, when the khans deserted their Cossack allies and resolved to reconcile with Warsaw. Apparently in desire to maintain the equilibrium and not let the Commonwealth recover its full control over the Ukraine, perhaps also tormented by bad conscience and—more likely—accusations of the pro-Cossack faction in the Crimea, the khans acted as mediators and obliged King John Casimir to forgive the Cossacks and reconfirm their ancient privileges, if only the latter expressed their wish to return under the royal hand.

The instrument from 1742, which stands alone as the only eighteenth-century document in the present volume, no longer contains the traditional clauses regarding the Tatar raids and the royal gifts, because these issues were regulated by the Karlowitz Treaty, corroborated by the Ottoman sultan also on behalf of the khan. In its first article, Selamet II Giray's instrument invokes the Karlowitz Treaty and stipulates that its provisions should be observed. In addition, the khan reaffirmed the security of the royal merchants, envoys, and even Christian missionaries who would arrive into his domains. The document also aimed to settle a number of minor disputes that had arisen during the recently finished Russo-Ottoman war (1736–1739), in which the Commonwealth had not participated, but its territory had been used by both belligerents.

In sum, the political contents of the instruments, published in the present volume, disclose a large spectrum of issues and surprisingly broad horizons, extending from Scandinavia to Persia and from Hungary to Siberia.

## CONCLUSION

If culture is about communication, there was certainly a common culture shared by the political elites of Poland-Lithuania and the Crimean Khanate. Both sides were familiar with the political institutions, existing in their partner's country, and with the limitations imposed on the king's and the khan's rule by their respective nobilities. In the mutual correspondence, conducted in various languages in Cyrillic, Arabic, and Latin scripts, the beliefs and religious feasts of the other side were often invoked. In 1514, King Sigismund explained to Khan Mengli Giray that the Lithuanian troops which were supposed to attack Muscovy, jointly with the Tatars, were not ready to gather "by the Tatar Bairam" (*na bajram tatarsky*).<sup>763</sup> Six years later, Khan Mehmed Giray asked King Sigismund to send him the customary gifts "by your feast of Pentecost, seven weeks after your feast of red eggs" (*sizing qızıl yumurtqa bayramıngızdan yeti hafta song Pentekošte bayramıngızda yibergeysiz*), obviously referring to Easter when eggs, which symbolized Christ's Resurrection, were traditionally colored.<sup>764</sup> Furthermore, both sides used to invoke the partner's religion while summoning him to keep his oath. In 1527, Khan Sa'adet Giray reproached King Sigismund that even though the Lithuanians had sworn unto the Gospel, Prophet Jesus and his mother, Virgin Mary, they did not keep their word (*što este prysjahaly na evanhelii y na proroka Ezusa y matky eho panny Maryi, y to este ne zderžaly*).<sup>765</sup> On their side, the Lithuanian and Polish chancery officials did not hesitate to invoke "the righteous prophet, His Majesty Muhammad Mustafa" and include the Arabic oath *vallahi ve billahi ve tallahi* in the formulas of future instruments, submitted to the khans for acceptance.

Aware of the authority and prestige enjoyed by clergymen in their own societies, both sides did not hesitate to contact religious authorities of the other country: while the khans referred to Orthodox and Catholic bishops in their *yarlıqs*, the kings corresponded with Muslim mullahs and sheikhs.

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<sup>763</sup> Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, p. 441.

<sup>764</sup> See Document 20.

<sup>765</sup> RGADA, f. 389, no. 7, p. 910.

The two sides did not mind using the other party's calendars, notwithstanding that these calendars stemmed from conflicting religious beliefs. This was by far not a usual approach in the early modern era. It is worth reminding that at the same time, the Protestant elites from the supposedly "more rational and enlightened" western part of Europe long refused to adopt the Gregorian calendar merely because it had been introduced by a Catholic pope, even though they admitted that it was more precise. In another corner of the world, the Chinese government refused to receive a Russian embassy in 1660 merely because the tsar's letter did not follow the Chinese calendar.<sup>766</sup> For the same reason, the Japanese government resigned from maintaining regular diplomatic relations with China because a letter dated according to the Japanese calendar would not be accepted in Peking, whereas the adoption of the Chinese calendar would imply the acceptance of the Chinese suzerainty.<sup>767</sup>

In this context, it is worth quoting Mengli Giray's instrument, dated *in lo angni de nove centto vinti de nostro profetta iusto et in lo angno de Jezu Criste in mille cinque cento quatordice*.<sup>768</sup> The idea of multiculturalism, so fashionable today, is embodied in this very document, composed in the name of a Muslim khan by his Italian official, drawn in Latin script but corroborated with a square seal with Arabic engravings, and sent to a Catholic king who also happened to rule over millions of Orthodox Ruthenians (and thousands of Jews and Muslim Tatars as well), whose chanceries used alternatively Latin and Cyrillic scripts, and whose Lithuanian grandfather was ridiculed by a Polish Catholic chronicler for spending whole nights on listening to night-ingales, a strange romantic habit believed to have disclosed his pagan and barbarian descent.<sup>769</sup>

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<sup>766</sup> See Mjasnikov, *The Ch'ing Empire and the Russian State in the 17th Century*, pp. 120–121.

<sup>767</sup> See Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan. Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu*, pp. 90–91 and 181.

<sup>768</sup> See Document 16.

<sup>769</sup> *Joannis Dlugossi Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae. Liber undecimus et duodecimus: 1431–1444* (Warsaw, 2001), p. 114.

# INSTRUMENTS EXCHANGED BETWEEN THE CRIMEAN KHANATE AND POLAND-LITHUANIA

Tatar documents	Polish-Lithuanian documents
[ca. 1432-40 donation <i>yarlıq</i> regarding Lithuania]	
ca. 1462 donation <i>yarlıq</i> regarding Lithuania	
[ca. 1467-69 donation <i>yarlıq</i> regarding Lithuania]	
1467 <i>şartname</i> regarding Poland	1472 on behalf of Poland
ca. 1473 donation <i>yarlıq</i> regarding Lithuania	
1480 the Crimean envoy's recorded oath	
1480 <i>şartname</i>	
1506 the Crimean envoy's recorded oath	
1507 donation <i>yarlıq</i> regarding Lithuania	
1507 <i>şartname</i>	1513 on behalf of Lithuania 1513 on behalf of Poland
1513 donation <i>yarlıq</i> cum <i>şartname</i>	
1513 the khan's recorded oath	
1514 donation <i>yarlıq</i> cum <i>şartname</i>	
1514 <i>şartname</i> regarding Poland	
1514 <i>şartname</i> regarding Poland (in Italian)	
[1515 donation <i>yarlıq</i> cum <i>şartname</i> ]	1516 on behalf of Lithuania [1516 on behalf of Poland]
1517 donation <i>yarlıq</i> cum <i>şartname</i> sworn by Bahadır Giray	
1520 donation <i>yarlıq</i> cum <i>şartname</i>	
1520 <i>şartname</i> regarding Poland	
1522 the Crimean envoy's recorded oath	
1527 oath- <i>yarlıq</i>	
1527 oath- <i>yarlıq</i> issued by the qalga	
1532 donation <i>yarlıq</i> cum <i>şartname</i> confirmed by İslam Giray	
[1534 instrument not accepted and returned]	
1535 the Crimean envoy's recorded oath	1535
1539 donation <i>yarlıq</i> cum <i>şartname</i>	
1541 preliminary peace conditions sworn by the Crimean envoy	
1541 the Crimean envoy's recorded oath	[1541?]
[1541 donation <i>yarlıq</i> cum <i>şartname</i> ]	
1542 donation <i>yarlıq</i> cum <i>şartname</i>	
1552 donation <i>yarlıq</i> cum <i>şartname</i>	
1560 donation <i>yarlıq</i> cum <i>şartname</i>	

Table (*cont.*)

Tatar documents	Polish-Lithuanian documents
[1571?]	
[1579]	
[1582?]	
[1585 instrument not accepted and returned]	
1592 <i>'ahdname</i>	
1592 oath- <i>yarlıq</i>	1598 (issued after the pacification of 1595)
1599 <i>'ahdname</i>	
1599 the Crimean envoy's sworn instrument	1601
1601 <i>'ahdname</i> (not accepted and returned)	[1602 a copy of the above instrument?]
1604 <i>'ahdname</i> (not accepted)	1605
1607 <i>'ahdname</i>	
1609 <i>'ahdname</i>	
1611 <i>'ahdname</i>	
1624 <i>'ahdname</i>	
1632 <i>'ahdname</i>	
1634 <i>'ahdname</i>	
1635 <i>'ahdname</i>	
1637 <i>'ahdname</i>	
1637 <i>'ahdname</i> issued by the qalga	1637 addressed to the qalga
1640 <i>'ahdname</i>	
1640 <i>'ahdname</i> issued by the qalga	
1640 <i>'ahdname</i> issued by the nureddin	
1646 <i>'ahdname</i>	
1649 instrument of the Treaty of Zborów (Zboriv)	1649 the royal instrument of the same treaty
	1654 the royal instrument of peace sworn by the king, the representatives of the Senate and Diet, and the Crimean envoy
	1654 the king's recorded oath
	1654 the Senate members' recorded oath
1654 <i>'ahdname</i>	
1666 the Crimean envoy's recorded oath	
1667 instrument of the Treaty of Podhajce (Pidhajci)	[the Polish-Lithuanian instrument of the same treaty]
1667 the Crimean plenipotentiaries' recorded oath	1667 the Polish commissioners' recorded oath

Table (*cont.*)

Tatar documents	Polish-Lithuanian documents
1668 the khan's instrument confirming the Treaty of Podhajce	
1672 the khan's guarantee following the Ottoman ' <i>ahdname</i>	
1742 instrument of peace referred to as <i>yarlıq</i>	

If the document's issue is confirmed in other sources, but its text is not extant, it is mentioned in square brackets. During the negotiations near Žvanec' (Pol. Żwaniec) in 1653, only an oral agreement was reached and no written instruments were exchanged. Besides, in 1595 and 1676 the khans corroborated the treaties of Țuțora (Pol. Cecora) and Żuravno (Pol. Żurawno) on behalf of the Ottoman sultans and these treaties are already published along with the Ottoman-Polish ones. The present list does not contain the ready formulas of the khans' instruments, prepared by the royal chancery in 1534, 1535, 1571, 1581, 1619, and 1622. The texts of three formulas are preserved (the ones from 1535, 1619, and 1622) and published in the present volume, but they cannot be regarded as instruments of peace.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE REIGNS OF CRIMEAN KHANS,  
POLISH KINGS, AND LITHUANIAN GRAND DUKES  
(1386–1795)

<i>khans:</i>	<i>kings:</i>	<i>grand dukes (till 1572):</i>
1441–1466 Hadji Giray	1386–1434 Vladislaus II Jagiełło	1392–1430 Vytautas
1466–1467 Mengli Giray*	1434–1444 Vladislaus III	1430–1432 Švitrigaila
1467–1469 Nur Devlet*	1447–1492 Casimir	1432–1440 Sigismund
1469–1474 Mengli Giray**	1492–1501 John Albert	1440–1492 Casimir
1476–1478 Nur Devlet**	1501–1506 Alexander	1492–1506 Alexander
1478–1515 Mengli Giray***	1506–1548 Sigismund	1506–1544 Sigismund
1515–1523 Mehmed Giray	1548–1572 Sigismund II Augustus	1548–1572 Sigismund
1523 Ghazi Giray	1573–1574 Henry Valois	Augustus <sup>2</sup>
1523–1532 Sa'adet Giray	1576–1586 Stephan Báthory	
1532 Islam Giray	1587–1632 Sigismund III Vasa	
1532–1551 Sahib Giray	1632–1648 Vladislaus IV	
1551–1577 Devlet Giray	1648–1668 John II Casimir	
1577–1584 Mehmed II Giray	1669–1673 Michael [Michał	
1584 Sa'adet II Giray	Korybut Wiśniowiecki]	
1584–1588 Islam II Giray	1674–1696 John III [Jan Sobieski]	
1588–1596 Ghazi II Giray*	1697–1733 Augustus II Wettin	
1596–1597 Feth Giray	1704–1710 Stanislaus [Stanisław	
1597–1608 Ghazi II Giray**	Leszczyński]*	
1608 Tokhtamish Giray	1733–1736 idem**	
1608–1610 Selamet Giray	1733/36–1763 Augustus III Wettin	
1610–1623 Djanibek Giray*	1764–1795 Stanislaus Augustus	
1623–1628 Mehmed III Giray	[Stanisław Poniatowski]	
1628–1635 Djanibek Giray** <sup>1</sup>		
1635–1637 Inayet Giray		
1637–1641 Bahadır Giray		
1641–1644 Mehmed IV Giray*		
1644–1654 Islam III Giray		
1654–1666 Mehmed IV Giray**		
1666–1671 Adil Giray		
1671–1678 Selim Giray*		
1678–1683 Murad Giray		
1683–1684 Hadji II Giray		

<sup>1</sup> His appointment by the Porte in 1624 is not counted here as he was then prevented by Mehmed III Giray from ascending the throne.

<sup>2</sup> Crowned as the king of Poland already in 1530 and as the grand duke of Lithuania in 1529. In 1544, his aged father granted him the full authority over Lithuania.



Table (*cont.*)

1684–1691 Selim Giray**		
1691 Sa'adet III Giray		
1691–1692 Safa Giray		
1692–1699 Selim Giray***		
1699–1702 Devlet II Giray*		
1702–1704 Selim Giray****		
1704–1707 Ghazi III Giray		
1707–1708 Kaplan Giray*		
1708–1713 Devlet II Giray**		
1713–1716 Kaplan Giray**		
1716–1717 Kara Devlet Giray		
1717–1724 Sa'adet IV Giray		
1724–1730 Mengli II Giray*		
1730–1736 Kaplan Giray***		
1736–1737 Feth II Giray		
1737–1740 Mengli II Giray**		
1740–1743 Selamet II Giray		
1743–1748 Selim II Giray		
1748–1756 Arslan Giray*		
1756–1758 Halim Giray		
1758–1764 Qırım Giray*		
1764–1767 Selim III Giray*		
1767 Arslan Giray**		
1767–1768 Maqsud Giray*		
1768–1769 Qırım Giray**		
1769–1770 Devlet IV Giray*		
1770 Kaplan II Giray		
1770–1771 Selim III Giray**		
1771–1775 Sahib II Giray		
1771–1773 Maqsud Giray*** <sup>3</sup>		
1775–1777 Devlet IV Giray**		
1777–1782 Shahin Giray*		
1777–1778 Selim III Giray**** <sup>4</sup>		
1782 Bahadır II Giray		
1782–1783 Shahin Giray**		

\* First reign.

\*\* Second reign.

\*\*\* Third reign.

\*\*\*\* Fourth reign.

<sup>3</sup> Appointed by the Ottoman sultan with the consent of the Giray princes and Tatar *mirzas* who remained loyal to the Porte; he never managed to enter the Crimea, which was then reigned by Sahib II Giray under the Russian patronage.

<sup>4</sup> Appointed by the Ottoman sultan, who refused to recognize the Russian protégé, Shahin Giray; he landed on the Crimea but was forced to retreat under the pressure of the Russian troops.

## PRINCIPLES OF PUBLICATION

Only the original documents, written either in the Arabic or Latin alphabet, are published in facsimile along with the printed text. The documents preserved in copies and translations are not provided with facsimiles. The texts preserved in Latin and Italian are rendered in the original only, while the texts written in Turkic and Slavic languages are provided with English translations.

As the Latin and Italian documents included in the present volume had been issued by the mid-sixteenth century (except for the instrument from 1607), the conventions regarding the edition of late medieval sources have been applied to all their texts. The original orthography is preserved with the exception of the letters *v* and *u*, used alternatively by medieval scribes and rendered here according to their phonetic value. The occasionally written “long” *j* has been changed to the “short” *i*, used in classical Latin, with the exception of proper names (e.g., *Eczgerij*, *Johanne*). The punctuation and upper/lower case has been modernized to render the text more legible.<sup>1</sup>

For the Polish texts, which primarily originate from the late 16th and 17th century, the conventions regarding the edition of early modern sources have been applied. Here the orthography has been modernized (apart from proper names and ethno-geographical terms), but the phonetics of the words has been preserved.<sup>2</sup> What can arise scholarly interest is the language of the original Crimean documents of 1667 and 1672 that are composed in Polish. These documents are rendered in facsimile as well so linguists will be able to trace their original orthography.

The documents in Turkic languages (Khwarezmian Turkic, Crimean and Ottoman Turkish), all preserved in the Arabic-script originals, are published in facsimile, Latin-script transcription, and English translation. Their Latin-script transcription is based on the modern Turkish

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<sup>1</sup> See Komisja Historyczna Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności (ed.), *Instrukcja wydawnicza dla średniowiecznych źródeł historycznych* (Cracow, 1925); Adam Wolff, “Projekt instrukcji wydawniczej dla pisanych źródeł historycznych do połowy XVI wieku,” *Studia źródłoznawcze* 1 (1957): 155–81.

<sup>2</sup> See *Instrukcja wydawnicza dla źródeł historycznych od XVI do połowy XIX wieku* (Wrocław, 1953).

alphabet, although four letters have been added, reflecting specific sounds pronounced in Tatar but typically not in modern Turkish. These are: “ë” (narrow vocal “e”), “ğ” (velar “g” rendered in the Arabic script as غ), “q” (velar “k” rendered in the Arabic script as ق), and “ŋ” (velar nasal “n”). Some Arabic letters were transcribed alternatively according to their most probable phonetic value, hence *ta* (ط) is rendered with “t” or “d” as appropriate, and *kef* (ك) with “k,” “g,” or “ŋ.” The letter ‘*ayn*’ (ع) and *hamze* (ء), both pronounced in Turkish as glottal stops, are rendered respectively as “‘” and “’;” the Arabic *wasla* is rendered by “.” The author decided to honor orthographic archaisms, whenever present, even if the actual pronunciation might have been different. In cases of any doubts regarding the orthography of a given word, the reader might consult the facsimile.

It should be noted that the following letters of the modern Turkish alphabet should be pronounced as follows:

Turkish	International Transcription	English equivalent
c	dž	<i>James</i>
ç	č	<i>cheese</i>
j	ž	<i>garage</i>
ı	y	<i>bit</i>
ş	š	<i>fish</i>

Perhaps paradoxically, the edition of instruments recorded in Cyrillic script caused more problems than of those recorded in Arabic script. The Cyrillic-script instruments are preserved only in copies, entered in the Lithuanian Register books. These books are not the originals, but—with few exemptions—the copies executed in the late 16th century, i.e., fifty to hundred years after the original documents had been composed and issued. A facsimile edition of these copies was deemed both impractical and costly. On the other hand, editing their texts in modernized Cyrillic script or in Latin transcription would create a further distance between the original text and a contemporary reader. Therefore, it was decided to publish them in original archaic Cyrillic orthography in order to render them closer to the earlier copies and—in consequence—to the lost originals.

The issue of proper editorial rules has been raised time and again by numerous scholars studying the Lithuanian Register. Since 1993,

its successive volumes have been published with impressive pace by Lithuanian and Belarusian scholars, although at the price of conscious resigning from certain antiquarian rules: the texts are almost devoid of footnotes (although provided with indices) and rendered in modernized Cyrillic script. Only Krzysztof Pietkiewicz decided to preserve the archaic Cyrillic orthography, but admittedly the volume that he edited was the early sixteenth-century original, unlike most other volumes preserved in later copies, hence more linguistically valuable.<sup>3</sup>

Strikingly, most editors of the Lithuanian Register, who have resigned from preserving the original orthography, have simultaneously decided to distinguish the letters originally written above the main line (so-called *vyynosnye bukvy*, i.e., “uplifted letters”) by entering them in italics, and to mark abbreviations by entering reconstructed fragments in parentheses.<sup>4</sup> Hence, a fragment that appears in the manuscript: таѣже и с црѣмъ, would be rendered: та*ѣ*же и с ц(а)ремъ, and the title гдѣря would appear as г(о)с(по)д(а)ря. As such rendering has seemed hypercorrect and graphically awkward, it has not been applied in the present edition and the above fragments would simply read: та*ѣ*же и с царемъ and господаря respectively.<sup>5</sup> In analogy, abbreviations in Latin-script texts are solved without entering the missing letters in parentheses. Also vocals, rarely rendered in Arabic-script texts but reconstructed in their Latin-script transcriptions, have not been graphically distinguished.

One general problem that had to be solved was whether to mark the Cyrillic letters ъ and Ѣ (back yer and front yer), two reduced vowels that with time evolved into the hard sign and soft sign respectively, in the reconstructed abbreviations. These letters were entered—inconsequently and often alternatively—after certain consonants in the main text, but never after uplifted letters. The inconsistent use of these letters by the sixteenth-century scribes persuaded the present author to ignore them in the reconstructed fragments.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See the editor's introduction to *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 9 (1511–1518). Užrašymų knyga 9*, p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the introduction by Egidijus Banionis to *Lietuvos Metrika (1427–1506). Knyga Nr. 5. Užrašymų knyga 5*, p. 47.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Documents 10 and 19.

<sup>6</sup> For a similar solution, cf. the introduction to *Metrika Vjalikaha Knjastva Litouskaha. Kniha N° 560 (1542 hod). Kniha perepisau N° 3 (Kopija kanca XVI st.)*. Edited by A. Dzjarnovič (Minsk, 2007), p. 27.

While the instruments published in the present volume are rendered in Cyrillic script, quotations from Cyrillic-script sources and secondary literature, found in the introductory parts and in the footnotes, are rendered in a simplified Latin transcription. For the sake of consistency, also fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Ruthenian texts, quoted not after their originals but after nineteenth-century modernized Russian editions or after the Latin-script edition of Pułaski, were restored to their most probable original sounding.

The rules of the simplified Latin transcription of Cyrillic texts are as follows:<sup>7</sup>

Cyrillic	Ruthenian <sup>8</sup>	Modern Ukrainian	Modern Belarusian	Russian
а	а	а	а	а
б	б	б	б	б
в	в	в	в	в
г	h <sup>9</sup>	h	h	g
г'	–	g	–	–
д	д	д	д	д
е	е	е	е	е
ё	–	–	ë (yo)	ë (yo)
є	–	je (ye)	–	–
ж	ž (zh)	ž (zh)	ž (zh)	ž (zh)
з	z	z	z	z
и	y (bit) <sup>10</sup>	y (bit)	–	i
і	i	i	i	–
ї	–	ji (yi)	–	–
й	–	j (y)	j (y)	j (y)
к	к	к	к	к
л	l (w or l)	l (w or l)	l (w or l)	l (w or l)
м	м	м	м	м

<sup>7</sup> The adopted system is based on the one proposed by George Shevelov in his *Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language* (Heidelberg, 1979), although with a number of modifications. I would like to express my warmest thanks to Andrij Danylenko for his consultations and suggestions.

<sup>8</sup> English sound value is provided in parentheses when different from the standard English phonetic value of a given letter.

<sup>9</sup> Also “g” in some foreign names, though the Lithuanian chancery clerks typically rendered the consonant “g” by the digraph кг.

<sup>10</sup> Also “i” in some proper names (e.g., *Ivan* or *Jurij*) and words of foreign, especially Old Church Slavonic or Polish origin (e.g., *biskup*); in the digraph ии, the second и is solved as “j” (y), e.g., *dokončalnyj* [lyst], or “i,” e.g., *dokončalnyi* [lysty], depending on its phonetic value.

Table (cont.)

Cyrillic	Ruthenian	Modern Ukrainian	Modern Belarusian	Russian
н	n	n	n	n
о	o	o	o	o
п	p	p	p	p
р	r	r	r	r
с	s	s	s	s
т	t	t	t	t
у	u	u	u	u
ѣ	—	—	w	—
ф	f	f	f	f
х	x ( <i>kh</i> )	x ( <i>kh</i> )	x ( <i>kh</i> )	x ( <i>kh</i> )
ц	c ( <i>ts</i> )	c ( <i>ts</i> )	c ( <i>ts</i> )	c ( <i>ts</i> )
ч	č ( <i>ch</i> )	č ( <i>ch</i> )	č ( <i>ch</i> )	č ( <i>ch</i> )
ш	š ( <i>sh</i> )	š ( <i>sh</i> )	š ( <i>sh</i> )	š ( <i>sh</i> )
щ	šč ( <i>shch</i> )	šč ( <i>shch</i> )	—	šč ( <i>shch</i> )
ъ	<i>unmarked</i>	—	—	<i>unmarked</i>
ы	y ( <i>bit</i> )	—	y ( <i>bit</i> )	y ( <i>bit</i> )
ь	—	—	—	—
э	—	—	ë	ë
ю	ju ( <i>yu</i> )	ju ( <i>yu</i> )	ju ( <i>yu</i> )	ju ( <i>yu</i> )
я	—	ja ( <i>ya</i> )	ja ( <i>ya</i> )	ja ( <i>ya</i> )
’	—	<i>unmarked</i>	<i>unmarked</i>	—
<i>old Cyrillic letters (save the letters used as numerals only) and digraphs</i>				
кг	g	—	—	—
ѣ, ой	u	—	—	—
ѣ	e	—	—	e <sup>11</sup>
ѣа	ja ( <i>ya</i> )	—	—	—
ѣа	ja ( <i>ya</i> )	—	—	—
ѣ	f	—	—	—
ѣ	o	—	—	—

Every document published in this volume is provided with a brief introductory note concerning its characteristics, extant copies, translations, and any previous publication; whenever possible, the publication has been based on original documents. Textual variation in the copies is referred to only in instances where their reading supplements or substantially changes the original text. If the original document is missing, its text was reconstructed on the basis of all the extant copies.

<sup>11</sup> The letter ѣ was commonly used before 1917 and regularly appears in old publications in Russian.

Usually the oldest and/or the most reliable copy is referred to as copy A and serves as the basis for reconstruction.

In the published documents, the following marks and rules have been applied:

italicized square brackets, thus: []	line number in the original document
square brackets, thus: []	text evidently omitted (also editor's explanations in translations)
[sic]	most obvious grammar or spelling mistakes
pair of lesser than, greater than signs, thus: <>	text inserted or repeated by mistake
<b>bold face</b>	text written in gold <sup>12</sup>
<i>italic face</i>	names, words, and sentences with a problematic reading or unclear meaning

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<sup>12</sup> Except for Document 16 which is almost entirely written in gold ink hence it would make no sense to render its whole text in bold characters.

## DOCUMENTS





DOCUMENT 1 (22 SEPTEMBER 1461–14 SEPTEMBER 1463)

The donation *yarlıq* sent by Khan Hadji Giray  
to Grand Duke Casimir

The original document is missing.<sup>1</sup>

Polish translation:

A. Bibl. Kór., ms. 222, pp. 103–104.

B. Bibl. Czart., ms. 20 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 671–673.

Published in a) Łukasz Gołębiowski, *Dzieje Polski za panowania Jagiellonów*, vol. 3: *Dzieje Polski za panowania Kazimierza, Jana Olbrachta i Alexandra* (Warsaw, 1848), pp. 230–231; b) Bohdan Barvin'skyj, "Dva zahadočni xan'ski jarlyky na ruski zemliji z druhoji polovyny XV. stoljita," in: idem, *Istoryčni pryčynky. Rozvidky, zamitky i materyjaly do istoryji Ukrajiny-Rusy*, vol. 2 (L'viv, 1909), pp. 11–21, esp. pp. 16–18.

Pakta C[ara] Adzigireiowe Roku Pańskiego 1461:<sup>a</sup>

Chadzigireia cara słowo to jest:

Od prawej i lewej ręki naszej i od wszelkiego<sup>b</sup> państwa naszego ułanom, panom radom, wszelkiego Państwa Ruskiego kniaziom, czerncom, bielcom i wszelkim pospolitym:

Co przedtym brat nasz starszy na koniu potnym<sup>c</sup> do wielkiego kniazia Witulta do Litwy<sup>d</sup> w gościnę przyjeżdżał i wielką uczciwość miał, najpierwej Kiiow daliśmy ze wszem na wszem ku państwu Litewskiemu,<sup>e</sup> bratu naszemu wielkiemu kniaziewi Kazimierzowi. I panowie litewscy żądali nas, i myśmy na żądanie ich to uczynili, i wedle pierwszych carów postępków, to jest: Kiiow ze wszelkimi dochody, ziemiami, wodami, i pożytkami ich; Łuczko z wodami, ziemiami, i ze wszelkimi pożytkami ich; Smoleńsko z wodami, ziemiami, i ze wszelkimi pożytkami ich; Podole z wodami, ziemiami, i ze

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<sup>1</sup> The original document was probably still extant in the late 18th century, cf. n. 34 in Part I.

<sup>a</sup> B. *Pakta Chadzigireia cara Tatarow ordy Perekopskiej*.

<sup>b</sup> In B. here and hereafter (also in plural, in all cases): *wszystkiego*.

<sup>c</sup> In B. mistakenly written *na koniu polnym* [lit. "on a field horse"]; Barvin'skyj correctly suspected that it should read *na koniu potnym* ["on a sweating horse"]; see idem, "Dva zahadočni xan'ski jarlyky," p. 16; on this idiomatic Tatar expression, referring to somebody who seeks refuge from danger, see Xoroškevič, *Rus' i Krym*, p. 111. Throughout this book a proposal by Leslie Collins was adopted to translate this expression as "a horse growing sweaty [beneath him];" cf. idem, "On the alleged 'destruction' of the Great Horde in 1502," p. 394.

<sup>d</sup> B. *Litwy*.

<sup>e</sup> B. *Litewskiemu*.

wszelkimi pożytkami ich; Kamieniec z wodami, ziemiami, i ze wszelkimi pożytkami ich; Bracław z ziemiami, wodami, i ze wszelkimi pożytkami ich; począwszy od Kiiowa do ujścia morza; Scieprutezilniskiego [sic] z ziemiami i z pożytkami ich; Zolwasz, Budała z ziemiami, wodami, i pożytkami ich; Czernieiw z ziemiami, wodami, i pożytkami ich; Bryczienzsinass<sup>f</sup> [sic], Lusza, Chotmy,<sup>g</sup> Slenniczany [sic] z ziemiami, wodami, i pożytkami ich; Siewiersky<sup>h</sup> Nowohrod, Rilsko z wodami, ziemiami, i ze wszemi pożytkami ich; Rylsko [sic]; tummy Szaraiewicza Jagalta wyssey<sup>i</sup> [sic] z ziemiami, wodami, i pożytkami ich; Midzass, Uspul;<sup>j</sup> Starodub, Bransko z ziemiami, wodami, i ze wszemi pożytkami ich; Mychalsko, Mobutulsko, Tula z wodami, ziemiami, i ze wszelkimi pożytkami ich; Biresta i Ratuznisko, Alibsko [sic], Burunsko, Kulminsko i Saschonar z ziemiami, wodami, i ze wszelkimi pożytkami ich; Japuhrad, Bałykły,<sup>k</sup> Strożowy hrod, Teskye<sup>l</sup> horodziszcz, Muschiczmy hrod z ziemiami, wodami, i ze wszelkimi pożytkami ich.<sup>m</sup>

To jest bratu naszemu, wielkiemu kniaziowi litewskiemu Kazimirzowi,<sup>n</sup> panom, kniazom, radom, widząc wielkie postępy przyjacielskie, i my Turapkie [sic] i Wielki Nowogrod, <Tula, i><sup>o</sup> ze wszemi grody i wszemi ich dochody i pożytkami ich,<sup>p</sup> i wsi ze wszelkimi dochody i pożytkami ich,<sup>q</sup> z łaski naszej do państwa litewskiego podali.

I te zamki, które tu są napisane, tych zamków <z> pany z bojarami przedtym bratu naszemu, kniaziowi Witultowi, a teraz tobie, bratu naszemu, kniaziowi Zigmuntowi będą służyć, i bratu naszemu kniaziowi Cazimierzowi.<sup>s</sup> Także i<sup>t</sup> mają, tak jako i przedtym służywali z tych zamków i wsi, i podatki nieodmiennie mają dawać. A jeśli nie będą posłuszni, tedy im niedobrze będzie.

I daliśmy ten nasz list pod złotą pieczęcią. Pisan w Krymie lata po roku Jego Świętej Miłości Machomata proroka lata 867, dnia 22 miesiąca septembra, lata od narodzenia Pana Jezusowego 1461.<sup>u</sup>

<sup>f</sup> B. Bryczienzsinas.

<sup>g</sup> B. Czotmy.

<sup>h</sup> B. Siewierski.

<sup>i</sup> B. tumien Szaraiewicza Jagalta wyssey.

<sup>j</sup> B. Uspul.

<sup>k</sup> B. Balikły.

<sup>l</sup> B. Teskie.

<sup>m</sup> B. wszystkimi pożytkami ich.

<sup>n</sup> B. Kazimierzowi.

<sup>o</sup> In A. only; the mentioning of Tula is redundant as it is already listed above.

<sup>p-q</sup> This fragment is missing in both Gołębiowski's and Barvin'skyj's editions.

<sup>r</sup> Missing in B.

<sup>s</sup> B. Kazimierzowi.

<sup>t</sup> In A. only.

<sup>u</sup> B. lata po roku Jego Świętej Miłości Machometa proroka lata ósmsetnego sześćdziesiątego siódmego, dnia dwudziestego drugiego miesiąca septembra, lata od narodzenia Pana Jezusowego tysiącznego czterechsetnego sześćdziesiątego pierwszego.

Translation:

*The pact of Khan Hadji Giray, A.D. 1461:*

*This is the word of Hadji Giray Khan:*

*To the ulans and lords counselors of our right and left hand, to the princes, monks, laymen,<sup>2</sup> and commoners of the Ruthenian state [sic]:*

*As previously our elder brother, when his horse was growing sweaty [beneath him], would come seeking hospitality [i.e., refuge] to Grand Duke Vytautas, in Lithuania, and he enjoyed great sincerity, we have firstly granted Kiev along with all [dependencies] to the Lithuanian state, to our brother, Grand Duke Casimir. And as the Lithuanian lords have requested from us, we have granted their request and—in accordance with the acts of the first khans—[we have granted] namely:*

- Kiev along with all incomes, lands, waters, and their profits;*
- Luc'k along with waters, lands, and all their profits;*
- Smolensk along with waters, lands, and all their profits;*
- Podolia along with waters, lands, and all their profits;*
- Kamjanec'<sup>3</sup> along with waters, lands, and all their profits;*
- Braclav along with lands, waters, and all their profits;*
- starting from Kiev, down to the mouth [of the Dnieper] to the sea;*
- Sneporod and Glins'k<sup>4</sup> along with lands and their profits;*
- Žolvaž<sup>5</sup> and Putyvl' along with lands, waters, and their profits;*
- Černihiv along with lands, waters, and their profits;*
- Byryn, Synec,<sup>6</sup> Losyčy, Xotmyšl', and Nycjany<sup>7</sup> along with all their lands, waters, levies, and incomes;<sup>8</sup>*

<sup>2</sup> In old Ruthenian the term *belec* (lit. “[the one wearing] white [garments],” as contrary to a monk referred to as *černec*, lit. “[the one wearing] black [garments]”) referred to a person living in a monastery who had not undergone the rite of hair clipping and thus had remained a layman.

<sup>3</sup> It is not clear why Kamjanec' (Pol. Kamieniec Podolski) is listed separately as it was the center of the province of Podolia, already listed above.

<sup>4</sup> In the Polish text: *Szcieprutezilniskiego* > *Szcieprut*, *Ezilnisk<iego>*; Sneporod and Hlyns'k are mistakenly rendered as one word; also this word is given in the genitive case as if it were the name of the sea from the former entry (*Morza Szcieprutezilniskiego*); on the identification of Sneporod and Hlyns'k, two estates on the river Sula, see Document 8, notes 8 and 9.

<sup>5</sup> An estate in the region of Putyvl'; on its identification, see Document 8, n. 10.

<sup>6</sup> In the Polish text: *Bryczienyszynas* > *Bryczien*, *Szinas*; Byryn and Synec are mistakenly rendered as one locality.

<sup>7</sup> In the Polish text: *Chotmy*, *Slenniczany*, while it should rather read *Chotmyslen*, *Niczany*.

<sup>8</sup> This whole entry is heavily corrupt and it was deciphered by comparing with the *yarliq* from 1507; on the estate of Byryn near Putyvl', on the estate Synec on the river Sula, and on the three estates Losyčy, Xotmyšl', and Nycjany on the river Vorskla, see Document 8, notes 11, 12, 14, 15, and 16.

- Novhorod-Sivers’kyj and Ryl’sk<sup>9</sup> along with waters, lands, and all their profits;
- Kursk;<sup>10</sup>
- the whole tümen of Jagoldaj, son of Saraj,<sup>11</sup> along with lands, waters, and their profits: Mužeč and Oskol;<sup>12</sup>
- Starodub and Brjansk along with lands, waters, and all their profits;
- Mcensk, Ljubutsk, and Tula<sup>13</sup> along with waters, lands, and all their profits;
- Berestej and Retan’,<sup>14</sup> Kozel’sk,<sup>15</sup> Pronsk,<sup>16</sup> Volkonsk,<sup>17</sup> Spažsk,<sup>18</sup> Čynamir<sup>19</sup> along with lands, waters, and all their profits;
- the castle of Jabu,<sup>20</sup> Balykly,<sup>21</sup> Karaul,<sup>22</sup> the ruined castle of Dašov,<sup>23</sup> Mušač [and] Horod<sup>24</sup> along with lands, waters, and all their profits.

<sup>9</sup> On Ryl’sk, see Document 8, n. 17.

<sup>10</sup> Misspelled as *Rylsko*; for the correct identification, cf. the *yarliqs* from ca. 1473 and 1507 (Documents 4 and 8).

<sup>11</sup> On these estates, extending between the upper Sejm and the upper Donec rivers, and their former owner, see Document 8, n. 18.

<sup>12</sup> These two estates belonged to the *tümen* of Jagoldaj; for their identification, cf. the *yarliqs* from ca. 1473 and 1507 (Documents 4 and 8). Oskol (here corruptly rendered as *Uspul*) was situated on the river Oskol (Ukr. Oskil), a left tributary of the Donec. The town Starij Oskol (today in Russia) is situated nearby.

<sup>13</sup> For the identification of Mcensk and Ljubutsk, cf. the *yarliqs* from ca. 1473 and 1507 (Documents 4 and 8). Tula belonged to Lithuania only temporarily in the years 1428–1434.

<sup>14</sup> Two localities in the Duchy of Rjazan’ that were temporarily annexed to Lithuania in the years 1428–1434; on their identification, see Document 8, n. 22.

<sup>15</sup> Corruptly rendered as *Alibsko*; for the correct identification, cf. the *yarliqs* from 1473 and 1507 (Documents 4 and 8).

<sup>16</sup> A town in the Duchy of Rjazan’ that had temporarily acknowledged Lithuanian suzerainty in 1427; cf. Document 8, n. 23.

<sup>17</sup> An autonomous principality on the right side of the river Oka. In the document it is corruptly rendered as *Kulminsko*; for the correct identification, cf. the *yarliq* from 1507 (Document 8, n. 24).

<sup>18</sup> An autonomous principality (centered in Pavšino) on the right side of the river Oka; cf. Document 8, n. 25.

<sup>19</sup> Unidentified locality, probably either on the Oka or on the Donec river; in the *yarliq* from ca. 1473 it reads *Cynamir* while in the *yarliq* from 1507 *Donec* is entered in this place (cf. Documents 4 and 8); a village of Żyznomyr, situated near Bučač and founded probably later, does not seem to be an option.

<sup>20</sup> Pol. *Japuhrad*, “the castle of Japu,” a Tatar settlement near the Black Sea shore between the lower Boh and the lower Dniester; on its identification, see Document 8, n. 27.

<sup>21</sup> A ruined castle on the river Boh; on its localization, see Document 8, n. 28.

<sup>22</sup> Pol. *Strożowy hrod* (“watchman’s castle”); the Polish word *stróż* is a translation of the Turkish *karaul/karavul*, hence the entry obviously refers to Karaul, a settlement on the lower Dniester; on its location, see Document 8, n. 29.

<sup>23</sup> In the Polish text: *Teskye horodziscze*; in B. the scribe mistook the term *horodziscze* (“ruined castle”) for a separate place-name; on Dašov (the future Očakiv), see Document 8, n. 31.

<sup>24</sup> In the Polish text: *Muschiczmy hrod*; *Muschicz* apparently refers to Mušač, an unidentified locality that also appears in the *yarliqs* from ca. 1473 and 1507 (cf.

And seeing great friendly acts [on your part], we have granted to our brother, Grand Duke Casimir, the lords, princes, counselors, [and] to the Lithuanian state Pskov[?]<sup>25</sup> and Velikij Novgorod along with all castles and all their incomes and profits, and [their] villages along with their incomes and profits.

And [as concerns] the castles that are registered above, the lords of these castles along with the boyars, as they previously [used to serve] our brother, Duke Vytautas, they will now serve you, our brother, Duke Sigismund,<sup>26</sup> and our brother, Duke Casimir. They should also pay taxes invariably, as they used to serve previously from these castles and villages. And if they do not obey, nothing good awaits them.

We have given our present letter under the golden stamp. Written in Qırım,<sup>27</sup> in the year 867 after the year [of the Hegira] of His Holy Majesty, Prophet Muhammad, on the 22nd day of the month of September, in the year 1461 from the birth of Lord Jesus.<sup>28</sup>

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Documents 4 and 8), probably situated in lower Podolia. The term *hrod* ("castle") might refer to Čornyj Horod on the Dniester estuary; cf. Document 8, n. 30.

<sup>25</sup> In the Polish text: *Turapkie*; the apparently corrupt entry might refer to Pskov or Perejaslavl' Rjazan'skij; cf. the *yarlıq*s from ca. 1473 and 1507 (Documents 4 and 8).

<sup>26</sup> Sigismund (Lith. Žygimantas), the younger brother of Vytautas, was the grand duke of Lithuania in the years 1432–1440. Apparently the present *yarlıq*, granted to Casimir, was based on a former *yarlıq*, granted to Sigismund. The above fragment: "they will now serve you, our brother, Duke Sigismund" (Pol. *a teraz tobie, bratu naszemu, kniaziowi Zigmuntowi będą służyć*), left unchanged by mistake, was obviously anachronous at the time when the present document was issued, long after the death of Sigismund.

<sup>27</sup> The *locatio*: *pisan w Krymie*, extant in Polish translation, apparently refers to the old Crimean capital of Qırım (today Ukr. Staryj Krym or Tat. Eski Qırım) and not to the whole Crimean peninsula.

<sup>28</sup> The dating is contradictory as the Muslim year 867 A.H. lasted from 26 September 1462 till 14 September 1463. See the discussion of the date, circumstances of delivery, and contents of this document in Part I. Lacking further evidence, we must conclude that the *yarlıq* was either issued on 22 September 1461 and brought to Poland, or between 26 September 1462 and 14 September 1463 and brought to Lithuania.

DOCUMENT 2 (17 SEPTEMBER 1467)  
The instrument of peace (*şartname*) sent by Khan Nur Devlet  
to King Casimir

The original document is missing.

Latin copy: Bibl. Jagiell., ms. 1961 (*Liber magistri Petri de Ilkusch*), fol. 285a–285b.

Published in *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, [vol. 1]. Edited by A. Sokołowski and J. Szujski (Cracow, 1876), pp. 240–241.

Concordia et pacis confederatio Serenissimi principis Regis Polonie cum Tartharorum Imperatore:

Nordulath magnus imperator Tartharorum serenissimo domino et domino Kazimiro regi Polonie salutem.

Vasti ferum orbis appetitum copia divine celestis bonitatis tollit atque demit. Quum nihil potest creatura sine creatore, erat michi pungens in corde stimulus, o immense Rex, qui me morsu maximo anxietatis angebat. Hic erat, quod quamprimum suscepi imperium, ille inenarrabilis fervor amoris, qui patrem meum Eczgerij et Vestram Serenissimam Maiestatem vinxerat ligamine caritatis, nam vinxisset et me reputabam. Dominus infra me, parentis locum colo, paterne amicos recognoscere debeo maiestatis. Mecum et hic ipse cogitando nuncium meum Coszari mortem ad anunciandam patris et desiderii mei fruende pacis intentum ad Vestram Maiestatem duxi propensius intimare. Intimavi siquidem et melior fortuna subsecuta est principio debili precedente. Appulit igitur anhelatu flagitatus maximo strenuus nobilisque vir Albertus Borowsky, orator vester, aspectu mitis, ingenio clarus, elloquio fecundus et sermone. Qui parentis mortem singultosa voce deflevit et me lacrimabilem et mestum gravibus humanisque sermonibus ac instante sua sanitate et elloquendi modulatione verborum placavit mecumque barones lacrimis pepercerunt.

Nunciavitque idem orator pacem gloriosam et concordiam vestri parte, que quidem omnia potius ad Deum referenda sunt, quam humanis actibus applicanda. Recepi enim illum et elloquia sua in centro cordis mei, et in eodem corde dico, quo carius Vestram conservo Maiestatem; amor patris redactus in filium me Vos adamare cogit compellitque me Vos amare. Patri[s] amor ad recursumquam perpetuum repetendo, probata fides imperante magis ac magis que Vos instat compellit adamare.

Itaque oblacionem Vestre pacis animo attenta [*sic*] suscepi, iura commisi, ut in carta prolixius declaravi. Fuit autem huius operis auctor Deus, in quo auctore durabit. Minima siquidem vidi Deo non operante corrui; concordiam tractandam tractaturus Deum metui, providenter eius oculo privati aestunt ut magna scandala <et> exuberant.

Immensum concordia est supremum mortalibus bonum, qua cuncte res virent et gaudent. Concordia tutus, auro dives viator incedit. Canit populus, canit plebs, arator petens arwa [*sic*] iubilat, fortis arma gerens segnis iacet, virgo flores legit et animo iucundo volat. Negans mercator ocium urbes petit, oppida, rura villasque frequentat, et omni populo colles silvaeque pacem intonant sempiternam. Concordiam igitur a vobis expectatam accepi et prestolatum amorem impetravi. Hic primus gradus est principandi optimus Deus omnipotens, qui ex abundantia sue gratie paret et auget omne bonum et qui in hoc primo gradu nos tanto concordie amore sue fecit assidere, graduatim hanc concordiam vehat illam ad nostrum finem deducendo, quam nostri adimpletantur successores duraturam per saecula cuncta.

Ex Kyrcher<sup>1</sup> 1467 die 17 septembris, anno Saracenorum octingentesimo septuagesimo secundo mensis Zapher.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On Qırq Yer (the later Chufut Qal'e), see Jankowski, *Historical-Etymological Dictionary*, pp. 424–427.

<sup>2</sup> The month of Safer of the Muslim year 872 A.H. lasted from 1 till 29 September 1467.



DOCUMENT 3 (27 JULY 1472)  
The confirmation of peace sent by King Casimir  
to Khan Mengli Giray

The original document is missing.

Latin copy: AGAD, Metryka Koronna, Libri Inscriptionum, no. 12, fol. 80a.

Published in Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, p. 200.<sup>1</sup>

Imperatori Tartarorum:

Kazimirus etc. terrarum Cracovie, Sandomirie etc. potenti domino Mengligerej, Magno Imperatori terre Thartharorum, fratri nostro dilecto, salutem et omnis boni incrementum. Ea que pertulit coram nobis et consiliariis nostris, spiritualibus et secularibus prelati infrascriptis, honestus Zaffara,<sup>2</sup> F[raternitatis] Vestre nuncius nobis acceptus verba vera, fidelia et amabilia, pacem finalem ex antiquo more paterno faciencia omnia accepta hilari vultu audivimus, habuimus et pertulimus, et universa per V[estram] F[raternitatem] coram et cum nuncio nostro Kyerdej<sup>3</sup> dicta ac iuramento F[raternitatis] Vestre cum ulanis et tota horda V[estri] F[raternitatis] coniurata et confirmata atque firmiter servari pollicita grati suscepimus. Que ecciam approbantes volumus ecciam in omnibus firmiter et pacifice, tam per nos quam per nostros subditos tenere et observare, propter incrementum diuturne amicie inter nos et nostros hinc inde fideliter et inviolabiliter observande.

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<sup>1</sup> Entitled: "Odpowiedź Kazimierza Jagiellończyka na poselstwo Mendli-Gireja przez Zaffara—król zatwierdza przymierze—1472 roku."

<sup>2</sup> I.e., Zafer, or perhaps Sefer or Djafer.

<sup>3</sup> In his study on the Kierdej family, prominent in Podolia in the 15th century, Kazimierz Pułaski was unable to establish who from among its members had been the envoy to the Crimea in 1472; cf. *idem*, "Ród Kierdejów podolskich. Monografia historyczno-genealogiczna," in: *idem*, *Szkice i poszukiwania historyczne. Serya trzecia* (Cracow, 1906): 169–194. Ludwik Kolankowski proposed to identify the envoy with Jan Kierdej, the steward (Pol. *podstoli*) of Podolia, basing his argument on the fact that the latter was granted two royal estates shortly afterwards; see Kolankowski, *Dzieje Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, p. 327; for the grant for Jan Kierdej, dated 26 February 1473, see *Matricularum regni Poloniae summaria, excussis codicibus, qui in Chartophylacio Maximo Varsoviensi asservantur*, pt. 1. Edited by T. Wierzbowski (Warsaw, 1905), pp. 51–52 (entry no. 999). The envoy to the Crimea should not be confused with his namesake, kidnapped in infancy during the Ottoman invasion of 1498 and converted to Islam, who became famous as the Ottoman dragoman Said Bey; cf. the latter's biography by Zygmunt Abrahamowicz in *PSB*, vol. 12 (Wrocław etc., 1966–1967), pp. 424–425.

Actum et datum Cracovie feria secunda proxima post Jacobi<sup>4</sup> anno domini LXXII<sup>o</sup> nostro sub sigillo etc. Presentibus ibidem reverendissimo ac reverendis in Christo patribus, domino Johanne archiepiscopo Gneznsensi et primate,<sup>5</sup> Johanne Cracoviensi<sup>6</sup> et Jacobo Wladislawiensi<sup>7</sup> episcopis, nec non magnificis, strenuis ac generosis Derslao de Rythwany Sandomiriensi,<sup>8</sup> Stanislaw de Ostrorog Kalisiensi,<sup>9</sup> Stanislaw de Chotecz Russie et capitaneo generali,<sup>10</sup> Spithkone de Jaroslaw Belzensi<sup>11</sup> palatinis, Dobeslao Kmytha de Wysnycze Lublinensi,<sup>12</sup> Johanne Amor de Tharnow Woynyczyensi,<sup>13</sup> Johanne Felicis de ibidem Wyslyczyensi,<sup>14</sup> Johanne Wantropka de Strelcze Sandecensi<sup>15</sup> castellanis, Petro Camorovi filii Comiti[s] Liphthoviensi,<sup>16</sup> Johanne de Rythy Regni

<sup>4</sup> I.e., on Monday after St. Jacob's Day; in 1472 St. Jacob's Day (July 25th) was on Saturday, hence the document was issued on 27 July.

<sup>5</sup> Jan Gruszczyński, archbishop of Gniezno since 1463; see his biography by Krystyn Malinowski in *PSB*, vol. 9 (Wrocław etc., 1960), pp. 55–57.

<sup>6</sup> Jan Rzeszowski, bishop of Cracow since 1471; see his biography by Feliks Kiryk, Janusz Kurtyka, and Maria Michalewiczowa in *PSB*, vol. 34 (Wrocław etc., 1992–1993), pp. 70–80.

<sup>7</sup> Jakub z Sienna, bishop of Włocławek since 1465; see his biography by Feliks Kiryk in *PSB*, vol. 10 (Wrocław etc., 1962–1964), pp. 364–367.

<sup>8</sup> Dzierśław Rytwiański, palatine (Pol. *wojewoda*) of Sandomierz since 1460; see his biography by Wojciech Falkowski in *PSB*, vol. 33 (Wrocław etc., 1992), pp. 583–588.

<sup>9</sup> Stanisław Ostroróg, palatine of Kalisz since 1453; see his biography by Antoni Gąsiorowski in *PSB*, vol. 24 (Wrocław etc., 1979), pp. 524–527.

<sup>10</sup> Stanisław Chodecki, palatine of Ruthenia, a province centered in Lwów (Ukr. L'viv), since 1466 and *starosta* of Kamieniec Podolski (Ukr. Kamjanec') since 1461; see his biography by Władysław Pociecha in *PSB*, vol. 3 (Cracow, 1937), pp. 351–352.

<sup>11</sup> Spytek Jarosławski, palatine of Belz (Ukr. Belz) since the first half of 1472; see his biography by Włodzimierz Dworzaczek in *PSB*, vol. 11 (Wrocław etc., 1964–1965), pp. 5–7.

<sup>12</sup> Dobiesław Kmita from Wiśnicz, palatine (not castellan) of Lublin since 1464; see his biography by Feliks Kiryk in *PSB*, vol. 13 (Wrocław etc., 1967), pp. 87–88.

<sup>13</sup> Jan Amor (the younger) Tarnowski, castellan of Wojnicz since 1463; for his biography, see Włodzimierz Dworzaczek, *Leliwici Tarnowscy. Z dziejów możnowładztwa małopolskiego. Wiek XIV–XV* (Warsaw, 1971), pp. 209–225.

<sup>14</sup> Jan Feliks Tarnowski, older brother of Jan Amor and castellan of Wiślica since 1465; for his biography, see *ibidem*, pp. 207–208.

<sup>15</sup> Jan Wątróbka from Strzelce, castellan of [Nowy] Sącz since 1463; see *Urządnicy małopolscy XII–XV wieku. Spisy*. Edited by A. Gąsiorowski (Wrocław etc., 1990), p. 236; the editorial statement that Wątróbka's first name was Stanisław, and not Jan, is apparently wrong as he is referred to as Jan in several documents from 1469, 1471 and 1472; cf. Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *Polska kancelaria królewska w latach 1447–1506*, p. 29 and *Materyały archiwalne wyjęte głównie z Metryki Litewskiej od 1348 do 1607 roku*. Edited by A. Prochaska (Lwów [L'viv], 1890), pp. 124–125.

<sup>16</sup> Piotr Komorowski (the younger), son of Piotr Komorowski, count of Liptov (centered in Liptovský Mikuláš in Upper Hungary, today Slovakia); cf. the biography of his father by Feliks Kiryk in *PSB*, vol. 13, pp. 427–430.

Polonie marsalco,<sup>17</sup> Sbigneo de Oleschnycza scolastico Cracoviensi<sup>18</sup> et aliis pluribus etc.

per manus magnifici  
Jacobi de Dambno cancellarii<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Jan Rytwiański, younger brother of Dzierśław (see above) and Crown grand marshal since 1462; see his biography by Wojciech Fałkowski in *PSB*, vol. 33, pp. 588–592.

<sup>18</sup> Zbigniew Oleśnicki, grand royal secretary since April 1472; see his biography by Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa in *PSB*, vol. 23 (Wrocław etc., 1978), pp. 784–786; on his role in the Royal Chancery, cf. Waldemar Chorażyczewski, *Przemiany organizacyjne polskiej kancelarii królewskiej u progu czasów nowożytnych*, p. 139. It is peculiar that in spite of his function at the court he is referred to merely with his ecclesiastic title (*scolasticus Cracoviensi*).

<sup>19</sup> Jakub z Dębna (Dembiński), chancellor since 1469; see his biography by Sylwiusz Mikucki in *PSB*, vol. 5, pp. 71–73.

DOCUMENT 4 (1472–17 MAY 1474)  
The donation *yarlıq* sent by Khan Mengli Giray  
to Grand Duke Casimir

The original document is missing.

Polish translation:

A. Bibl. Kórn., ms. 222, pp. 109–110.<sup>1</sup>

B. Bibl. Czart., ms. 20 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 831–833.

Published in a) Łukasz Gołębiowski, *Dzieje Polski za panowania Jagiellonów*, vol. 3, pp. 232–233; b) Bohdan Barvin'skyj, "Dva zahadočni xan'ski jarlyky na ruski zemliji z druhoji polovyny XV. stoljtitja," pp. 18–20.

Menligereia cara pakta:<sup>a</sup>

Od prawej i lewej ręki naszej i ode<sup>b</sup> wszego państwa naszego panom radom, kniaziom ruskim i państwom ich, bojarom, władynom, metropolitom, czerńcom, bielcom i wszelkiemu<sup>c</sup> pospolitemu ludu:

Jako przodkowie nasi: wielki car brat nasz, i wielki car Adzigirei,<sup>d</sup> ociec nasz potnym<sup>e</sup> koniem swym do wielkiego kniazia Witulta do Litwy w gościnę przyjeżdżał, i wielką uczciwość mieli, z łaski swojej w głowach<sup>2</sup> Kiiow z wielą państw podali. I teraz te państwa bratu naszemu kniaziewi Kazimirzowi<sup>f</sup> ku Litwie dajemy, za wielkimi prośbami Panów Rad. I na prośbę tośmy uczynili, jako przedtym pierwej [dziad]<sup>g</sup> nasz car Thochtomysz, i wielki car brat nasz starszy, wedle dawnego postanowienia: najpierwej Kiiow z

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<sup>1</sup> This copy contains a mistaken date according to the Muslim calendar: 978 instead of 878 A.H. Ludwig Koenigk, the 19th-century editor of *Acta Tomiciana*, erroneously converted this date to 1572 A.D. (cf. n. ac below), while the authors of a recent catalogue tried to read the Muslim year number as 918, thus attributing the document to 1512–1513 A.D.; see *Katalog rękopisów staropolskich Biblioteki Kórnickiej XVI–XVIII w.*, vol. 2, p. 91.

<sup>a</sup> B. *Pakta Menligereia cara Tatarow ordy Prekopskiej*.

<sup>b</sup> B. *od*.

<sup>c</sup> B. *wszystkiemu*.

<sup>d</sup> B. *Adzigerey*.

<sup>e</sup> In B. mistakenly written *polnym koniem*; cf. Document 1, n. c.

<sup>2</sup> The unusual term *w głowach* (<Ruth. *v golovax*) is an obvious loanword from the Tatar term *başlıq* (here meaning: "beginning with").

<sup>f</sup> B. *Kazimirzowi*.

<sup>g</sup> In A. *ociec*; in B. the originally written word *dziad* is crossed out by the scribe and replaced by *ociec*; in fact, it should rather read *dziad* as this Polish term refers to a grandfather but also to a forefather; the Girays were not direct descendants of Tokhtamish.

ziemiemi, wodami, i ze wszelkimi<sup>h</sup> dochody i pożytkami ich; Włodzimierz<sup>i</sup> z ziemiami, wodami, i ze wszelkimi dochody i pożytkami ich; Łuczko z ziemiami etc.; Smoleńsko, Podole, Kamyeniec,<sup>j</sup> Bracław, Czerniehow,<sup>k</sup> Siewierski Nowohrod, Sokal, Nowograd<sup>l</sup> z ziemiami, wodami, i ze wszelkimi pożytki i dochody ich; Cirkassy, Koczibey, Mayak<sup>m</sup> z ziemiami, wodami, i ze wszelkimi pożytki ich; począwszy od Kiiowa aż do uścia<sup>n</sup> morza; Steprud i Holennisko<sup>o</sup> z ziemiami, wodami etc.; Brynten, Tukluszcze, Chotmislen, Netssa ze wszelkimi ziemiami, [wodami, dochody i pożytkami ich];<sup>p</sup> Rilsko z ziemiami etc.; Hrirusko tumien; Sarayewcza<sup>q</sup> państwa Jakaltemskie z ziemiami, wodami, i ze wszelkimi dochody i pożytki<sup>r</sup> ich: Barzass, Uskul; Starodub, Bransko z ziemiami, wodami etc.; Miczensko, Lubotusko, Bułahrod z ziemiami, wodami etc.; Berestaya,<sup>s</sup> Jaskub, Kozielsko, Bronsko, Lubow, Izbesz, Czynamir z ziemiami, wodami, i ze wszemi<sup>t</sup> pożytkami ich; Japihrod, Balykly, Strozowy hrod, Tasska<sup>u</sup> horodyscze, Tusiknemer [*sic*], Horod, Mussalcz,<sup>v</sup> Kudar horod z ziemiami, wodami, i ze wszelkimi pożytkami ich.

Od brata naszego, wielkiego kniazia Kazimierza przyjechał posłem pan Bogdan Fedorowicz, a marszałek pan Iwasko Soskowicz,<sup>w</sup> i cheśmy wdzięcznie przyjęli i z braterską naszą przyjaźnią Wyelky Nowohrod<sup>x</sup> z łaski naszej, i Rezenskie państwo, Pereasław w głowach, z ziemiami, wodami, i z grodami ich, włościami, i ze wszemi pożytkami i dochodami ich, gdzie wnijdzie i wciecze, tośmy przydali ku państwu Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego.

Wszelkie te zamki, które tu na imię napisano, z pany i z kniaźmi, pierwiej tego bratu naszemu, wielkiemu kniaziowi Witultowi byli postąpili, i bratu naszemu, wielkiemu kniaziowi Zygmuntowi, mają wiecznie służyć; <sup>y</sup>a teraz bratu naszemu, wielkiemu kniaziowi Casimierzowi<sup>z</sup> mają także wiecznie służyć,<sup>aa</sup> i mają z tych zamków dochody i wszelkie pożytki, i sami wiernie służyć bratu naszemu. A jeśli by za jaką przyczyną nie chcieli bratu naszemu

<sup>h</sup> In B. here and hereafter: *wszystkiemi* unless otherwise noted.

<sup>i</sup> B. *Włodzimierz*.

<sup>j</sup> B. *Kamieniec*.

<sup>k</sup> B. *Czerniechow*.

<sup>l</sup> B. *Nowygrad*.

<sup>m</sup> B. *Maiak*.

<sup>n</sup> B. *ujścia*.

<sup>o</sup> B. *Holensko*.

<sup>p</sup> Thus in B.; in A. *ziemiemi etc.*

<sup>q</sup> B. *Saraiewcza*.

<sup>r</sup> B. *pożytkami*.

<sup>s</sup> B. *Berestaia*.

<sup>t</sup> B. *wszystkiemi*.

<sup>u</sup> B. *Taska*.

<sup>v</sup> B. *Mussalecz*.

<sup>w</sup> B. *Soskowicz*.

<sup>x</sup> B. *Wielki Nowohrod*.

<sup>z</sup> B. *Kazimierzowi*.

<sup>y-aa</sup> This fragment is missing in Barvin'skyj's edition.

służyć jako i pierwszej, tedy mamy ich wojować, i ich ku bratu naszemu pełnić i przywracać.

I daliśmy ten nasz list pod złotą pieczęcią, po śmierci Machometowej [ośmsetnego siedmdziesiątego ósmego]<sup>ab</sup> roku, od narodzenia Chrystusa roku [tysiącznego czterechsetnego siedmdziesiątego drugiego],<sup>ac</sup> w Ordzie Tatarskiej.

Translation:

*The pact of Mengli Giray:*

*To the lords counselors of our right and left hand and of our whole state, to the Ruthenian princes and [the inhabitants of] their estates, to the boyars, [Orthodox] bishops, metropolitans, monks, laymen,<sup>3</sup> and all common people:*

*As our ancestors, the great khan, our brother [sic],<sup>4</sup> and the great khan Hadji Giray, our father, when their horses were growing sweaty [beneath them], they would come seeking hospitality [i.e., refuge] to Grand Duke Vytautas, in Lithuania, and they enjoyed great sincerity, out of their generosity they granted [in return] numerous lands, beginning with Kiev. And now, upon the great requests of [our] Lords Councilors, we are granting these lands to our brother, Duke Casimir, to Lithuania. And, on request, we have done the same as had been done previously by our forefather, Khan Tokhtamish, and by the great khan, our elder brother,<sup>5</sup> [by granting.] in accordance with the old decree:*

- *firstly Kiev along with lands, waters, all their incomes and profits;*
- *Volodymyr along with lands, waters, all their incomes and profits;*
- *Luc'k along with lands, etc.;*
- *Smolensk, Podolia, Kamjanec',<sup>6</sup> Braclav, Černihiv, Novhorod-Sivers'kyj, Sokolec',<sup>7</sup> Novhorod<sup>8</sup> along with lands, waters, all their incomes and profits;*

<sup>ab</sup> Thus in B.; in A. erroneously: 978.

<sup>ac</sup> Thus in B.; in A. the year number is missing; an erroneous date 1572 is entered by another hand, apparently by Ludwig Koenigk, the editor of *Acta Tomiciana*; cf. n. 1 above.

<sup>3</sup> On the old Ruthenian term *belec*, see Document 1, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently a reference to Khan Tokhtamish; cf. n. 5 below.

<sup>5</sup> Although one cannot entirely exclude that Mengli referred to his older brother Nur Devlet, whose *yarlıq* granted to Lithuania was mentioned indeed in Mengli's later correspondence (see n. 49 in Part I), in this place one would rather expect to find the name of Mengli's father, Hadji Giray. It was Tokhtamish and Hadji Giray who had arrived on "sweating horses" to Vytautas, who by granting them refuge earned the gratitude of the future khans, invoked in the *narratio* of their *yarlıqs* sent to the Jagiellonian rulers until the 16th century.

<sup>6</sup> It is not clear why Kamjanec' (Pol. Kamieniec Podolski) is listed separately as it was the center of the province of Podolia, already listed above.

<sup>7</sup> On the identification of *Sokal* as the Podolian castle of Sokolec' rather than the Galician town of Sokal', see Document 8, n. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps a redundant mentioning of Novhorod-Sivers'kyj?

- Čerkasy, Kačybej,<sup>9</sup> and Majak<sup>10</sup> along with lands, waters, and all their profits;
- starting from Kiev, down to the mouth [of the Dnieper] to the sea;
- Sneporod and Hlyns'k<sup>11</sup> along with lands, waters, etc.;
- Byryn, Losyčy, Xotmyšl', Nycjany<sup>12</sup> along with all lands, waters, their incomes and profits;
- Ryl'sk<sup>13</sup> along with lands, etc.;
- the tümen of Kursk;<sup>14</sup>
- the estates of Jagoldaj, son of Saraj,<sup>15</sup> along with lands, waters, all their incomes and profits: Mužeč and Oskol;<sup>16</sup>
- Starodub and Brjansk along with lands, waters, etc.;
- Mcensk, Ljubutsk, and the town of Tula,<sup>17</sup> along with lands, waters, etc.;
- Berestej, Retan',<sup>18</sup> Kozel'sk, Pronsk,<sup>19</sup> Volkonsk,<sup>20</sup> Spažsk,<sup>21</sup> Čynamir<sup>22</sup> along with lands, waters, and all their profits;

<sup>9</sup> A medieval Tatar settlement named Hadjibey, situated on the Black Sea shore in the place of present-day Odessa; also known under alternative names as Kačybej and Kačybijiv.

<sup>10</sup> Today Majaky; a settlement on the left shore of the river Dniester, close to its mouth.

<sup>11</sup> Two estates on the river Sula; on their identification, see Document 8, notes 8 and 9.

<sup>12</sup> This fragment is heavily corrupt and it was deciphered by comparing with the *yarlıq* from 1507; on the estate of Byryn near Putyvl' and on the three estates on the river Vorskla, see Document 8, notes 11, 14, 15, and 16.

<sup>13</sup> On Ryl'sk, see Document 8, n. 17.

<sup>14</sup> This fragment is corrupt; furthermore, the scribe mistook the term *tumien* for a place-name; for the correct reading, cf. the *yarlıq* from 1507.

<sup>15</sup> On these estates, extending between the upper Sejm and the upper Donec rivers, and their former owner, see Document 8, n. 18.

<sup>16</sup> These two estates belonged to the *tümen* of Jagoldaj; cf. the *yarlıqs* from ca. 1462 and 1507 (Documents 1 and 8). In the Polish manuscript, Mužeč is corruptly rendered as Barzass. Oskol was situated on the river Oskol (Ukr. Oskil), a left tributary of the Donec. The town Starij Oskol (today in Russia) is situated nearby.

<sup>17</sup> Tula belonged to Lithuania only temporarily in the years 1428–1434. In the document it is corruptly rendered as Bułahrod (cf. Tula-horod in the Ruthenian text of the *yarlıq* from 1507; see Document 8).

<sup>18</sup> Two localities in the Duchy of Rjazan' that were temporarily annexed to Lithuania in the years 1428–1434; on their identification, see Document 8, n. 22. In the document, Retan' is corruptly rendered as Jaskub.

<sup>19</sup> A town in the Duchy of Rjazan' that had temporarily acknowledged Lithuanian suzerainty in 1427; cf. Document 8, n. 23.

<sup>20</sup> An autonomous principality on the right side of the river Oka; cf. Document 8, n. 24. In the document it is corruptly rendered as Lubow.

<sup>21</sup> An autonomous principality (centered in Pavšino) on the right side of the river Oka; cf. Document 8, n. 25.

<sup>22</sup> Unidentified locality, probably either on the Oka or on the Donec river; in the *yarlıq* from ca. 1462 it reads *Saschonar* while in the *yarlıq* from 1507 *Donec* is entered in this place (cf. Documents 1 and 8); a village of Żyznomyr, situated near Bučač and founded probably later, does not seem to be an option.

- the castle of Jabu,<sup>23</sup> Balykly,<sup>24</sup> Karaul,<sup>25</sup> the ruined castle of Dašov,<sup>26</sup> Tošyčy, Nemyr,<sup>27</sup> Horod,<sup>28</sup> Mušač, Xodorov,<sup>29</sup> along with all their incomes, levies, lands, and waters.

As Pan<sup>30</sup> Bohdan Fedorovyč<sup>31</sup> and the marshal Pan Ivas'ko Soskovyč<sup>32</sup> have arrived in embassy from our brother, Grand Duke Casimir, we have welcomed them gracefully and in our brotherly friendship we have additionally granted, out of our generosity, Velikij Novgorod and the state of Rjazan', beginning with Perejaslavl',<sup>33</sup> along with lands, waters, their castles, estates, all their profits and incomes, wherever they arise or inflow, to the domain of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

All those castles, whose names are written above, along with [their] lords and princes, were previously granted to our brother, Grand Duke Vytautas, and they [i.e., their dwellers] should serve in perpetuity to our brother, Grand

<sup>23</sup> Pol. *Japihrod*, "the castle of Japi;" a Tatar settlement near the Black Sea shore between the lower Boh and the lower Dniester; on its identification, see Document 8, n. 27.

<sup>24</sup> A ruined castle on the river Boh; on its localization, see Document 8, n. 28.

<sup>25</sup> Pol. *Strozowy hrod* < *Stróžowy hrod* ("watchman's castle"); the Polish word *stróż* is a translation of the Turkish *karaul/karavul*, hence the entry obviously refers to Karaul, a settlement on the lower Dniester; on its location, see Document 8, n. 29.

<sup>26</sup> In the Polish text: *Tasska, Horodyszcze* > *Tasska horodyszcze*; the scribe mistook the term *horodyszcze* ("ruined castle") for a separate place-name; on Dašov (the future Očakiv), see Document 8, n. 31.

<sup>27</sup> In the Polish text: *Tusiknemer* > *Tusik, Nemer*; Tošyčy and Nemyr are mistakenly rendered as one locality.

<sup>28</sup> Apparently Čornyj Horod on the Dniester estuary; cf. Document 8, n. 30.

<sup>29</sup> In the Polish text: *Kudar, Horod* > *Kudar horod*; the scribe mistook the term *horod* ("castle") for a separate place-name; four settlements: Tošyčy, Nemyr, Mušač, and Xodorov could not be identified, but they were apparently situated in lower Podolia, between the Boh and Dniester rivers, along with other localities listed in the same paragraph.

<sup>30</sup> The Polish title *pan* is difficult to translate hence it is kept as in the original; unlike the English "sir," it applied not only to the nobles; on the other hand, the modern equivalent "mister" sounds anachronistic.

<sup>31</sup> Bohdan Andreevyč (not Fedorovyč) Sakovyč (Pol. Sakowicz, Lith. Sakaitis), Lithuanian court marshal since 1463, grand marshal since 1480, envoy to Muscovy in 1474 and 1482, palatine of Trakai since 1484; see his biography by Lidia Korczak in *PSB*, vol. 34, pp. 340–341; cf. Banionis, *LDK pasiuntinybių tarnyba*, pp. 102, 186 and 372 and *Urzędnicy centralni i dostojnicy WKL*, pp. 83 and 236.

<sup>32</sup> On the scribe Ivas'ko (also referred to as Ivaško or Ivašenc'o), who was sent already in the embassy of Jan Kučukovyč to Nur Devlet in ca. 1468, see Banionis, *LDK pasiuntinybių tarnyba*, pp. 97 and 186; the title of marshal is wrongly attributed to him instead of Bohdan Sakovyč (cf. n. 31 above).

<sup>33</sup> Perejaslavl' became the capital of the Duchy of Rjazan' in the 14th century, after the medieval town of Rjazan', which had given its name to the duchy, had been destroyed by the Mongols in 1237; in 1788 Perejaslavl' was officially renamed as Rjazan'.



*Duke Sigismund;<sup>34</sup> and now they should also serve in perpetuity our brother, Grand Duke Casimir, they should [deliver] incomes and all kinds of profits from these castles, and they should serve our brother themselves. And if, for whatever reason, they do not wish to serve our brother as they had before, then we should raid them, enslave, and return to our brother.*

*We have given our present letter under the golden stamp in the year 878 after the death of Muhammad,<sup>35</sup> in the year 1472 from the birth of Christ,<sup>36</sup> in the Tatar Horde.*

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<sup>34</sup> Sigismund (Lith. Žygimantas), the younger brother of Vytautas, was the grand duke of Lithuania in the years 1432–1440. The following phrase: “they should serve in perpetuity” (Pol. *mają wiecznie służyć*) is composed as if Sigismund were still alive. This is apparently due to the reason that both *yarliqs* from ca. 1462 (cf. Document 1, n. 26) and ca. 1473 were based on a former *yarliq* granted to Sigismund and the anachronous fragment referring to him was left unchanged by mistake.

<sup>35</sup> An obvious mistake or superfluous interpretation by the translator since the Muslim calendar begins with the emigration (Hegira) and not the death of Prophet Muhammad.

<sup>36</sup> The dating is confusing as the Muslim year 878 A.H. lasted from 29 May 1473 till 17 May 1474. As the Crimean chancery would rather give a wrong year according to the Christian, and not the Muslim era, I would tentatively suggest dating the present document in 1473.

DOCUMENT 5 (APRIL 1480)  
The oath by Hadji Baba (Azbaba), the Crimean envoy sent  
to King Casimir

Ruthenian copies:

A. RGADA, fond 389 = Litovskaja metrika, no. 4, fol. 103a [old foliation: 88a].

Published in a) *Russkaja Istoričeskaja Biblioteka*, vol. 27, cols. 329–330; b) *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 4 (1479–1491). Užrašymų knyga 4*, p. 90.

A.\* 18th-century Latin transcription: AGAD, Metryka Litewska, no. 191a, p. 342 [old pagination: 94]; also copied in Bibl. Czart., ms. 21 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 423–424.

Published in a) Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, p. 202;<sup>1</sup> b) Łukasz Gołębiowski, *Dzieje Polski za panowania Jagiellonów*, vol. 3, pp. 234–235; c) *Sbornik Muxanova*<sup>2</sup> (Moscow, 1836), pp. 24–25; d) Teodor Narbutt, *Dzieje narodu litewskiego*, vol. 8: *Panowania Kazimierza i Alexandra* (Wilno [Vilnius], 1840), pp. 38–39.<sup>3</sup>

Се ꙗ, Азбаба присагаю Богѣ, котории вделалъ небо и землю, напередъ то, што есми приехалъ ѡдъ господара моего ѡдъ цара Менѣдликгиреа, и ѡтъ княза, и ѡтъ всихъ влановъ и князеи до великого корола полского и до великого княза литовского и присегаю Богѣ, котории вделалъ небо и землю, в томъ, цара Менѣдликгиревою дѣшею и господара моего, и княза Ежичиноу, и всихъ влановъ и князеи дѣшею, и своею тежъ дѣшею, какъ жилъ царъ Анѣкгиреи в брацтве и в приязни зъ великимъ королемъ польскимъ и великимъ княземъ литовскимъ, а царѣ Менѣдликгирею такъжо жити в брацтве и въ приязни зъ великимъ королемъ полскимъ и великимъ княземъ литовскимъ, и добра великомъ королю хотети и детамаъ его, и землямаъ его приати и встерегати, и ѡтъ вседе боронити и до живота своего. А хто бѣдетъ

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<sup>1</sup> Erroneously dated by Pułaski as issued in 1479; cf. n. 10 below.

<sup>2</sup> In the early 19th century the older Cyrillic volumes of the *Metryka*, brought to St. Petersburg after the partitions of Poland, were inaccessible even to Russian historians; hence, Count Rumjancev, a collector of antiquities, organized excerpting historical documents from the Latin script volumes held in Warsaw; the documents, originally Cyrillic but converted into Latin script in the 18th century, were reconverted into Cyrillic; the edition by Pavel Muxanov is based on Rumjancev's collection; cf. the introduction by Egidijus Banionis in *Lietuvos Metrika (1427–1506). Knyga Nr. 5. Užrašymų knyga 5*, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Copied after *Sbornik Muxanova*, but converted into Latin script; hence, the edited text had been converted three times: from Cyrillic into Latin script in the 18th century, back into Cyrillic (see note 2 above), and then again into Latin!

царъ неприатель, то и великомъ королю неприатель, а хто великомъ королю неприатель, то тот и царъ неприатель.

Тежъ и на томъ присегаю: коли великий король пошлет посла своего до цара, и цар маеть тое присаги потвердити, и Аминакъ,<sup>a</sup> и вси вланове и кнази, подле царьковъ втца своего и своих, и присаги своее.

Писанъ в Вильни, индиктъ г҃ [13].

Translation:

*I, Hadji Baba,<sup>4</sup> swear to God, who created heaven and earth, as I have come from my lord, Mengli Giray Khan,<sup>5</sup> and from the prince,<sup>6</sup> and from all the ulans and beys [Ruth. knjazej]<sup>7</sup> to the great Polish king and Lithuanian grand duke, and I swear to God, who created heaven and earth, with the soul of my lord, Mengli Giray Khan, and with the soul[s] of Prince Yaghmurcha,<sup>8</sup> and of all the*

<sup>a</sup> Erroneously written *наминакъ*, with the first letter *н* instead of *и*. In A\* written *Naminak*, and in Pułaski's edition erroneously *ne inak* [sic].

<sup>4</sup> In 1474, Hadji Baba was sent to Moscow and swore an oath (Rus. *pravdu dal*) on behalf of Mengli Giray in the presence of Ivan III; this oath was followed by a formal document issued by the khan and sent to Moscow with the next embassy; see *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 1, p. 7; cf. Xoroškevič, *Rus' i Krym*, pp. 123 and 206.

<sup>5</sup> Ruth. *car Mendlikgirej* is translated consequently as Mengli Giray Khan as in the Turkish-Tatar usage the title "khan" written after the proper name formed an integral part of the name.

<sup>6</sup> A reference to Mengli Giray's brother, Yaghmurcha; on Yaghmurcha, see n. 8.

<sup>7</sup> The Ruthenian term *knjaz* can be translated either as "prince" or as "bey," since in Tatar documents *ulans* and beys are usually listed together, in this occurrence it is rendered as "bey."

<sup>8</sup> The corrupt form *Ežičinoju* ("with [the soul] of Ežiči") apparently refers to Yaghmurcha (Yağmurça), who was usually referred to in Ruthenian and Russian sources as Jamgurčej, Emgurčej, etc. (on the name Yaghmurcha, see Jankowski, *Historical-Etymological Dictionary*, pp. 561–562); he was Mengli Giray's younger brother and qalga (the mistaken assumption by Vasilij Smirnov, who believed that the post of qalga had been created only later for Mehmed Giray, was already corrected in Syročekovskij, "Muxammed-Geraj i ego vassaly," pp. 19–20); contrary to the statement by the French authors that Yaghmurcha died soon after 1486 (*Le khanat de Crimée*, pp. 87–88), he was alive at least until 1509; in 1491 he was sent to Sultan Bayezid II in order to negotiate the Ottoman military assistance for Mengli Giray against the Great Horde; in 1493 he participated in negotiations with Muscovy; in 1499 he performed a pilgrimage to Mecca and on his way again acted as Mengli Giray's envoy to Bayezid II, mediating on behalf of the khan a new Ottoman-Polish pacification; in 1507 he participated in the conclusion of peace with Poland-Lithuania; as late as in 1509 he is mentioned in the letter of Mengli Giray to Vasilij III of Muscovy; see *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 1, pp. 105 and 178–180; Xoroškevič, *Rus' i Krym*, pp. 149 and 245; Document 9. The information about Yaghmurcha's pilgrimage and second embassy to Istanbul origins from the speech of Mengli's envoy, delivered on 22 April 1500 in Cracow and recorded in Polish by royal chancery clerks. Mengli notified King John Albert that Yaghmurcha had gone to Muhammad's grave and simultaneously

ulans and beys, and also with my soul, that as Hadji Giray Khan used to live in brotherhood and friendship with the great Polish king and Lithuanian grand duke, also Mengli Giray Khan is to live in brotherhood and friendship with the great Polish king and Lithuanian grand duke, and he is to wish the great king and his children well, and to favor [i.e., protect] and guard his lands, and to defend them from all [directions] until the end of his life. And whoever is an enemy of the khan, will also be an enemy of the great king; and whoever is an enemy of the great king, will also be an enemy of the khan.

I also swear that when the great king sends his envoy to the khan, the khan should confirm these oaths, along with Eminek,<sup>9</sup> and all the ulans and beys, in accordance with the yarlıqs of his father and of his own, and [in accordance with] his oath.

Written in Vilnius, during the 13th indiction.<sup>10</sup>

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performed the khan's embassy to the Ottoman emperor (*Jezdził brath moy Ijamhurcz Soltan do mahmetowego grobu, przez kthoregom ya wskazał poselsthwo do Czessarza thureczkyego*); see Garbacik (ed.), *Materiały do dziejów dyplomacji polskiej*, p. 99. A visit to Muhammad's tomb in Medina was a customary part of a Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca.

<sup>9</sup> Eminek, chief of the Shirin clan, the most powerful of the four *qaraçıs* in the Crimea, and the son of Tekin, who had helped Hadji Giray to ascend the throne of the Crimea; Eminek obtained the post of *qaraçı* in 1473, after the death of his older brother Mamaq; in 1469 he had supported Mengli Giray against his brother Nur Devlet, but then he changed sides in result of the conflict over the lucrative post of the *tudun* of Caffa; in 1475 he supported the Ottoman intervention that resulted in replacing Mengli Giray with Nur Devlet; after the latter was overthrown by the invasion of the Great Horde, in 1478 Eminek solicited the Ottomans to intervene once more and reinstall Mengli Giray; in 1482 he again rebelled against Mengli Giray and took refuge in the Great Horde, but was persuaded to return in 1483 and died soon after; after his death, the post of the Shirin *qaraçı* was held by his brother Hadjike (1484), and then by Eminek's son Barash (1486); see *Le khanat de Crimée*, pp. 11, 318–319; Syroechkovskij, "Muxammed-Geraj i ego vassaly," p. 31; Xoroškevič, *Rus' i Krym*, p. 95; Jan Tyszkiewicz, "Zamach stanu Szirinów w Bachczysaraju. Utrata niezależności Chanatu Krymskiego na rzecz Turcji: 1475," in: *Zamach stanu w dawnych społecznościach*. Edited by A. Sołtysiak and J. Olko (Warsaw, 2004): 413–418.

<sup>10</sup> The thirteenth indiction lasted from 1 September 1479 till 31 August 1480. Quoting a letter of Mengli Giray from October 1480, where the khan accused King Casimir of detaining Hadji Baba for half a year (*vžo pol hoda stalo*), Feliks Koneczny proposed to date the present document in April 1480 on the assumption that Casimir arrived at Vilnius on 2 April 1480 after a longer absence from Lithuania; see *idem*, "Rzekoma koalicja Litwy z Tatarami przeciwko Moskwie w r. 1480," *Ateneum Wileńskie* 1 (1923): 140–204 and 352–397, esp. p. 183, n. 1. This dating seems convincing, although from a more recently published royal itinerary we learn that Casimir was in Vilnius already on 17 March; see Irena Sulowska-Kurasiowa [Sulkovska-Kuraseva], "Itinerarij Kazimira Jagellona (sostoianie podgotovki)," in: *Issledovaniia po istorii Litovskoj metricki* (Moscow, 1989), vol. 2: 264–335, esp. p. 316.

DOCUMENT 6 (13–20 OCTOBER 1480)  
The *šartname* (*prysjažnyj lyst*) sent by Khan Mengli Giray  
to King Casimir

The original document is missing.

Ruthenian copies:

- A. RGADA, fond 389 = Litovskaja metrika, no. 4, fol. 104a–104b [old foliation: 89a–89b].

Published in a) *Russkaja Istoričeskaja Biblioteka*, vol. 27, cols. 332–333;  
b) *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 4 (1479–1491). Užrašymų knyga 4.*, p. 92.

- A.\* 18th-century Latin transcription: AGAD, Metryka Litewska, no. 191a, p. 344 [old pagination: 96].

Published in a) Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, p. 203;<sup>1</sup>  
b) *Sbornik Muxanova*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 25–26.

Во има Божѣе, ѡтѣ Меньдликгиреа, Казимирѣ королю, брату, ѡ сеи мере присегнѣлъ есми:

Королю, брате мои, мы которое словѣ речомѣ, братѣства и приазни повышати, а приателю приател, а неприателю неприатель бѣдѣчи, какѣ король к моемѣ приателю приатель, а к неприателю неприатель бѣдетѣ, а ꙗ кѣ его приателю приатель, а к неприателю неприатель маю бѣтъ. Такѣже ꙗ, Меньдликгиреи цар, Казимира корола, брата моего приателю приателемѣ маю бѣтъ, а неприателю неприателемѣ. А еще мне, Меньдликгирею, Казимир король, братѣ, коли на своеи присазе стоати бѣдетѣ, потомѣ ꙗ, Меньдликгиреи царѣ, Казимира, брата моего людемѣ, и земламѣ его, и водамѣ, коли бы мело што статиса, ꙗ и царство покинѣ, а лиха не дамѣ вчинитѣ; ѡтѣ мене, <sup>a</sup>и ѡтѣ братѣи моее меньшое, <sup>b</sup>и ѡтѣ сына моего лиха не бѣдетѣ.

Такожѣ мне, Меньдликгирею, Казимир король, братѣ, штожѣ ѡтецѣ мои, Ажѣкгиреи царѣ князю Семенѣи котории подавалѣ люди, тѣе люди мне бы ѡдѣдалѣ. Ино корол, братѣ, коли тѣе люди мне ѡтѣдасть, а ꙗ, Меньдликгиреи, коли зѣ свое присаги выстѣплю, ѡт Бога тогды, ѡд пророка Магѣмета, и ѡт Кургана, и ѡт книгѣ наших ѡт ѡрскѣ [sic].<sup>c</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Erroneously dated by Pułaski as issued on 15 October 1479.

<sup>2</sup> Rendered in the Cyrillic script; cf. note 2 to Document 5.

<sup>a-b</sup> Omitted in Pułaski's edition.

<sup>c</sup> It should probably read *ѡтѣ ѡрскѣ*; the Cyrillic letter *c* is uplifted above the word and perhaps has been misplaced. For the Church Slavonic form *otorku/otorkus'*, derived from *otrekū/otrekus'* (infinitive: *otrekat'/otrekat'sja*), cf. *Slovar' cerkovno-slavjanskago i russkago jazyka*, vol. 3 (St. Petersburg, 1867), col. 260. I would like to warmly thank Andrij Danylenko for his assistance in solving this puzzle.

А такъ рекъчи своимъ ѧзыкомъ сесь присажъный листъ дали есмо; на чомъ есмо присагнъли, на то есмо и листъ свои дали. Писанъ въ Киркери, в лет[о] шмъсотъное и шмъдесать патов, шкѣтабрь ѿ [15] день, в патницѧ.

Translation:

*In the name of God, from Mengli Giray to King Casimir, [our] brother, I have sworn in the following manner:*

*Oh king, my brother, we pronounce this word, strengthening brotherhood and friendship, and being a friend to [your] friend and an enemy to [your] enemy; if the king is a friend to my friend and an enemy to [my] enemy, I should [likewise] be a friend to his friend and an enemy to [his] enemy. Also I, Mengli Giray Khan, should be a friend to any friend of my brother, King Casimir, and an enemy to [his] enemy.<sup>3</sup> And if King Casimir, [my] brother, keeps his oath [given] to me, Mengli Giray, then I, Mengli Giray Khan, if anything wrong is to happen to the people of my brother Casimir, his lands, or his waters, I will sooner leave my kingdom than let any harm be committed [to them]; no harm will descend [upon them] from me, my younger brothers, or my son.*

*Moreover, King Casimir, [my] brother, you should return to me, Mengli Giray, the people whom my father, Hadji Giray Khan, gave to Prince Semen.<sup>4</sup> And if you, king, [my] brother, return these people to me, if I, Mengli Giray,*

<sup>3</sup> This sentence seems to be redundant as it repeats the former statement.

<sup>4</sup> Semen Olelkovyč (Pol. Olelkowicz), related to the Jagiellonian dynasty, ruled in Kiev as a prince subordinate to King Casimir in the years 1454–1470; only after his death the autonomy of the principality was abolished in 1471; see his biography by Anna Krupska in *PSB*, vol. 23, p. 746. At the beginning of his rule, in 1454 Semen Olelkovyč rebelled against Casimir with the help of Seyyid Ahmed, the grandson of Khan Tokhtamish and the pretender to the throne of the Golden Horde. The rebellion was crushed with the help of the Crimean khan, Hadji Giray. While Semen was pardoned, Seyyid Ahmed spent the rest of his life in Lithuanian captivity, first in Vilnius and then in Kaunas. Although the members of his Tatar retinue were allowed to settle in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Crimean khans regarded them as their subjects and continually demanded their return. This is how the legend of the “donation” by Hadji Giray to Semen Olelkovyč must have been born. As late as in 1499, Mengli Giray still demanded the return of “his subjects” once “donated” to Prince Semen by his father; see Jan Tyszkiewicz, *Tatarzy na Litwie i w Polsce. Studia z dziejów XIII–XVIII w.*, pp. 132–133 and 161–162; Xoroškevič, *Rus’ i Krym*, pp. 159–160. In a recent article, Feliks Šabul’do argues that Mengli’s request also had a territorial character and referred to the lands situated to the east from the Vorskla and the lower Dnieper; see *idem*, “«Semenovy ljudi»: ix territorija i rol’ v političeskix otnošenijax meždu Krymom i Litvoj na isxode XV veka,” in: *Ruthenica*, vol. 9. Edited by V. Ryčka and O. Toločko (Kiev, 2010): 57–73, esp. pp. 72–73. Yet, the passage in question specifically refers to people (*ljudy*), and in the steppe culture it was the people rather than the land over whom the khan’s sovereignty could have been extended.

happen to break my oath, then I will renounce<sup>5</sup> God, Prophet Muhammad, the Koran, and our [holy] books.

Having pronounced this in [our] own language, we have given this oath-letter [prysjažnyj lyst]; what we have sworn to is also in the letter that we have given. Written in Qırq Yer, in the year 885, on the 15th day of October, on Friday.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> In the original: *koly z svoe prysjahy vystuplju, ot Boha tohdy, od proroka Mahmetja, y ot Kurhana, y ot knyh našyx ot orsku*, whereas the incomprehensible last two words should probably be read as one word: *otorkus'*, i.e., "I will renounce" (cf. n. c above). An analogous clause can be found in Mengli Giray's oath recorded in a document from 1478, whose original text in Khwarezmian Turkic has been preserved. It reads: "if I am the violating party, let me be separated from God and the prophets, and from the one-hundred-and-four books, especially the Koran" (*eger buzarcanlı bolsam Tengriden peygamberlerden yüz dört kitaptan 'ala'l-hususi Qur'andan bızarcanlı bolğaymen*); see Vásáry, "A contract of the Crimean khan," pp. 294–295 and a facsimile after p. 296. On the number of Holy Books sent to mankind according to a Muslim tradition, cf. Document 40, n. 17.

<sup>6</sup> The Muslim year 885 A.H. lasted between 13 March 1480 and 1 March 1481; yet, 15 October 1480 was a Sunday, and not Friday. Perhaps the Tatar scribe referred to the second decade (i.e., 11th–20th) of the month as it was customary in Islamic chanceries and the Lithuanian scribe mistakenly changed "the middle of October" into "October 15th"? Therefore, I suggest dating the present document between Friday, 13 October, and Friday, 20 October 1480.

DOCUMENT 7 (22 DECEMBER 1506–7 JANUARY 1507)

The oath by Tevkel (Tjuvikel') Ulan, the Crimean envoy  
sent to King Sigismund<sup>1</sup>

Ruthenian copies:

- A. RGADA, fond 389 = Litovskaja metrika, no. 7, p. 16 [old foliation: 10b].  
A.\* 18th-century Latin transcription: AGAD, Metryka Litewska, no. 193, pp. 10–11.  
Published in Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, pp. 295–296.
- B. RGADA, fond 389 = Litovskaja metrika, no. 8, fol. 27b–28a [old foliation: 10b–11a].  
Published in *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 8 (1499–1514). Užrašymų knyga 8*, pp. 53–54.
- B.\* 18th-century Latin transcription: AGAD, Metryka Litewska, no. 194, pp. 18–19.
- C. RGADA, fond 389 = Litovskaja metrika, no. 595, fol. 11b–12a.  
Published in *Sbornik knjazja Obolenskago*, pp. 29–30.

ІѦ, Тювикель Влан,<sup>a</sup> присагаю<sup>b</sup> господаря моего, царя<sup>c</sup> Менъдигиреевою душою<sup>d</sup> на вышънего<sup>e</sup> Бога и [на]<sup>f</sup> тот свѣтѣи Къран,<sup>g</sup> штожъ<sup>h</sup> господарь нашъ, царь Мендикгирей<sup>i</sup> беретъ з братом своим,

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<sup>1</sup> Tevkel was actually sent by Mengli Giray to King Alexander, who died on 19 August 1506. The envoy was thus received by his successor, Sigismund, and swore an oath in the latter's presence at a council in Mielnik; on the reception of the Crimean embassy in Mielnik, see "Litovskija upominki tatarskim ordam. Skarbovaja kniga Metriki Litovskoj 1502–1509 gg.," pp. 52–53. According to his itinerary, Sigismund was in Mielnik between 22 December 1506 and 7 January 1507; see Nikolaj Berežkov, "Itinerarij velikix knjazej litovskix po materialam Litovskoj Metriki (1481–1530 gg.)," in: *Arxeografičeskij Ežegodnik za 1961 god* (Moscow, 1962): 181–205, esp. p. 192. Given the fact that Sigismund was elected to the Polish throne already on 8 December 1506, the amazement of Pułaski that he is referred to as the king in the present document, is ungrounded; cf. *idem*, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, p. 108.

<sup>a</sup> В. Тювикел Влан; С. Тювикель Вланъ.

<sup>b</sup> В. присегаю; С. присагаю.

<sup>c</sup> С. господаря моего, цара.

<sup>d</sup> В. Мендикгиреевою душою; С. Менъдигиреевою дѣшею.

<sup>e</sup> В. and С. вышнего.

<sup>f</sup> In В. and С. only.

<sup>g</sup> С. свѣтѣи Къранъ.

<sup>h</sup> В. штожъ; С. што.

<sup>i</sup> С. господарь нашъ, цар Мидликгерей.



королем и великим князем Жикгимонѣтомъ<sup>j</sup> въ тыхъ часовъ сердце[ч]-  
ннѣю<sup>k</sup> приаѣзнь и верное не лъстивое братство, и не хитрое житѣ<sup>l</sup> со  
вѣсьми<sup>m</sup> солтаны, братею и сынами своими,<sup>n</sup> и со вѣсьми<sup>o</sup> вланы и  
кнази, и со вѣсьми мързы,<sup>p</sup> и со вѣсьми людьми вбеюхъ тыхъ врьдъ,<sup>q</sup>  
Заволское<sup>r</sup> и Перекопское, которые жъ подѣданы емѣ.<sup>s</sup> Маѣт господа-  
рѣ<sup>t</sup> нашъ, цар Мендикгирей<sup>u</sup> приаѣтелю короля и великого князя  
Жикгимонѣта<sup>v</sup> быти приаѣтелемъ,<sup>w</sup> а неприаѣтелю неприаѣтелемъ, и вездѣ<sup>x</sup>  
его милостю самъ,<sup>y</sup> або з людми его милости своими людьми и детми,<sup>z</sup>  
всеести на конѣ<sup>aa</sup> противъкъ всякомѣ<sup>ab</sup> неприаѣтелю его милости и помо-  
щю быти подѣлѣ<sup>ac</sup> всеѣ моцы, а зъвлаща<sup>ad</sup> того лета на московского.<sup>ae</sup>  
Также государь нашъ, цар Менѣдликгирей<sup>af</sup> землямъ, панѣствомъ, людемъ  
короля и великого князя Жикгимонѣта<sup>ag</sup> такъ Корѣны Полское, какъ<sup>ah</sup>  
Великого Князства Литовского<sup>ai</sup> шкоды не маѣт<sup>aj</sup> чинити, воиска не  
пѣскати,<sup>ak</sup> граничѣныхъ замковъ,<sup>al</sup> мѣстъ, сѣлъ<sup>am</sup> не казити ни собою, ни

<sup>j</sup> В. зъ братом своим, королем и великимъ княземъ Жикгимонтомъ;  
С. зъ братом своимъ, королемъ и великимъ княземъ Жикгимонтомъ.

<sup>k</sup> В. въ тыхъ часовъ сердечную; С. въ тыхъ часовъ сердечнѣю.

<sup>l</sup> В. не лъстивое братство, и не хитрое житѣ; С. не лъстивое братъ-  
ство, и не хитрое житѣ.

<sup>m</sup> В. and С. всими.

<sup>n</sup> В. солтаны, братею и сыны своими; С. солтаны и братею, сыны своими.

<sup>o</sup> В. and С. всими.

<sup>p</sup> В. всими мързы; С. всими кнази и мързы.

<sup>q</sup> В. всими людьми вбеюхъ тыхъ врьдъ; С. всими людьми вбеюхъ тыхъ  
врьдъ.

<sup>r</sup> С. Заволзское.

<sup>s</sup> В. подѣданы ему; С. поданы ему.

<sup>t</sup> В. Маѣтъ государь; С. Маѣтъ государь.

<sup>u</sup> В. царъ Мендикгирей; С. цар Менѣдликгирей.

<sup>v</sup> В. and С. Жикгимонта.

<sup>w</sup> В. and С. приаѣтелемъ.

<sup>x</sup> В. and С. зѣ.

<sup>y</sup> В. and С. самъ.

<sup>z</sup> В. детми и людми; С. людми и детми.

<sup>aa</sup> С. конь.

<sup>ab</sup> В. and С. противку всякому.

<sup>ac</sup> В. and С. подѣлѣ.

<sup>ad</sup> В. зъвлаща; С. зъвлаще.

<sup>ae</sup> С. московского.

<sup>af</sup> В. Также государь нашъ, царъ Мендикгирей; С. Также государь  
нашъ, царъ Мендикгирей.

<sup>ag</sup> В. землямъ, панѣствомъ, людемъ короля и великого князя Жикгимонта;  
С. землямъ, панѣствомъ и людемъ короля и великого князя Жикгимонта.

<sup>ah</sup> В. какъ; С. какъ и.

<sup>ai</sup> В. and С. Литовского.

<sup>aj</sup> В. and С. маѣтъ.

<sup>ak</sup> В. пускати.

<sup>al</sup> В. граничныхъ замковъ; С. граничныхъ замковъ.

<sup>am</sup> С. сѣль.

детми,<sup>an</sup> ни людми своими, але во вѣсем мает стерегъчи<sup>ao</sup> и блюсти, и боронити ѡтъ своихъ<sup>ap</sup> детей и людей, и ѡтъ всакихъ<sup>aq</sup> неприятелей. И во всем мает мир вечный и братство верное<sup>ar</sup> держати с королем и великим князем Жикгимонътомъ<sup>as</sup> по томъ, какъ ѡтцы ихъ: Ачъжигирей цар с Казимиром королем.<sup>at</sup>

А на том на всемъ<sup>au</sup> я, Тювикель Вланъ<sup>av</sup> присегаю, штожъ<sup>aw</sup> господарь мой, цар Менъдликгирей<sup>ax</sup> мает твю мою присагъ братъ своему<sup>ay</sup> королю и<sup>az</sup> великому князю Жикгимонътъ<sup>ba</sup> до смерти держати, [и перед его милости]<sup>bb</sup> послы сам своею дѣшею твю присагъ емъ подтвердитъ,<sup>bc</sup> и безо лъсти<sup>bd</sup> и безъ<sup>be</sup> хитрости полни[ти]<sup>bf</sup> его милости и паньствомъ<sup>bg</sup> его: Коръне и Великому Князствъ.<sup>bh</sup> И естли справедливе<sup>bi</sup> [присагаю],<sup>bj</sup> Боже помози, а естли несправедливе,<sup>bk</sup> Боже мѧ<sup>bl</sup> вышъ-нии<sup>bm</sup> забии на дѣши<sup>bn</sup> и на теле.

<sup>an</sup> B. and C. *детьми*.

<sup>ao</sup> B. *всемъ маетъ стеречи*; C. *всем маетъ стеречи*.

<sup>ap</sup> B. and C. *ѡтъ своихъ*.

<sup>aq</sup> B. *всакихъ*; C. *всакихъ*.

<sup>ar</sup> B. *всемъ маетъ мир вечный и братство верное*; C. *всемъ маетъ мир вечный и братство верне*.

<sup>as</sup> B. *королем и великим княземъ Жикгимонтомъ*; C. *королемъ и великимъ княземъ Жикгимонтомъ*.

<sup>at</sup> B. *по тому, какъ ѡтцы ихъ: Ачъжигирей царъ с Казимиром королемъ*; C. *по томъ, какъ ѡтець ихъ Ачъжигирей царъ с Казимиром королемъ и великимъ княземъ*.

<sup>au</sup> B. *А на томъ на всемъ*; C. *И на томъ на всемъ*.

<sup>av</sup> B. and C. *Тювикел Вланъ*.

<sup>aw</sup> B. *присегаю, штожъ*; C. *присагаю, што*.

<sup>ax</sup> B. *господарь мой, царъ Мендикгирей*; C. *господарь мой, Мандликгирей*.

<sup>ay</sup> B. *маетъ тую мою присагу брату своему*; C. *маетъ твю мою присагъ братъ своему*.

<sup>az</sup> Missing in C.

<sup>ba</sup> B. *великому князю Жикгимонтъ*.

<sup>bb</sup> Thus in B; A. *и передъ его милостю*; C. *перед его милостью*.

<sup>bc</sup> B. *своею душею тую присагу ему подтвердить*; C. *своею дѣшею твю присагъ емъ подтвердить*.

<sup>bd</sup> B. *а безъ ѡлсти*; C. *и безъ ѡлсти*.

<sup>be</sup> Missing in C.

<sup>bf</sup> B. *полнитъ*; C. *полнити*.

<sup>bg</sup> B. *и панствомъ*; C. *паньствомъ*.

<sup>bh</sup> B. *Великому Князствъ*; C. *Великому Князствъ*.

<sup>bi</sup> C. *справедливе*.

<sup>bj</sup> In B. and C. (*присагаю*) only.

<sup>bk</sup> C. *несправедливе*.

<sup>bl</sup> Missing in C.

<sup>bm</sup> B. and C. *вышнии*.

<sup>bn</sup> B. *души*; C. *дѣше*.

## Translation:

I, Tevkel Ulan,<sup>2</sup> swear with the soul of my lord, Mengli Giray Khan, by the highest God and by this holy Koran, that from now on our lord, Mengli Giray Khan, along with all the sultans [i.e., princes], his brothers and sons, with all the ulans and beys [Ruth. knjazi], with all the mirzas, and with all the people of the two hordes: the Trans-Volgine [i.e., the Great Horde] and of Perekop [i.e., the Crimean Horde] that are subject to him, commits [himself] to sincere friendship, loyal and undeceitful brotherhood, and honest [common] life with his brother, the king and grand duke Sigismund. Our lord, Mengli Giray Khan, should be a friend to any friend of the king and grand duke Sigismund, and an enemy to [his] enemy, and he should mount a horse—either personally along with His Majesty [i.e., the king], or [by sending] his people and children along with the people of His Majesty—in all directions, against any enemy of His Majesty, and he should assist [His Majesty] with all [his] power, and especially this year, against the Muscovian [ruler]. Also our lord, Mengli Giray Khan, should not cause any harm to the lands, domains, and people of the king and grand duke Sigismund, either of [i.e., belonging to] the Polish Crown, or of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; he should not let his troops [raid them], nor should he, his children, or his people ruin the border castles, towns, and villages; on the contrary, he should by all means guard and patrol them, and defend them from his own children and people, and from all enemies. And by all means he should keep the eternal peace and the loyal brotherhood with the king and grand duke Sigismund, in the same manner as [it used to be between] their fathers: Hadji Giray Khan and King Casimir.

And I, Tevkel Ulan, swear by all this [i.e., God and Koran] that my lord, Mengli Giray Khan, should keep my present oath in regard to his brother, the king and grand duke Sigismund, until [his] death, and that he will confirm this oath himself with his soul before the envoys of His Majesty; and he should fulfill [the provisions of this oath] in regard to His Majesty and his domains: the Crown and the Grand Duchy, without any deceit or fraud. If I swear sincerely, God help me!, but if not sincerely, oh the Highest God!, kill my body and soul!

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<sup>2</sup> Tevkel Ulan (in Ruthenian and Russian sources referred to as Tjuvikel or Tevekel; on the various forms of this name see Jankowski, *Historical-Etymological Dictionary*, pp. 1045–1046), a noble in the inner (i.e., court) service of the khan; in 1487 he was sent in embassy to Moscow; in 1493–1494 he participated in raids against Lithuania; his brothers, Ahmed Ulan and Nurum Ulan, lived in Lithuania; in 1509, after his death, Mengli Giray asked King Sigismund to send Nurum to the Crimea as Tevkel left his servants and people without an heir; see *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 1, pp. 58, 62, 65, 209, 267 and Syročekovskij, “Muxammed-Geraj i ego vassaly,” p. 45. Syročekovskij and Xoroškevič confused Tevkel Ulan with the powerful Manghit (i.e., Nogay) prince Tevkel, the brother of Mengli Giray’s wife Nur Sultan, who entered the Crimean service in 1503 after the fall of the Great Horde; both Russian authors erroneously assumed that it was the latter who had sworn the oath in 1506 (Syročekovskij, “Muxammed-Geraj i ego vassaly,” p. 33; Xoroškevič, *Rus’ i Krym*, p. 93). In fact, in a letter from the Muscovian grand prince to Mengli Giray, dated 1509 but referring to the events from the year 1492, both Tevkels are mentioned (*Tevekel knjaz’* and *Tevekel ulan*). On the Manghit prince Tevkel, see Document 9, n. 14.

## DOCUMENT 8 (2 JULY 1507)

The donation *yarlıq* sent by Khan Mengli Giray to King Sigismund

The original document is missing.

Ruthenian copies:

A. RGADA, fond 389 = Litovskaja metrika, no. 7, pp. 72–75 [old foliation: 38b–40a].

Published in *Akty odnosjaščiesja k istorii Zapadnoj Rossii*, vol. 2, pp. 4–5.

A.\* 18th-century Latin script transcription: AGAD, Metryka Litewska, no. 193, pp. 48–50.

Published in Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, pp. 313–315.

B. RGADA, fond 389 = Litovskaja metrika, no. 8, fol. 55a–56a [old foliation: 38a–39a].

Published in *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 8 (1499–1514). Užrašymų knyga 8*, pp. 83–84.

B.\* 18th-century Latin transcription: AGAD, Metryka Litewska, no. 194, pp. 69–71.

C.<sup>1</sup> RGADA, fond 389 = Litovskaja metrika, no. 595, fol. 37a–38a.

Published in *Sbornik knjazja Obolenskago*, pp. 87–89.

Polish 16th-century translation: Bibl. Kór., ms. 222, pp. 104–105.

Published in *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 1, Appendix, pp. 23–24.

Лист ѿ цара татарского Менѣдликгирея до Панов Рад и всихъ рѣскихъ людей ѿ Киевѣ и инѣшые замѣки:<sup>a</sup>

Починаю, Господи, в<sup>b</sup> Твое имя!

Великое Ѡрды великого царя Менѣдликгиреево<sup>c</sup> слово:

Правое рѣки и левое великого влоса<sup>d</sup> темникомъ,<sup>e</sup> и тысячъникомъ, и сотникомъ, и десятникомъ, вланомъ, княземъ, и всимъ рѣскимъ людемъ,

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<sup>1</sup> The beginning of the document is missing.

<sup>a</sup> In A. only.

<sup>b</sup> В. ѡ.

<sup>c</sup> В. Мендликгиреево.

<sup>d</sup> В. влвса.

<sup>e</sup> In B. written erroneously: *месичникомъ*.

князем, бояром, митрополитом и попом, чернцом, и всим чорнымъ людем<sup>f</sup> и всемъ посполствъ:

Даем вам ведати, штожъ великий цар,<sup>g</sup> дядя нашъ, и великий цар Ачъжикгирей, штец нашъ,<sup>h</sup> коли ихъ<sup>i</sup> потные кони были, до великого князя Витовта<sup>j</sup> до литовское земли в гостиное поехали, и за то пожаловали Киевом в головахъ<sup>k</sup> и<sup>l</sup> многие места дали. Ино по томъ жъ<sup>m</sup> литовское земли великий князъ<sup>n</sup> Казимир, братъ нашъ, з<sup>o</sup> литовскими князи и паны просили насъ,<sup>p</sup> и мы ихъ прозъбъ<sup>q</sup> вхваливъ.

Ино Вогъ<sup>r</sup> на штеца нашего столцы посадил; ино што великий цар, дядя нашъ, и великий цар, штец нашъ,<sup>s</sup> дали, по томъ жъ:<sup>t</sup> киевскыю тмъ со всими<sup>u</sup> входы<sup>v</sup> и данми, и зъ землями,<sup>w</sup> и з водами; володимирскыю тмъ со всими<sup>x</sup> входы и данми,<sup>y</sup> и зъ землями, и з водами; Великого Лвцка<sup>aa</sup> тмъ со всими входы и зъ даньми, и з землями, и з водами;<sup>ab</sup> смоленскыю<sup>ac</sup> тмъ со всими входы и зъ данми, и з землями, и з водами;<sup>ad</sup> подолскыю тмъ со всими входы и з даньми, и з землями, и водами;<sup>ae</sup> каменецкыю тмъ со всими входы и з данми, и з землями, и водами;<sup>af</sup> браславскыю тмъ со всими входы

<sup>f</sup> В. тиспачникомъ, и сотникомъ, и десятникомъ, вланомъ, княземъ и всимъ рускимъ людемъ, княземъ, и бояромъ, митрополитом и попомъ, чернцомъ и всимъ чорнымъ людемъ.

<sup>g</sup> В. Даемъ вамъ ведати, штожъ великий царъ.

<sup>h</sup> В. царъ Ачжикгирей, штець нашъ.

<sup>i</sup> В. ихъ.

<sup>j</sup> В. Витовта.

<sup>k</sup> В. головахъ.

<sup>l</sup> In A. only.

<sup>m</sup> В. по томъ жъ.

<sup>n</sup> В. князь.

<sup>o</sup> В. с.

<sup>p</sup> В. насъ.

<sup>q</sup> В. ихъ прозъбъ.

<sup>r</sup> В. Вогъ.

<sup>s</sup> В. великий цари, дяди наши, и великий царъ, штець нашъ.

<sup>t</sup> В. по томъ жъ.

<sup>u</sup> В. киевскую тму со всеми.

<sup>v</sup> C. begins here.

<sup>w</sup> В. and C. землями.

<sup>x</sup> В. and C. володимирскую тму со всеми.

<sup>y</sup> C. даньми.

<sup>z</sup> В. and C. зъ.

<sup>aa</sup> C. Лвцка.

<sup>ab</sup> В. всеми входы и данми, и зъ землями, и з водами; C. всеми входы и зъ даньми, и зъ землями, и зъ водами.

<sup>ac</sup> В. смоленскую.

<sup>ad</sup> В. and C. всеми входы и зъ даньми, и зъ землями, и зъ водами.

<sup>ae</sup> В. подолскую тму со всеми входы и зъ данми, и зъ землями, и водами;

C. подолскую тмъ со всеми входы и зъ землями и зъ данми и водами.

<sup>af</sup> В. каменецкыю тму со всеми входы и зъ даньми, и зъ землями, и водами; C. каменецкыю тму со всеми входы и зъ даньми, и зъ землями, и водами.

и з данми, и з землями, и водами;<sup>ag</sup> сокалскѣю тмѣ со вѣсими входы и данми, и з землями, и водами;<sup>ah</sup> Звинигородъ з выходы и з данми, и з землями, и водами;<sup>ai</sup> Черкасы з выходы и данми, и з землями, и водами;<sup>aj</sup> Хачибиев и Матакъ з водами и з землями;<sup>ak</sup> ино почонши ѿтъ Киева, и Днепром и до вѣтъя;<sup>al</sup> и Снепород и Глинескъ со вѣсими ихъ людѣми;<sup>am</sup> Жолважъ, Пѣтивль зъ землями и з водами;<sup>an</sup> Бирин, Синячъ, Хотел, Лосичи, Хотмышль, Ницаны со вѣсими ихъ землями и водами, и данми, и выходы;<sup>ao</sup> черниговскѣю тмѣ со вѣсими выходы и данми, и землями, и водами;<sup>ap</sup> Рылескъ з выходы и данми, и з землями,<sup>aq</sup> и водами; курскѣю тмѣ з выходы и данми, и з землями, и водами;<sup>ar</sup> Сараева сына Егалтаевѣ тмѣ;<sup>as</sup> Милолюбъ з выходы и данми, и з землями,<sup>at</sup> и водами, Мѣжечъ, Ускол; и Стародѣбъ, Бранескъ,<sup>au</sup> со вѣсими ихъ выходы и данми, и з землями,<sup>av</sup> и водами; Мченескъ<sup>aw</sup> и Люботескъ, Тула-город, со вѣсими ихъ выходы и данми, и з землями, и з водами;<sup>ax</sup> Берестей и Ратѣнъ, и Козелескъ, Пронско, Улконѣско,<sup>ay</sup>

<sup>ag</sup> В. браславѣскую тму со вѣсими выходы и з данми, и з землями, и водами; С. браславѣскую тму со вѣсими входы и з данѣми, и зъ землями, и водами.

<sup>ah</sup> В. сокалскую тму со вѣсими выходы и данми, и зъ землями, и з водами; С. сокалскѣю тмѣ со вѣсими входы и зъ данѣми, и зъ землями, и водами.

<sup>ai</sup> В. Звинигород з выходы и данми, и зъ землями, и з водами; С. Звинигород з выходы и зъ данѣми, и зъ землями, и зъ водами.

<sup>aj</sup> В. Черкасы зъ выходы и данми, и зъ землями, и водами; this fragment is missing in С.

<sup>ak</sup> В. Хачибеевъ и Матакъ з водами и зъ землями; С. Хачибеевъ и Матакъ з водами и зъ землями.

<sup>al</sup> В. почонши ѿтъ Киева, и Днепромъ и до вѣтъя; С. почонши ѿтъ Киева, и Днепром и до вѣтъя.

<sup>am</sup> В. и Снепородъ и Глинескъ со вѣсими ихъ людѣми; С. и Снепорож и Глинескъ со вѣсими ихъ людѣми.

<sup>an</sup> В. Жолважъ, Пѣтивль зъ землями и з водами; С. Жолважъ, Пѣтивль зъ землями и водами.

<sup>ao</sup> В. Бирин, Синячъ, Хотень, Лосичи, Хотмышль, Нитаны со вѣсими ихъ землями и водами, и выходы, и данми; С. Биринъ, Синячъ, Хотел, Лосичи, Хотмышль, Ницаны со вѣсими ихъ землями и водами, и данѣми, и выходы.

<sup>ap</sup> В. черниговскую тму со вѣсими выходы и данми, и землями, и водами; С. черниговскѣю тмѣ со вѣсими выходы и данѣми, и зъ землями, и водами.

<sup>aq</sup> В. данми, и зъ землями; С. данѣми, и зъ землями.

<sup>ar</sup> В. курскѣю тму з выходы и данѣми, и землями, и водами; С. курскѣю тмѣ з выходы и данѣми, и зъ землями, и водами.

<sup>as</sup> В. тму; С. тмѣ.

<sup>at</sup> В. зъ выходы и данми, и з землями; С. з выходы и данѣми, и зъ землями.

<sup>au</sup> С. Мужечъ, Ускол; и Стародѣбъ, Бранескъ.

<sup>av</sup> В. со вѣсими ихъ выходы и данми, и зъ землями; С. и со вѣсими ихъ выходы и данѣми, и з землями.

<sup>aw</sup> In С. written erroneously: Менскъ.

<sup>ax</sup> В. Тула-городъ, со вѣсими ихъ землями и водами, и выходы, и данми; С. Тула-город, со вѣсими ихъ выходы и данѣми, и землями, и водами.

<sup>ay</sup> В. Ратунъ, и Козелескъ, Пронско, Улконско; С. Ратѣнъ, и Козельскъ, Пронѣско, Улконѣско.

Испашъ, [Донецъ,]<sup>az</sup> со вѣсими ихъ выходы и данми, и зъ землями,<sup>ba</sup> и водами; Ёбъ-городокъ,<sup>bb</sup> Балыклы, Каравл, Чорный городъ,<sup>bc</sup> Дашовъ-городищо, Тошичи, Немир, Мъшачъ,<sup>bd</sup> Ходоровъ, со всеми их выходы и зъ данми, и зъ землями,<sup>be</sup> и водами.

Ино великий князь Казимир, брат нашъ, зъ литовское земли князи<sup>bf</sup> и паны, штобы доброта множила, для того и мы тежъ<sup>bg</sup> с ѣланы, князи порадивъ, а брат нашъ князь<sup>bh</sup> Казимир Анѣдреева сына пана Богъ-дана маршалка, а с нимъ<sup>bi</sup> пана Ивашковъ сынъ,<sup>bj</sup> [панъ Ивашенцо],<sup>bk</sup> коли до мене штъ<sup>bl</sup> брата моего в поселстве приехали, ино мы, повышаа брата нашего [милѹючи],<sup>bm</sup> Псковъ, Великий Новгородъ<sup>bn</sup> пожаловали дали есмо, и Резани Переясловъ<sup>bo</sup> в головахъ,<sup>bp</sup> люди, тмы,<sup>bq</sup> города, и села, и дани, и выходы, и зъ землями, и зъ водами, и с потоками<sup>br</sup> къ литовскомъ<sup>bs</sup> столцъ придали есмо.

Ино вы, имени выше писаныи<sup>bt</sup> города, князи, и боцре, напередъ<sup>bu</sup> сего великомъ князю Витовтъ,<sup>bv</sup> братъ нашомъ, а потомъ<sup>bw</sup> великомъ князю Жикгимонтъ,<sup>bx</sup> братъ нашомъ,<sup>by</sup> какъ<sup>by</sup> есте сляживали, ино

<sup>az</sup> Missing in A.; in C. *Донецъ*.

<sup>ba</sup> B. *со всеми их выходы и даньми, и зъ землями*; C. *со всеми ихъ выходы и даньми, и зъ землями*.

<sup>bb</sup> B. *Ёбъ-город*.

<sup>bc</sup> B. and C. *Каравл, Чорный город*.

<sup>bd</sup> In B. erroneously repeated: *Немиръ, Немир, Мушачъ*; in C. *Немир, Мушач*.

<sup>be</sup> B. *со всеми их выходы и данми, и зъ землями*; C. *со всеми ихъ выходы и зъ даньми, и зъ землями*.

<sup>bf</sup> B. *князь Казимир, братъ нашъ, зъ литовское земли съ князи*; C. *князь Казимир, братъ нашъ, зъ литовское земли с князи*.

<sup>bg</sup> B. and C. *теж*.

<sup>bh</sup> B. and C. *братъ нашъ князь*.

<sup>bi</sup> B. and C. *Богдана маршалка, а с нимъ*.

<sup>bj</sup> B. *сын*.

<sup>bk</sup> Thus in B.; in C. *панъ Ивашенцо*; in A. written mistakenly: *понъ Ивашенцо*.

<sup>bl</sup> B. and C. *шт*.

<sup>bm</sup> Thus in C.; in B. *милуочи*; in A. written mistakenly: *миняючи*.

<sup>bn</sup> C. *Псковъ, Великий Новгород*.

<sup>bo</sup> B. and C. *Резанъ и Переясловъ*.

<sup>bp</sup> B. *в головах*.

<sup>bq</sup> C. *тъмы*.

<sup>br</sup> C. *зъ землями, и зъ водами, и съ потоками*.

<sup>bs</sup> B. *къ литовскомъ*; C. *къ литовскомъ*.

<sup>bt</sup> B. and C. *писаные*; this fragment is erroneously read by the editors of *Lietuvos Metrika* as: *И новы имени вышеписаные*.

<sup>bu</sup> B. and C. *наперед*.

<sup>bv</sup> C. *Витолтъ*.

<sup>bw</sup> B. and C. *потомъ*.

<sup>bx</sup> B. *Жикгимонту, братъ нашому*; C. *Жикгимонтъ, брату нашомъ*.

<sup>by</sup> B. *какъ*.

и [ныне]<sup>bz</sup> по томъ жъ<sup>ca</sup> великомъ князю Казимиру, братъ нашомъ, слѣжите, колко городовъ<sup>cb</sup> дани и выходы сполна давали. А которые люди напотом<sup>cc</sup> повышаа дали есмо, не молте:<sup>cd</sup> “перво того не слѣживали есмо, и дани и выходы не даивали есмо,” никоторое вымовъки не меите, дани и выходы давайте, ѡтъ нынешнего часа<sup>ce</sup> слѣжите.

Ино и нине<sup>cf</sup> великий князь Жикгимонътъ, братъ нашъ,<sup>cg</sup> з литовское<sup>ch</sup> земли князи и паны, дла того, штобы межи нами доброта была, и мы с ѡланы и князи порадивъ,<sup>ci</sup> ѡтъ<sup>cj</sup> брата нашего, великого князя Жикгимонта панъ Юрьи Зеновъевичъ,<sup>ck</sup> а панъ Іакъбъ Ивашенцовичъ,<sup>cl</sup> маршалокъ и писар татарский Тимиръчинъ сынъ князь Абрагим,<sup>cm</sup> ѡтъ<sup>cn</sup> брата нашего в поселстве приездили,<sup>co</sup> ино первые<sup>cp</sup> цари, дѣди наши, цар ѡтецъ нашъ пожаловал которими ѡрлыки,<sup>cq</sup> а потом и мы которимъ ѡрлыком пожаловали,<sup>cr</sup> милѹючи Жикгимонта, брата нашего, къ литовской<sup>cs</sup> земли столцѹ дали есмо пожаловал сесѹ<sup>ct</sup> нашъ ѡрлыкъ з ласки по первомъ жъ,<sup>cu</sup> сполна дани, и выходы, и слѣжбѹ.<sup>cv</sup> Не бѣдете л то сполна слѣжити,<sup>cw</sup> и вамъ некоторое жъ<sup>cx</sup> добро

<sup>bz</sup> Thus in B. and C.; in A. written mistakenly: *и мне*;

<sup>ca</sup> B. *по томъ жъ*.

<sup>cb</sup> B. *горовъ*.

<sup>cc</sup> B. *напотомъ*.

<sup>cd</sup> B. *молте*.

<sup>ce</sup> B. *ѡтъ нынешнего часу*; C. *ѡтъ нынешнего часа*.

<sup>cf</sup> Thus in C.; in B. written with a *titlo* (*нѣ*); in A. the *titlo* is missing (*нне*).

<sup>cg</sup> B. and C. *князь Жикгимонтъ, братъ нашъ*.

<sup>ch</sup> C. *литовское*.

<sup>ci</sup> C. *порадивъ*.

<sup>cj</sup> B. and C. *ѡтъ*.

<sup>ck</sup> B. *пан Юрьи Зеновъевичъ*; C. *панъ Юри Зеновъевичъ*.

<sup>cl</sup> B. *пан Іакубъ Ивашенцовичъ*; C. *панъ Іакубъ Ивашенцевичъ*.

<sup>cm</sup> B. *Тимирчинъ сынъ князь Ѡбрагимъ*; C. *Тимирчинъ сынъ князь Абрагимъ*.

<sup>cn</sup> B. and C. *ѡтъ*.

<sup>co</sup> B. *приездили*.

<sup>cp</sup> B. *первые*.

<sup>cq</sup> B. *царъ ѡтецъ нашъ пожаловал которыми ѡрлыки*; C. *цар ѡтецъ нашъ пожаловалъ которыми ѡрлыки*.

<sup>cr</sup> B. *а потомъ и мы которымъ ѡрлыком пожаловали*; C. *а потомъ и мы которымъ ѡрлыкомъ пожаловали*.

<sup>cs</sup> B. *къ литовской*; C. *къ литовской*.

<sup>ct</sup> B. *пожаловали сесѹ*; C. *пожаловал сесѹ*.

<sup>cu</sup> B. *первому жъ*; C. *первомъ жъ*.

<sup>cv</sup> B. *службѹ*.

<sup>cw</sup> B. *чинити*; C. *служити*.

<sup>cx</sup> B. and C. *вамъ некоторое жъ*.



бѣдетъ,<sup>cy</sup> бѣдете воеваны и граблены, сего нашего царька не бѣдете л<sup>cz</sup> послышными,<sup>da</sup> штобы есте не сплосили ся!

Дла того на то под золотым нишаном<sup>db</sup> и подъ<sup>dc</sup> алыми патны царькѣ данъ,<sup>dd</sup> по Про[ро]ка<sup>de</sup> нашего смерти девятсотъ лет и тринадцатъ летъ,<sup>df</sup> щастливого<sup>dg</sup> месеца саара ꙗ [21] дня, в пятницѣ. Писанъ<sup>dh</sup> в городе Веселом.<sup>di</sup>

Translation:

*The letter from the Tatar khan Mengli Giray to the lords of the Council and all the Ruthenian people concerning Kiev and other castles:*

*I commence, oh Lord, in Your name!*

*The word of Mengli Giray, the great khan of the Great Horde:*

*To the commanders of tens of thousands [tūmens], thousands, hundreds, and tens of the great people [ulus] of the right and the left hand, the ulans and beys [Ruth. knjazem], and to all the Ruthenian people, princes, boyars, metropolitans, [Orthodox] priests, monks, and all ordinary people and commoners:*

*We let you know that the great khan, our uncle,<sup>2</sup> and the great khan Hadji Giray, our father, when their horses were growing sweaty [beneath them], they would come seeking hospitality [i.e., refuge] to Grand Duke Vytautas, in Lithuania; in return they granted [him] numerous places, beginning with Kiev. Likewise, the grand duke of Lithuania, our brother Casimir, along with the Lithuanian princes and lords, have asked us to do accordingly, and we have granted their request.*

*As God has placed us on the throne of our father, whatever had been granted by the great khan, our uncle, and by the great khan, our father, [we have granted] accordingly:*

- the tümen of Kiev along with all incomes, levies, lands, and waters;
- the tümen of Volodymyr along with all incomes, levies, lands, and waters;
- the tümen of Great Luc'k along with all incomes, levies, lands, and waters;

<sup>cy</sup> В. бѣдетъ.

<sup>cz</sup> В. and С. лѣ.

<sup>da</sup> В. послушни; С. послышни.

<sup>db</sup> В. золотымъ нишаномъ.

<sup>dc</sup> В. and С. подъ.

<sup>dd</sup> В. царькѣ данъ.

<sup>de</sup> Only in С. written correctly, with a Cyrillic letter *p* scribed over the line.

<sup>df</sup> В. девятъсотъ летъ и тринадцатъ летъ; С. деветсотъ лет и трынадцатъ лет.

<sup>dg</sup> С. щастливого.

<sup>dh</sup> В. and С. Писанъ.

<sup>di</sup> В. Веселомъ.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently the reference to Khan Tokhtamish.

- the tümen of Smolensk along with all incomes, levies, lands, and waters;
- the tümen of Podolia along with all incomes, levies, lands, and waters;
- the tümen of Kamjanec<sup>3</sup> along with all incomes, levies, lands, and waters;
- the tümen of Braclav along with all incomes, levies, lands, and waters;
- the tümen of Sokolec<sup>4</sup> along with all incomes, levies, lands, and waters;
- Zvynyhorod<sup>5</sup> along with incomes, levies, lands, and waters;
- Čerkasy along with incomes, levies, lands, and waters;
- Kačybej<sup>6</sup> and Majak<sup>7</sup> along with waters and lands;
- and starting from Kiev, along with the Dnieper down to its mouth;
- and Sneporod<sup>8</sup> and Hlyns'k<sup>9</sup> along with all their people;
- Žolvaž<sup>10</sup> and Putyvl' along with lands and waters;
- Byryn,<sup>11</sup> Sinec,<sup>12</sup> Xoten',<sup>13</sup> Losyčy,<sup>14</sup> Xotmyšl',<sup>15</sup> and Nycjany<sup>16</sup> along with all their lands, waters, levies, and incomes;

<sup>3</sup> It is not clear why Kamjanec' (Pol. Kamieniec Podolski) is listed separately as it was the center of the province of Podolia, already listed above.

<sup>4</sup> In his detailed analysis of the geographic contents of this *yarlıq*, Fedir Petrun' convincingly argued that Sokal' should not be identified with the well known town in Galicia, but with the medieval Podolian castle of Sokolec' (today Sokilec'), situated east of Kamjanec' on the river Ušycja; see *idem* "Xans'ki jarlyky," p. 141. For the same opinion, see Stefan Maria Kuczyński, *Sine Wody*, pp. 24–25; republished in: *idem, Studia z dziejów Europy Wschodniej X–XVII w.* (Warsaw, 1965): 135–180, esp. pp. 152–153. The above identification is additionally supported by the fact that in the *yarlıq* from 1514 (Document 14) the *tümen* of Sokolec' is referred to as *sokoleckaja tma*, and in Document 24 we find the form *Sokolče*. On Sokolec', see *Słownik geograficzny*, vol. 11, p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Today Zvenyhorodka; a medieval castle situated southwest of Čerkasy on the river Hnylyj Tikyč; on its history see *Słownik geograficzny*, vol. 14, pp. 690–696.

<sup>6</sup> A medieval Tatar settlement named Hadybey, situated on the Black Sea shore in the place of present-day Odessa; also known under alternative names as Kačybej and Kačybejev/Kačybivjiv.

<sup>7</sup> Today Majaky; a settlement on the left shore of the river Dniester, close to its mouth.

<sup>8</sup> An estate on the Sula, situated between Čerkasy and Hlyns'k; see Petrun', "Xans'ki jarlyky," p. 140; *Arxiv Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii, izdavaemyj Kommissieju dlja razbora drevnix aktov*, pt. 7, vol. 1: *Akty o zaselenii Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii* (Kiev, 1886), pp. 102–103.

<sup>9</sup> A town, belonging to the Hlyns'kyj (Gliński) family, situated on the river Sula; on its history, see Petrun', "Xans'ki jarlyky," pp. 139–140 and *Słownik geograficzny*, vol. 3, pp. 75–76.

<sup>10</sup> An estate in the region of Putyvl'; see Petrun', "Xans'ki jarlyky," p. 138 and *Slovnyk staroukrajins'koji movy*, vol. 1, p. 362.

<sup>11</sup> An estate in the region of Putyvl'; see Petrun', "Xans'ki jarlyky," p. 138 and *Slovnyk staroukrajins'koji movy*, vol. 1, p. 96. The modern town of Buryń is situated nearby.

<sup>12</sup> An estate on the river Sula; see Petrun', "Xans'ki jarlyky," p. 139.

<sup>13</sup> Xoten' rather than Xotel as in the manuscript (cf. also Document 12); an estate in the region of Putyvl'; see *Slovnyk staroukrajins'koji movy*, vol. 2, p. 514. The modern town of Xotin' north of Sumy is situated nearby.

<sup>14</sup> An estate on the river Vorskla; see Petrun', "Xans'ki jarlyky," pp. 138–139.

<sup>15</sup> An estate on the river Vorskla; see Petrun', "Xans'ki jarlyky," p. 138.

<sup>16</sup> An estate on the river Vorskla; see Petrun', "Xans'ki jarlyky," pp. 138–139.

- the tümen of Černihiv along with all incomes, levies, lands, and waters;
- Ryl'sk<sup>17</sup> along with incomes, levies, lands, and waters;
- the tümen of Kursk along with incomes, levies, lands, and waters;
- the tümen of Jagoldaj, son of Saraj;<sup>18</sup> Myloljub along with incomes, levies, lands, and waters, Mužeč and Oskol;<sup>19</sup>
- Starodub and Brjansk along with all their incomes, levies, lands, and waters;
- Mcensk, Ljubutsk,<sup>20</sup> and the town of Tula,<sup>21</sup> along with all their incomes, levies, lands, and waters;
- Berestej and Retan',<sup>22</sup> Kozel'sk, Pronsk,<sup>23</sup> Volkonsk,<sup>24</sup> Spažsk,<sup>25</sup> and Donec,<sup>26</sup> along with all their incomes, levies, lands, and waters;

<sup>17</sup> A medieval town on the river Sejm, today in Russia; in the 14th century annexed to Lithuania; in 1500 its holder acknowledged Muscovian suzerainty; see *Słownik geograficzny*, vol. 10, p. 94.

<sup>18</sup> Petrun' and Kuczyński quote a document from 1497 that identifies the estate of Jagoldaj as consisting of Myloljub, Mužeč and Oskol and extending between the upper Sejm and the upper Donec rivers (hence punctuation marks were entered to the Ruthenian text in order to read this fragment correctly). This estate was initially granted by Vytautas to Ulug Muhammed, the pretender to the throne of the Golden Horde, who sought refuge in Lithuania. After Ulug Muhammed left in 1437 in order to continue his fight for the throne, the estate was granted to one of his military commanders, Jagoldaj (Jaholdaj). Jagoldaj's estate was inherited by his son, and then granddaughter, who married Prince Jurij Vjazemskij. After the latter accepted Muscovian suzerainty in 1494, the estate was confiscated by the Lithuanian treasury, to be finally ceded to Muscovy in 1503; see Petrun', "Xans'ki jarlyky," pp. 137–138; Stefan Maria Kuczyński, "Jaholdaj i Jaholdajewicze lenni książęta tatarscy Litwy," in: *idem*, *Studia z dziejów Europy Wschodniej X–XVII w.*, pp. 221–226; Jan Tyszkiewicz, *Tatarzy na Litwie i w Polsce. Studia z dziejów XIII–XVIII w.*, pp. 130 and 161.

<sup>19</sup> An estate on the river Oskol (Ukr. Oskil), a left tributary of the Donec. The modern town of Starij Oskol (today in Russia) is situated nearby.

<sup>20</sup> Mcensk and Ljubutsk constituted two Lithuanian strongholds against Muscovy; after 1494, when most of the region was already lost, they constituted two Lithuanian enclaves on the right, eastern side of the river Oka; they were finally annexed to Muscovy in 1503; see Petrun', "Xans'ki jarlyky," pp. 135–136.

<sup>21</sup> Tula had belonged to Lithuania only temporarily in the years 1428–1434; being a part of the Duchy of Rjazan', in 1503 it was annexed to Muscovy.

<sup>22</sup> Petrun' corrected the assumption by Myxajlo Hruševskij, who had identified the above two localities with Brest and Ratne (Pol. Brześć and Ratno) in western Polissja; in fact, they both belonged to the Duchy of Rjazan' and were temporarily annexed to Lithuania in the years 1428–1434, along with Tula; see Petrun', "Xans'ki jarlyky," pp. 138–139.

<sup>23</sup> A town in the Duchy of Rjazan' that had temporarily acknowledged Lithuanian suzerainty in 1427; see Petrun', "Xans'ki jarlyky," p. 136.

<sup>24</sup> An autonomous principality on the right side of the river Oka that had belonged to Lithuania until 1494; see Petrun', "Xans'ki jarlyky," p. 135.

<sup>25</sup> An autonomous principality (centered in Pavšino) on the right side of the river Oka that had belonged to Lithuania until 1494; see Petrun', "Xans'ki jarlyky," p. 135.

<sup>26</sup> An estate on the river Donec.

- the castle of Jabu,<sup>27</sup> Balykly,<sup>28</sup> Karaul,<sup>29</sup> Čornyj Horod,<sup>30</sup> the ruined castle [Ruth. horodyščo] of Dašov,<sup>31</sup> Tošyčy, Nemyr, Mušač, Xodorov,<sup>32</sup> along with all their incomes, levies, lands, and waters.

Moreover, Grand Duke Casimir, our brother, along with the princes and lords of Lithuania, and also we, along with the ulans and beys [Ruth. knjazi], having taken counsel for the good to multiply [between us], as our brother, Duke Casimir, [had sent] the marshal Bohdan, son of Andrej,<sup>33</sup> and along with him Pan Ivašenco, son of Pan Ivaška,<sup>34</sup> when they had come to me in embassy from my brother, we—by strengthening our love towards our brother—had granted Pskov, Velikij Novgorod, and [the duchy of]<sup>35</sup> Rjazan', beginning with

<sup>27</sup> A Tatar settlement, situated near the Black Sea shore between the lower Boh and the lower Dniester; it is placed on the famous map by Morali İlyas, preserved in the Topkapı Palace (subscribed as *qale-i Yabu* i.e., “the fortress of Jabu”). The map origins probably from 1497. By 1507 Jabu was apparently destroyed; see Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, “Stara turecka mapa Ukrainy,” pp. 10, 17, 20, and 22.

<sup>28</sup> A ruined Tatar castle (known as Balykleja in Slavic sources), situated on the right bank of the Čyčakleja river (today Čyčyklja), near the place where it empties into the Boh; see Petrun, “Stepove Pobužžja v hospodars'kim ta vijs'kovim ukladi Ukrajin's'koho pohranyččja. Zamitky do Bronjevs'koho ta Boplana,” *Žurnal naukovo-doslidčyx katedr m. Odesy* 2 (1926), no. 2: 91–103, esp. pp. 99–101; *idem*, “Nove pro tatars'ku starovynu boz'ko-dnistrjans'koho stepu,” *Sxidnyj Svit* (1928), no. 6: 155–171, esp. pp. 165–166 (see also the commentary by S. Dloževs'kyj to the above article containing an archaeological description of the site in *ibidem*, pp. 173–174); the location of Balykly on the Boh river is confirmed in Document 18.

<sup>29</sup> A former Tatar settlement on the lower Dniester; in 1442 King Vladislaus III of Poland granted *Carawl super Dniestr fluvio* along with Čornyj Horod (cf. n. 30 below) and Kačybej to Teodoryk of Buczac (Buczacki), the castellan of Kamieniec, on the condition that he would rebuild and fortify them; see *Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*. Edited by I. Sułkowska-Kuraś and S. Kuraś, pt. 8 (Wrocław etc., 1975), p. 232; cf. also Petrun, “Nove pro tatars'ku starovynu boz'ko-dnistrjans'koho stepu,” p. 162.

<sup>30</sup> A castle on the eastern shore of the Dniester, close to its mouth and near (sometimes identified with) Majak; in the royal document from 1442 (cf. n. 29 above) referred to as *Czarnigrod, ubi Dniestr fluvius dictus mare intrat*; cf. Petrun, “Xans'ki jarlyky,” pp. 141–142, and *idem*, “Nove pro tatars'ku starovynu boz'ko-dnistrjans'koho stepu,” pp. 157–160.

<sup>31</sup> Dašov was the ancient name of Očakiv (Tat. Djankerman/Djankermen; Tur. Özü qal'esi); see *Michalonis Lituani De moribus Tartarorum, Litanorum et Moschorum fragmina* X, p. 35: *Dassovv, aliter Oczakovv*; cf. Petrun, “Xans'ki jarlyky,” p. 141.

<sup>32</sup> The last four settlements could not be identified, but they were apparently situated in lower Podolia, between the Boh and Dniester rivers, along with other localities listed in the same paragraph. In Document 14 Xodorov (or Fedorov) is referred to as an island.

<sup>33</sup> On Bohdan Andreevyč Sakovyč, see Document 4, n. 31; here his embassy to the Crimea in ca. 1473 is mentioned.

<sup>34</sup> On the scribe Ivašenco, see Document 4, n. 32.

<sup>35</sup> After the medieval town of Rjazan' had been destroyed by the Mongols in 1237, the name of Rjazan' came to refer merely to the duchy, whose new capital was established in Perejaslav' Rjazan'skij (cf. Document 4, n. 33).

*Perejaslavl', [and their] people, tümens, towns, villages, levies, incomes, along with lands, waters, and streams, to the Lithuanian throne.*

*And you, the towns [i.e., town dwellers], princes, and boyars, whose [i.e., whose towns'] names are written above, as you have earlier served our brother, Grand Duke Vytautas, and then our brother, Grand Duke Sigismund,<sup>36</sup> you should also now serve accordingly our brother, Grand Duke Casimir; as many town levies and incomes have been given, [should be given now as well]. And those people, whom we have granted [to Lithuania] later in addition, you should not say: "we have not served earlier and we have paid neither levies nor tribute;" you should make no excuses and you should pay levies and tribute as you will serve from now on.<sup>37</sup>*

*And now, Grand Duke Sigismund, our brother, along with the princes and lords of Lithuania, and we, along with the ulans and beys [Ruth. knjazi], having taken counsel for the good to remain between us, as from the side of our brother, Grand Duke Sigismund, Pan Jurij Zenovevyč,<sup>38</sup> Pan Jakub Ivašencovyč,<sup>39</sup> and the Tatar marshal and scribe, Ibrahim Bey [Ruth. knjaz Abraham] <son of> Tymirčyn,<sup>40</sup> have come in embassy from our brother, we—for the sake of*

<sup>36</sup> Sigismund (Lith. Žygimantas), the younger brother of Vytautas, was the grand duke of Lithuania in the years 1432–1440. Like Vytautas, he acknowledged the supreme authority of the king of Poland, first Vladislaus Jagiełło and then Vladislaus III (1434–1444).

<sup>37</sup> This whole paragraph is taken from Document 4 and reflects the realities of ca. 1473 when Casimir was the grand duke of Lithuania as well as the king of Poland.

<sup>38</sup> Jurij Ivanovyč Zenovevyč (Pol. Zenowjewicz, Lith. Zenavičius), governor of Braslau since 1494, governor of Smolensk since 1507, Lithuanian court marshal since 1515; see *Urządnicy centralni i dostojnicy WKL*, pp. 88 and 253; cf. Banionis, *LDK pasiuntinybių tarnyba*, pp. 82, 102, 191, 210, 251, 257, 371, and 374.

<sup>39</sup> Son of Ivašenco, who participated in the embassy of ca. 1473 as a scribe (cf. n. 34 above); on Jakub Ivašencovyč, the governor of Mazyr and the envoy to the Crimea in 1505–1506 and 1507, see Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, pp. 94–96, 105–111, and Banionis, *LDK pasiuntinybių tarnyba*, pp. 82, 101–103, 157, 191 (his mission in 1505 is omitted), 251, 257, 371, and 374.

<sup>40</sup> Ibrahim Tymirčyn (or Tymirčyc), son of Tymirča, the Tatar immigrant to Lithuania (the assumption by Syroečkovskij that Ibrahim entered the Lithuanian service only in 1507 is wrong; cf. Syroečkovskij, "Muxammed-Geraj i ego vassaly," p. 26); he participated in several embassies to the Great Horde (1484, 1496, 1501) and the Crimea (1490, 1507) as an interpreter and envoy. For his services he received lands in Lithuania and an official title of the Tatar marshal. In his correspondence dated 1507, Mengli Giray praised Ibrahim's long-lasting service to King Sigismund and his efforts to preserve the mutual friendship (see Kazimierz Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, p. 310). Also Ibrahim's two brothers and three sons served in the Lithuanian diplomacy. As Ibrahim's noble origin was questioned by older Tatar settlers in Lithuania, he procured official letters from both Mengli Giray and the latter's mortal enemy, Sheikh Ahmad, the former khan of the Great Horde then imprisoned in Lithuania, and in 1517 obtained a formal royal confirmation of the noble status of his whole family [for the document, see *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 9 (1511–1518). Užrašymų knyga 9*, p. 369]. He died in 1530. On Ibrahim Tymirčyn and his family, see Józef Wolff, *Kniazowie litewsko-ruscy od końca czternastego wieku* (Warsaw, 1895),

our love towards our brother Sigismund—have granted, out of [our] generosity, our present yarlıq, encompassing all levies, tributes, and services, to the throne of Lithuania, according to the previous yarlıqs that had been given by the first khans, our uncles, by our father, and then by ourselves. And if you do not entirely fulfill these services, nothing good awaits you, you will be raided and robbed, if you do not obey our present yarlıq, may you [better] not experience terror!<sup>41</sup>

Therefore, the yarlıq under the golden nişan and under the red stamp has been given accordingly on the 21st day of the prosperous month of Safer, 913 years after the death<sup>42</sup> of our Prophet, on Friday. Written in Devletkerman.<sup>43</sup>

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pp. 643–644; Banionis, *LDK pasiuntinybių tarnyba*, pp. 90–95, 102–103, 149, 184–192, 195, 245–249, 251–253, and 373–374; Krzysztof Pietkiewicz, *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie pod rządami Aleksandra Jagiellończyka*, p. 27.

<sup>41</sup> The last sentence is addressed to the inhabitants of the lands granted to Lithuania.

<sup>42</sup> An obvious mistake or superfluous interpretation by the translator since the Muslim calendar begins with the emigration (Hegira) and not the death of Prophet Muhammad.

<sup>43</sup> Lit. “Merry Town” (*Veselyj Horod*) in Ruthenian. The terms *Sčastlivyj Saraj* (“Prosperous Palace”), *Sčastlivyj Gorod* (“Prosperous Town”), and *Veselyj Gorod* (“Merry Town”) can be also found in early sixteenth-century Russian sources and reflect the Tatar names *Devletsaray* (lit. “Palace of Prosperity”) and *Devletkerman/Devletkermen* (lit. “Town of Prosperity”), since the word *devlet* means “prosperity” or “fortune” (also “state” and “power”). All these terms applied to the khan’s new residence built in the years 1500–1503 in Saladıq near Qırq Yer; cf. Syroečkovskij, “Muxammed-Geraj i ego vassaly,” p. 5; Hajvoronskij, *Poveliteli dvux materikov*, vol. 1, p. 83.

DOCUMENT 9 (14 JULY 1507)  
The *şartname* (*prysjażnyj lyst*)  
sent by Khan Mengli Giray to King Sigismund

The original document is missing.

Ruthenian copies:

- A. RGADA, fond 389 = Litovskaja metrika, no. 7, pp. 75–77 [old foliation: 40a–41a].
- A.\* 18th-century Latin transcription: AGAD, Metryka Litewska, no. 193, pp. 50–52.  
Published in Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, pp. 315–317.
- B. RGADA, fond 389 = Litovskaja metrika, no. 8, fol. 56a–57b [old foliation: 39a–40b].  
Published in *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 8 (1499–1514). Užrašymų knyga 8*, pp. 84–85.
- B.\* 18th-century Latin transcription: AGAD, Metryka Litewska, no. 194, pp. 71–74.
- C. RGADA, fond 389 = Litovskaja metrika, no. 595, fol. 38b–40a.  
Published in *Sbornik knjazja Obolenskago*, pp. 90–93.

Великое Урды великий цар Менѣдликгирей цар,<sup>a</sup> сам<sup>b</sup> в головах есми з братом своим,<sup>c</sup> Ёмѣгърей солтаном,<sup>d</sup> и<sup>e</sup> съ сыном<sup>f</sup> своим, Мѣгамедкгирей солтаном,<sup>g</sup> а Ахметъкерей,<sup>h</sup> а Абѣнѣчи,<sup>i</sup> а Мѣхмидъкгирей,<sup>j</sup> а Бетикгирей, а Бѣрнашъ,<sup>k</sup> с тыми царевичи в головахъ,<sup>l</sup> Бабакасеит, а Солтанъ Али Абѣлган-малъла,<sup>m</sup> а Баба-шеихъ,<sup>n</sup> и з ѣланы и князи: Мамѣшъ-вланъ,<sup>o</sup> Кият Мансѣр князь,<sup>p</sup> сынъ его князь Сокал,<sup>q</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> В. царь Мендликгирей царь.

<sup>b</sup> В. and С. самъ.

<sup>c</sup> В. and С. своимъ.

<sup>d</sup> В. Ёрмѣчеи солтаномъ; С. Ёмурчи солтаномъ.

<sup>e</sup> В. and С. а.

<sup>f</sup> В. сыномъ.

<sup>g</sup> В. Мѣгаметкгирей солтаномъ.

<sup>h</sup> В. Ахметъкерей; С. Ахметкгирей.

<sup>i</sup> В. Абѣнчи; С. Абунчи.

<sup>j</sup> В. Мѣхмидъкерей; С. Махмижкгирей.

<sup>k</sup> С. Бурнашъ.

<sup>l</sup> В. головах.

<sup>m</sup> В. Солтан Али Абѣлганъ-молла; С. Солтанъ Али Абурганъ-малла.

<sup>n</sup> В. Боба-шеих; С. Баба-шеих.

<sup>o</sup> В. and С. Мамушъ-вланъ.

<sup>p</sup> В. Кият Мансѣр князь; С. Кият Мансур князь.

<sup>q</sup> В. сынъ его Сокал князь; С. сынъ его Сокал князь.

тые в головахъ,<sup>r</sup> з ынъшими<sup>s</sup> вланы и [с]<sup>t</sup> князи нашими: Тевекел князъ,<sup>u</sup> Мамушъ князъ,<sup>v</sup> Акгышъ князъ,<sup>w</sup> Доблетъ Бакъты князъ,<sup>x</sup> тые в головахъ, с полковыми князи, з<sup>y</sup> дворяны<sup>z</sup> и с кочовъными<sup>aa</sup> князи, и съ слугами<sup>ab</sup> моими, вси пришедъ передъ<sup>ac</sup> Жикгимонътовымъ королевемъ,<sup>ad</sup> брата нашего, передъ посломъ великимъ, передъ<sup>ae</sup> паномъ Юремъ Зеновьевичомъ,<sup>af</sup> и передъ паномъ Іакъбомъ Ивашенъцовичомъ,<sup>ag</sup> а передъ татарскимъ маршалкомъ Абрагимомъ, писаремъ,<sup>ah</sup> ꙗ в головахъ<sup>ai</sup> з верхъписаными<sup>aj</sup> братомъ,<sup>ak</sup> и з детьми,<sup>al</sup> з вланы и князи,<sup>am</sup> и<sup>an</sup> со вьсими<sup>ao</sup> полковыми князи и дворяны,<sup>ap</sup> и с кочовъными<sup>aq</sup> князи, и съ<sup>ar</sup> слугами моими, вси посполне<sup>as</sup> стоѧ Жикгимонътъ<sup>at</sup> королю, братъ нашомъ, присагнѧли есмо и тотъ присагнѧны листъ<sup>au</sup> дали есмо с тыми вызнаными речъми,<sup>av</sup> которые речи стали сѧ. А панъ Юрей<sup>aw</sup> Зеновьевичъ, а панъ Іакъбъ Ивашенъцовичъ,<sup>ax</sup> а маршалокъ татарский Абрагим князъ Жикгимонъта короля,<sup>ay</sup> брата нашего

<sup>r</sup> В. *головахъ*.

<sup>s</sup> В. *ыншымы*.

<sup>t</sup> In B. and C. only.

<sup>u</sup> B. and C. *князь*.

<sup>v</sup> B. and C. *Мамушъ князь*.

<sup>w</sup> B. and C. *князь*.

<sup>x</sup> В. *Довлетъ Бакъты князь*; С. *Доблетъ Бакты князь*.

<sup>y</sup> В. *зъ*.

<sup>z</sup> С. *дворяны*.

<sup>aa</sup> В. *кочовными*; С. *кочевными*.

<sup>ab</sup> В. *слугами*.

<sup>ac</sup> В. *приходъ передъ*; С. *приходъ передъ*.

<sup>ad</sup> В. *Жикгимонтовымъ королевемъ*; С. *Жикгимонтовымъ королевемъ*.

<sup>ae</sup> В. *передъ посломъ великимъ, передъ*; С. *передъ посломъ великимъ, передъ*.

<sup>af</sup> В. *Юремъ Зеновьевичемъ*.

<sup>ag</sup> В. *а передъ паномъ Іакубомъ Ивашенцовичомъ*; С. *и передъ паномъ Іакубомъ Ивашенцевичомъ*.

<sup>ah</sup> В. *передъ татарскимъ маршалкомъ Абрахимомъ, писаремъ*; С. *передъ татарскимъ маршалкомъ Абрагимомъ, писаремъ*.

<sup>ai</sup> В. *головахъ*.

<sup>aj</sup> В. *верхъписаными*.

<sup>ak</sup> В. *зъ братомъ*; С. *зъ братомъ*.

<sup>al</sup> В. *зъ детьми*.

<sup>am</sup> В. and C. *и с князи*.

<sup>an</sup> Missing in B.

<sup>ao</sup> В. *всими*.

<sup>ap</sup> В. *и зъ дворяны*; С. *и зъ дворяны*.

<sup>aq</sup> В. and C. *кочовными*.

<sup>ar</sup> В. and C. *зъ*.

<sup>as</sup> С. *посполне*.

<sup>at</sup> В. *Жикгимонтъ*; С. *Жикгимонту*.

<sup>au</sup> В. *листъ*.

<sup>av</sup> В. *речи*.

<sup>aw</sup> В. *панъ Юри*; С. *панъ Юри*.

<sup>ax</sup> В. *панъ Іакубъ Ивашенцовичъ*; С. *панъ Іакубъ Ивашенцевичъ*.

<sup>ay</sup> С. *Абрагимъ князь Жикгимонта короля*; in B. corrupt: *Абрагимъ князя Жикгимонта*; in the whole document, Sigismund is consistently referred to as *korol'*



дѣшею, и литовское<sup>az</sup> земли в головах<sup>ba</sup> князя бискупя и всихъ<sup>bb</sup> пановъ дѣшею, присагнѣли.<sup>bc</sup>

Естли вы царю сюю выписаню<sup>bd</sup> присагъ и вызнаню<sup>be</sup> иначе не вчините, и мы тежъ<sup>bf</sup> иначе не вделаем,<sup>bg</sup> твю<sup>bh</sup> прозбъ твою, котора<sup>bi</sup> в присаге записана, слово твое такъ вчиним,<sup>bj</sup> иначе не бѣдем.<sup>bk</sup> Такъ присагнѣли<sup>bl</sup> намъ, а мы тежъ<sup>bm</sup> на сие вызнание слова наши присагнѣли<sup>bn</sup> есмо, штожъ Жикгимонътъ<sup>bo</sup> королю, братъ нашомъ, и литовское земли в головах<sup>bp</sup> князю бискупъ,<sup>bq</sup> и паномъ,<sup>br</sup> приателю приателемъ,<sup>bs</sup> а неприателю неприателство<sup>bt</sup> чинити заwdно станемъ;<sup>bu</sup> а з неприателем естли сѧ змирим, с одъного змиримсѧ,<sup>bv</sup> а комъ приателем бѣдем,<sup>bw</sup> [с одного приателемъ бѣдемъ];<sup>bx</sup> wдинъ без wдного ведома ни с кимъ<sup>by</sup> сѧ не зеднаемъ,<sup>bz</sup> а wдинъ без wдного<sup>ca</sup> ведома никомъ неприателем не бѣдемъ.<sup>cb</sup>

Тежъ wт предковъ нашихъ,<sup>cc</sup> wт царя Такътамышѧ<sup>cd</sup> и до wтца моего Ачъкгирѧ царѧ,<sup>ce</sup> и теперъ<sup>cf</sup> [ѧ]<sup>cg</sup> самъ жаловал еси

(i.e., king) and not *knjaz'* (i.e., prince); on the other hand, Abraham is referred to as *knjaz'* in Document 8.

<sup>az</sup> С. литовское.

<sup>ba</sup> В. *головах*.

<sup>bb</sup> В. *всих*; С. *всехъ*.

<sup>bc</sup> В. *присагнули*.

<sup>bd</sup> С. *выписаную*.

<sup>be</sup> С. *вызнанъню*.

<sup>bf</sup> В. *теж*.

<sup>bg</sup> В. *вделаемъ*; С. *въделаемъ*.

<sup>bh</sup> С. *тую*.

<sup>bi</sup> В. *котораѧ*.

<sup>bj</sup> В. *вчинимъ*; С. *вчинимъ*.

<sup>bk</sup> В. and С. *бѣдемъ*.

<sup>bl</sup> В. and С. *присагнули*.

<sup>bm</sup> В. *теж*.

<sup>bn</sup> В. *присагнули*.

<sup>bo</sup> В. *штожъ Жикгимонту*; С. *штожъ Жикгимонътъ*.

<sup>bp</sup> С. *литовское земли в головахъ*.

<sup>bq</sup> В. *бискупъ*; С. *бискупу*.

<sup>br</sup> В. *паномъ*.

<sup>bs</sup> В. and С. *приателемъ*.

<sup>bt</sup> С. *неприателство*.

<sup>bu</sup> В. and С. *зawдно станемъ*.

<sup>bv</sup> В. *з неприателем естли сѧ змиримъ, с одного змиримсѧ*; С. *з неприателемъ естли сѧ змирим, с одъного змиримсѧ*.

<sup>bw</sup> В. *приателемъ бѣдемъ*; С. *приателемъ бѣдемъ*.

<sup>bx</sup> Missing in A; С. *с одного приателемъ бѣдемъ*.

<sup>by</sup> В. and С. *кимъ*.

<sup>bz</sup> В. *зеднаемъ*; С. *зѣднаемъ*.

<sup>ca</sup> В. *безъ wдного*; С. *безъ wдъного*.

<sup>cb</sup> В. *никомъ неприателемъ не бѣдемъ*; С. *никому неприателемъ не бѣдемъ*.

<sup>cc</sup> В. *Тежъ wт предъковъ нашихъ*; С. *Тежъ wт предъковъ нашихъ*.

<sup>cd</sup> В. *Такътамышѧ*.

<sup>ce</sup> В. *wтца моего Ачжикгирѧ царѧ*; С. *wтца моего Ачъкгирѧ царѧ*.

<sup>cf</sup> В. *теперь*.

<sup>cg</sup> In B. only.

Жикгимонѣта<sup>ch</sup> короля, брата своего, и литовѣскомѣ<sup>ci</sup> столѣцѣ, князю бискупѣ в головахѣ, и паном пожаловал,<sup>cj</sup> подѣ<sup>ck</sup> золотою печатю и подѣ алым патном<sup>cl</sup> листѣ есмо дали, рѣскую вкраинѣ, городѣки,<sup>cm</sup> которые к нам прислѣхали,<sup>cn</sup> зѣ землями и з водами, з выходы и з данми<sup>co</sup> пожаловали есмо. И на то есмо и листѣ<sup>cp</sup> нашѣ дали, ино мы тѣю данинѣ подлѣгѣ жалованѣ<sup>cq</sup> нашего иначеи не вчиним.<sup>cr</sup>

А еше Жикгимонѣтѣ<sup>cs</sup> королю, братѣ нашомѣ хто бѣдет<sup>ct</sup> неприѣтел [ему],<sup>cu</sup> ѣ, Менѣдликгиреи брат его,<sup>cv</sup> брата або<sup>cw</sup> сына своего пошлю з великим войском,<sup>cx</sup> с королевѣм<sup>cย</sup> брата нашего войском<sup>cz</sup> поспол. А тежѣ Жикгимонѣтѣ корол, брат мои,<sup>da</sup> на моего [не]приѣтеля<sup>db</sup> ѣ або сынѣ мои коли поедетѣ, тогѣды<sup>dc</sup> под присагою доброго пана або доброго маршалка<sup>dd</sup> з литовѣским великим войском к нам<sup>de</sup> прислати, з нами поспол пошодѣ,<sup>df</sup> неприѣтелю нашомѣ<sup>dg</sup> неприѣтелство вчинити с одѣногоства.<sup>dh</sup>

А еше<sup>di</sup> неприѣтеля моего Шигахматова<sup>dj</sup> братанича Халекѣ солтана, а Такѣтамышѣ<sup>dk</sup> слѣгѣ<sup>dl</sup> его, а Солтанѣ<sup>dm</sup> Ахмата и иных

<sup>ch</sup> B. and C. *Жикгимонта*.

<sup>ci</sup> C. *литовскомѣ*.

<sup>cj</sup> B. *бискупѣ в головахѣ, и паномѣ пожаловаѣ; С. бискупѣ в головахѣ, и паномѣ пожаловаѣ*.

<sup>ck</sup> B. and C. *под*.

<sup>cl</sup> B. *под алымѣ патномѣ; С. под алымѣ патномѣ*.

<sup>cm</sup> *рѣскую вкраинѣ, городѣки; С. рѣскую вкраинѣ, городѣки*.

<sup>cn</sup> C. *к намѣ прислѣхали*.

<sup>co</sup> B. *зѣ выходы и зѣ данми; С. з выходы и зѣ данми*.

<sup>cp</sup> C. *лист*.

<sup>cq</sup> B. *подлѣгѣ жалованѣ; С. подлѣгѣ жалованѣ*.

<sup>cr</sup> B. and C. *вчинимѣ*.

<sup>cs</sup> B. and C. *Жикгимонтѣ*.

<sup>ct</sup> B. *бѣдетѣ*.

<sup>cu</sup> In B. only.

<sup>cv</sup> B. and C. *Мендликгиреи братѣ его*.

<sup>cw</sup> B. *албо*.

<sup>cx</sup> B. and C. *великимѣ войскомѣ*.

<sup>cย</sup> B. *королевѣмѣ*.

<sup>cz</sup> B. and C. *войскомѣ*.

<sup>da</sup> B. *А тежѣ Жикгимонт корол, братѣ мои; С. А тежѣ Жикгимонт королѣ, братѣ мои*.

<sup>db</sup> Only in B. written correctly: *неприѣтеля*.

<sup>dc</sup> B. and C. *тогѣды*.

<sup>dd</sup> C. *маршалѣка*.

<sup>de</sup> B. *литовѣским великимѣ войскомѣ к намѣ; С. литовским великим войскомѣ к намѣ*.

<sup>df</sup> B. *з нами посполы пошодѣ; С. с нами поспол пошодѣ*.

<sup>dg</sup> B. *нашомѣ*.

<sup>dh</sup> B. and C. *с одѣного ставѣ*.

<sup>di</sup> B. *ещѣ*.

<sup>dj</sup> B. and C. *Шигахматова*.

<sup>dk</sup> B. *Такѣтамышѣ*.

<sup>dl</sup> C. *слугѣ*.

<sup>dm</sup> B. *Солтанѣ*.

добрихъ слѣгъ<sup>dn</sup> потеряти, а лихихъ слѣгъ<sup>do</sup> его далее втѣпроводити<sup>dp</sup> и в холопы ихъ<sup>dq</sup> поставити.

А еще што на Товани городъ<sup>dr</sup> мои збѣдован<sup>ds</sup> на имя Ислам-городокъ,<sup>dt</sup> на каждыи<sup>du</sup> годъ выдаетъ сѧ<sup>dv</sup> чотыры тысячи и пѧтсотъ золотыхъ, “тымъ людемъ<sup>dw</sup> вброкъ, которые<sup>dx</sup> городъ стерегѣтъ,<sup>dy</sup> не вмешкиваѧ<sup>dz</sup> на каждыи годъ<sup>ea</sup> мы бѣдемъ<sup>eb</sup> тебе слати тѣю сѣмъ, которѣю<sup>ec</sup> имъ даешъ”—такъ мне тѣт<sup>ed</sup> злюбили.<sup>ee</sup> А мы што бѣдемъ<sup>ef</sup> просити полонениковъ, кнѧгинь и инъшихъ,<sup>eg</sup> естли<sup>eh</sup> намъ вернешъ,<sup>ei</sup> а<sup>ej</sup> мы тежъ на твою, брата нашего прозвѣ, што коли бѣдетъ<sup>ek</sup> в насъ<sup>el</sup> полоненики, вбыскъ вчинивъ нашодъ втошлемъ.<sup>em</sup> А тежъ<sup>en</sup> Шадеѧ, холопа моего, знашодъ маете втослати.

“А што московскѣи<sup>eo</sup> неприѧтелъ нашъ [вт насъ]<sup>ep</sup> земли наши побралъ, естли тое вземъ<sup>eq</sup> намъ втѣвернешъ,<sup>er</sup> и мы брати<sup>es</sup> твои и детемъ твоимъ всимъ царевичомъ, влѧномъ и кнѧземъ твоимъ:<sup>et</sup> кнѧзю Тивикелю,<sup>eu</sup>

<sup>dn</sup> В. *иныхъ добрыхъ слугъ*; С. *иныхъ добрыхъ слѣгъ*.

<sup>do</sup> В. *лихихъ слугъ*.

<sup>dp</sup> В. and С. *втѣпроводити*.

<sup>dq</sup> В. *ихъ*.

<sup>dr</sup> В. *городокъ*; С. *городъ*.

<sup>ds</sup> С. *збѣдованъ*.

<sup>dt</sup> В. *Ислам-городокъ*; С. *Исламъ-городокъ*.

<sup>du</sup> С. *каждыи*.

<sup>dv</sup> В. *выдаетъ сѧ*.

<sup>dw</sup> В. *золотыхъ тымъ людемъ*; С. *золотыхъ тымъ людемъ*.

<sup>dx</sup> В. *каторіе*.

<sup>dy</sup> В. *стерегутъ*; С. *стерегѣтъ*.

<sup>dz</sup> В. *вмешкаѧ*; С. *взмешъкиваѧ*.

<sup>ea</sup> С. *годъ*.

<sup>eb</sup> В. and С. *бѣдемъ*.

<sup>ec</sup> В. *тѣю сѣмъ, которѣю*; С. *тѣю сѣму, которѣю*.

<sup>ed</sup> В. and С. *тутъ*.

<sup>ee</sup> It should rather read *слюбили* as in В.

<sup>ef</sup> С. *бѣдемъ*.

<sup>eg</sup> В. *иныхъ*; С. *инъшихъ*.

<sup>eh</sup> В. *если*.

<sup>ei</sup> In С. corrupt: *верешъ*.

<sup>ej</sup> В. and С. *и*.

<sup>ek</sup> В. and С. *бѣдетъ*.

<sup>el</sup> В. *насъ*; in С. corrupt: *васъ*.

<sup>em</sup> В. *нашодъ втошлемъ*.

<sup>en</sup> В. *тежъ*.

<sup>eo</sup> С. *московскѣи*.

<sup>ep</sup> Written correctly in В.; corrupt in А. (*втѣ васъ*) and С. (*вм васъ*).

<sup>eq</sup> В., *воземъ*; С. *воземъ*; it should rather read *взевъ* or *возевъ*.

<sup>er</sup> В. *намъ втѣвернешъ*; С. *намъ втѣвернешъ*.

<sup>es</sup> С. *братѣи*.

<sup>et</sup> В. *детемъ твоимъ всимъ царевичомъ, влѧномъ и кнѧземъ твоимъ*;  
С. *детемъ твоимъ всимъ царевичомъ, влѧномъ и кнѧземъ твоимъ*.

<sup>eu</sup> В. *Тевѧкелю*; С. *Тювикелю*.

а [Мамышъ]<sup>ev</sup> князю, а Давлетъ Бахътыю<sup>ew</sup> князю, тым в головахъ,<sup>ex</sup> и инъшим полковым князем твоимъ<sup>ey</sup> на кажъды<sup>ez</sup> [год с]<sup>fa</sup> тыхъ<sup>fb</sup> люди и городовъ выходы и дани собравъ дамъ имъ,<sup>fc</sup> в томъ ихъ вѣдчѣно<sup>fd</sup> нарядим. А неприателѣ твоего Шигахъмата<sup>fe</sup> какъ<sup>ff</sup> ты мовил, такъ мы вчиним.”—Такъ тѣтъ панъ Юри Зеновъевичъ,<sup>fg</sup> а панъ Іахъбъ Ивашенъцовичъ,<sup>fh</sup> а татарскіи маршалокъ<sup>fi</sup> и писар Абраимъ,<sup>fj</sup> такъ тѣтъ нам присагънѣли Жикгимонъта<sup>fk</sup> короля, брата нашего дѣшею, и князѣа бискупѣа в головахъ,<sup>fl</sup> и пановъ<sup>fm</sup> дѣшею.

Ино естли<sup>fn</sup> вы на сую мою прозбѣ и на мое слово неприателю моему<sup>fo</sup> неприателство вчините,<sup>fp</sup> мы тежъ<sup>fq</sup> зъ выписаное присаги наше и вызнанъѣ<sup>fr</sup> слова нашего [иначеи]<sup>fs</sup> [не] вчиним, не вѣдкинемсѣ,<sup>ft</sup> на присаге своеи твердо стоѣти бѣдемъ. И тежъ в Жикгимонъта<sup>fu</sup> короля, брата нашего,<sup>fv</sup> в литовскѣю землю<sup>fw</sup> и в люди его поехавъ братѣ<sup>fx</sup> мои, або<sup>fy</sup> дети мои, або зъ вѣлановъ, або [с]<sup>fz</sup> князеи нашихъ,<sup>ga</sup> або с

<sup>ev</sup> Written correctly in B. and C.; corrupt in A. as: *Мишъ*, wrongly interpreted by Pułaski as *Agisza*.

<sup>ew</sup> B. *Давлетъ Бахтыю*; C. *Давлет Бахтыю*.

<sup>ex</sup> B. *в головах*.

<sup>ey</sup> B. *инишымъ полковымъ княземъ твоимъ*; C. *инъшим полковымъ княземъ твоим*.

<sup>ez</sup> B. and C. *каждыи*.

<sup>fa</sup> Missing in A.

<sup>fb</sup> B. and C. *тых*.

<sup>fc</sup> C. *дам имъ*; in B. corrupt: *да ими*.

<sup>fd</sup> B. *в том их вѣдчна*; C. *в том ихъ вѣдчѣно*.

<sup>fe</sup> B. and C. *Шигахмата*.

<sup>ff</sup> B. *как*.

<sup>fg</sup> B. *Так тѣтъ пан Юри Зеновъевич*; C. *Так тутъ панъ Юри Зеновъевичъ*.

<sup>fh</sup> B. *пан Іахубъ Ивашонцович*; C. *панъ Іахубъ Ивашенъцевичъ*.

<sup>fi</sup> B. *маршалок*.

<sup>fj</sup> B. *Вбрагимъ*; C. *Абрагим*.

<sup>fk</sup> B. *тут намъ присагнули Жикгимонта*; C. *тѣтъ намъ присагнѣли Жикгимонта*.

<sup>fl</sup> B. *бискупѣа в головах*; C. *бискупѣа в головах*.

<sup>fm</sup> B. *пановъ*.

<sup>fn</sup> B. *если*.

<sup>fo</sup> B. *моему*.

<sup>fp</sup> In C. erroneously: *вчинити*.

<sup>fq</sup> B. and C. *и мы теж*.

<sup>fr</sup> B. *вызнане*; C. *вызнанъѣ*.

<sup>fs</sup> Thus in B.; corrupt in A. (*и на нем*) and C. (*и на немъ*).

<sup>ft</sup> B. *вѣдкинемсѣ*; C. *вѣдкинемъсѣа*.

<sup>fu</sup> B. *теж в Жикгимонта*; C. *тежъ в Жикгимонта*.

<sup>fv</sup> B. *моего*.

<sup>fw</sup> C. *литовскѣю землю*.

<sup>fx</sup> B. *братѣа*.

<sup>fy</sup> C. *и*.

<sup>fz</sup> In B. only.

<sup>ga</sup> B. and C. *наших*.

полковых<sup>gb</sup> князей, або з дворянъ,<sup>gc</sup> або с кочовныхъ<sup>gd</sup> людей, або [зъ]<sup>ge</sup> сълѣгъ моихъ<sup>gf</sup> поехавъ,<sup>gg</sup> естли шкодъ вчинать,<sup>gh</sup> сами приидѣтъ, скараемъ<sup>gi</sup> и [самыхъ имемъ,]<sup>gj</sup> выдадимъ вамъ ихъ,<sup>gk</sup> а приведенные побранные полоненики, вернемъ ихъ;<sup>gl</sup> а тые<sup>gm</sup> лихо чинивъ люди<sup>gn</sup> естли до насъ не приидѣтъ, и мы<sup>go</sup> жоны и дети и дочѣки ихъ побравъ,<sup>gp</sup> в Днепра къ<sup>gq</sup> перевозъ пошлемъ<sup>gr</sup> и съ Слама-города<sup>gs</sup> нашего выдадимъ,<sup>gt</sup> с чолны<sup>gu</sup> люди ваши ихъ поберѣтъ и втѣдѣтъ.<sup>gv</sup>

Естли вы сюю прозвѣ словъ моихъ,<sup>gw</sup> ты королъ Жикгимонътъ, братъ мой,<sup>gx</sup> и<sup>gy</sup> з литовъскимъ в головахъ княземъ бискупомъ,<sup>gz</sup> и с паны, на<sup>ha</sup> присяже своеи твердо стоа правдѣ вчините, а иначе не вчините,<sup>hb</sup> такежъ<sup>hc</sup> мы, изъ<sup>hd</sup> сее присяги наше и сознаныхъ словъ нашихъ<sup>he</sup> мы естли иначе вчинимъ,<sup>hf</sup> вышнего<sup>hg</sup> единого Бога втѣреченъ тотъ бѣдетъ и Пророка нашего свѣтого Магамета в Божего посланца проклатъ бѣдетъ.<sup>hh</sup>

<sup>gb</sup> С. *полковыхъ*.

<sup>gc</sup> В. *зъ дворянъ*.

<sup>gd</sup> В. and С. *кочовныхъ*.

<sup>ge</sup> In В. only.

<sup>gf</sup> В. and С. *слугъ моихъ*.

<sup>gg</sup> С. *поехалъ и*.

<sup>gh</sup> С. *вчинять*.

<sup>gi</sup> В. *скараемъ*.

<sup>gj</sup> Written correctly in С.; corrupt in А. (*самымъ инемъ*) and В. (*самыхъ инемъ*).

<sup>gk</sup> В. *выдадимъ вамъ ихъ*; С. *выдадимъ вамъ ихъ*.

<sup>gl</sup> В. *ихъ*.

<sup>gm</sup> С. *ты*.

<sup>gn</sup> С. corrupt: *чини влюди*.

<sup>go</sup> В. *до насъ не приидѣтъ, а мы*.

<sup>gp</sup> В. *жоны и дети и дочѣки ихъ побравъ*; С. *жоны, дети и дочѣки ихъ побравъ и*.

<sup>gq</sup> С. *къ*.

<sup>gr</sup> В. *пошлемъ*.

<sup>gs</sup> В. и *Ислама-города*.

<sup>gt</sup> С. *выдадимъ*.

<sup>gu</sup> Thus in В.; in А. written with redundant *и* (с *чолны и*); in С. corrupt (*счолъ*).

<sup>gv</sup> В. *ваши ихъ поберѣтъ и втѣдѣтъ*; С. *ваши ихъ поберѣтъ и втѣдѣтъ*.

<sup>gw</sup> В. *словъ моихъ*.

<sup>gx</sup> В. *королъ Жикгимонтъ, братъ мой*; С. *король Жикгимонтъ, братъ мой*.

<sup>gy</sup> Missing in С.

<sup>gz</sup> В. *литовъскимъ в головахъ княземъ бискупомъ*; С. *литовскимъ в головахъ с княземъ бискупомъ*.

<sup>ha</sup> Missing in С.

<sup>hb</sup> С. *правдѣ вчините, а иначе не вчините*.

<sup>hc</sup> С. *такежъ*.

<sup>hd</sup> В. *изъ*; missing in С.

<sup>he</sup> В. *сознаныхъ словъ нашихъ*.

<sup>hf</sup> В. *вчинимъ*.

<sup>hg</sup> В. *вышнего*; С. *вышого*.

<sup>hh</sup> В. *втреченъ тотъ бѣдетъ и Пророка нашего свѣтого Магамета въ Божего посланца проклатъ бѣдетъ*; in С. corrupt: *втреченъ бѣдетъ свѣтого Магамета Божего посланца и проклатъ бѣдетъ*.

На то з вѣсть своихъ<sup>hi</sup> сюю присягъ нашъ написавъ<sup>hj</sup> дал еси; сигнетом и печатью нашою синею запечатавъ,<sup>hk</sup> дали есмо Жикгимонтъ<sup>hl</sup> королю, братъ нашомъ, и князю бискупъ в головахъ<sup>hm</sup> литовским паном великимъ и земланомъ,<sup>hn</sup> подъ сигнетом и подъ синею печатью право поднесенены листъ.<sup>ho</sup>

Данъ<sup>hp</sup> после нашего Пророка в девяти сотъ и в тринетцати летъ,<sup>hq</sup> частного реби ал-авъвеля месеца<sup>hr</sup> на четверты денъ<sup>hs</sup> в середъ писанъ.<sup>ht</sup>

*appendix:*<sup>1</sup>

Правилъ<sup>hu</sup> Магметкгирей солтанъ в головахъ<sup>hv</sup> и инъши<sup>hw</sup> солтаны, по мне первый человекъ Мамышъ вланъ<sup>hx</sup> в головахъ,<sup>hy</sup> и инъши<sup>hz</sup> вланы, князи, и карачей и полковыи князи: Акгышъ князь,<sup>ia</sup> Довлет Бахъты князь,<sup>ib</sup> Мерданъ<sup>ic</sup> а Магъмюдъ<sup>id</sup> князи.

Ибир Хожа писар писал.<sup>ie</sup>

<sup>hi</sup> В. and C. *своих*.

<sup>hj</sup> В. *нашу написав*; C. *нашъ написал*.

<sup>hk</sup> В. *сыкнетомъ и печатью нашою синею запечатавъ*; C. *сыкнетом и печатью нашою запечатавъ*.

<sup>hl</sup> В. *Жикгимонту*; C. *Жикгимонтъ*.

<sup>hm</sup> В. *бискупъ в головах*; C. *бискупу в головахъ*.

<sup>hn</sup> В. *паномъ великимъ и земланомъ*.

<sup>ho</sup> В. *под сыкнетомъ и под синею печатью право поднесенены лист*; C. *под сыкнетом и под синею печатью право поднесенены листъ*.

<sup>hp</sup> В. *Дан*.

<sup>hq</sup> В. *в девяти сот и в тринадъцати летъ*; C. *в девяти сот и въ тринадъцати летъ*.

<sup>hr</sup> C. *реби ал месеца авъвеля*.

<sup>hs</sup> В. *чотвертыи день*;

<sup>hs-ht</sup> Missing in C.

<sup>1</sup> In all manuscript copies this entry is placed between the documents of Mengli Giray issued on 2 July and 14 July 1507 (here edited as Documents 8 and 9). Although the editors of the *Lithuanian Metrika* relate it to Document 8 (see *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 8 (1499–1514). Užrašų knyga 8*, p. 84), it should rather be related to Document 9 because it lists the Tatar princes and nobles who swore the oath mentioned in the latter document. Therefore it is published here as an appendix to Document 9.

<sup>hu</sup> В. *Правили*.

<sup>hv</sup> В. *Магметъкгирей солтан в головах*.

<sup>hw</sup> В. *иниши*; C. *инише*.

<sup>hx</sup> В. and C. *влан*.

<sup>hy</sup> В. *головах*.

<sup>hz</sup> В. *иниши*; C. *инише*.

<sup>ia</sup> В. *Акгышъ князь*; C. *Акгиш княз*.

<sup>ib</sup> В. *Довлетъ Бахты князь*; C. *Давлет Бахты княз*.

<sup>ic</sup> В. *Мердан*.

<sup>id</sup> В. *Магъмюдъ*; C. *Магъмюд*.

<sup>ie</sup> В. *писалъ*.

## Translation:

Mengli Giray Khan, the great khan of the Great Horde—to begin with myself, along with my brother Yaghmurcha Sultan,<sup>2</sup> and with my son Muhammed Giray Sultan,<sup>3</sup> and with Ahmed Giray,<sup>4</sup> and Yapancha,<sup>5</sup> and Mahmud Giray,<sup>6</sup> and Feth Giray,<sup>7</sup> and Burnash<sup>8</sup>—to begin with the [aforementioned] princes [Ruth. carevyčy], [and with] Babaka Seyyid,<sup>9</sup> and the mullah Sultan Ali Abdulghani,<sup>10</sup>

<sup>2</sup> On Yaghmurcha, Mengli Giray's younger brother and qalga, see Document 5, n. 8.

<sup>3</sup> The oldest son of Mengli Giray, the future qalga and the future khan Mehmed Giray; Muhammed is a formal version of the name Mehmed.

<sup>4</sup> The second son of Mengli Giray; the future qalga of Mehmed Giray, killed in 1519 after he rebelled against his brother; cf. *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 1, index, column 12; Syročekovskij, "Muxammed-Geraj i ego vassaly," pp. 53–56.

<sup>5</sup> The son of Mengli Giray's brother, Yaghmurcha; in Ruthenian and Russian sources he was referred to as Japanča, Japančej, Epanča, Jabynča, Abunčy, etc.; cf. *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 1, index, columns 23 and 60.

<sup>6</sup> The third son of Mengli Giray, left out from the index to *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, apparently because its authors confused the similar names Mehmed and Mahmud, often corruptly rendered in contemporary Slavic sources; the order of Mengli Giray's sons can be established on the basis of the letter of the Muscovian envoy Ivan Kubenskij addressed to Ivan III from the Crimea in 1500: *A careviči, gosudar', Menli-Gireevy deti, Maxmet-Kirej, da Axmat-Kirej, da Maamit-Kirej, da Beti-Kirej, da Burnaş saltan, da Epanča saltan Emgurčeev syn vyšli iz Perekopi za nedelju do Velika dni Litovskie zemli voevati*; see *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 1, p. 323. The sons of Mengli Giray were also listed by Maciej z Miechowa, a contemporary Polish author, in his *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis Asiana et Europiana et de contentis in eis* (Cracow, 1517), fol. 21b.

<sup>7</sup> The fourth son of Mengli Giray, referred to in Ruthenian and Russian sources as Feti- or Betigirej; cf. *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 1, p. 352 and index, column 15; in 1506, along with his brother Burnash, he commanded the Tatar troops that were defeated by Lithuanians at Kleck; he drowned in 1510 while crossing a river during a raid against Moldavia; see Maciej z Miechowa, *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis*, fol. 21b.

<sup>8</sup> The fifth son of Mengli Giray; in 1506, along with Feth Giray, he commanded the troops defeated by Lithuanians at Kleck; in 1512 he led an expedition against Muscovy that was defeated near Perejaslavl' Rjazan'skij; he died in 1515 shortly before the death of his father; cf. *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 1, index, column 17; vol. 2, index, column 26; *Le khanat de Crimée*, p. 88.

<sup>9</sup> Babaka or Babike Seyyid, brother-in-law of Mengli Giray; cf. *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 1, p. 352. The name Babaka/Babike is formed from the kinship term *baba* ("father") and the diminutive suffix *-ke*; cf. Jankowski, *Historical-Etymological Dictionary*, p. 244. Damir Isxakov erroneously identifies Babaka Seyyid with Baba Sheikh (see n. 11 below), arguing that the two dignitaries never appear together in one document; cf. *idem*, "Seidy v Krymskom xanstve," *Qasevet* 33 (2008): 14–19, esp. p. 15. In fact, they are listed together not only in the present instrument, but also in the Muscovian correspondence that formed the basis of Isxakov's study.

<sup>10</sup> Probably identical with the "great mullah Ali," mentioned by Mehmed Giray in his letter to Vasil III from 1516 and referred to as "my great mullah, superior to all our mullahs, and also my great kadi" (*molla Alej, moj bolšej molna, nado vsemi našimi mollami starejšej, jakže moj i kadyj bolšej*); see *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 2, p. 299.

and Baba Sheikh,<sup>11</sup> and along with the ulans and beys [Ruth. knjazi], to begin with Mamish Ulan<sup>12</sup> and Qiyat Mansur Bey's son Saqal Bey,<sup>13</sup> and with our other ulans and beys, to begin with Tevkel Bey,<sup>14</sup> Mamish Bey,<sup>15</sup> Agish Bey,<sup>16</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Hadji Baba Sheikh, Crimean mullah at the khan's court, referred to as *molna* and *bogomolec* in Russian sources and as *archiepiscopus imperatoris* in a Polish source in Latin; although long passing as pro-Muscovian and known for his participation in the raids against Lithuania, in 1510 he mediated a reconciliation between Sigismund and Mengli Giray; his son, Hadji Mehmed Sheikh-zade, was the mullah at the court of Prince Mehmed Giray; see *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 1, index, column 13 and vol. 2, index, column 18; Xoroškevič, *Rus' i Krym*, pp. 178 and 251; Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, pp. 363–364; *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 1, p. 109.

<sup>12</sup> Mamish Ulan, son of Sarmak (or Surman) Ulan, the khan's lieutenant (*qay-maqam*) of Qırq Yer from ca. 1496 till ca. 1516, when he was replaced by his son Apağ (*Appak* in Russian sources); he figured prominently in the diplomatic negotiations with Muscovy and Lithuania and headed embassies to these countries; see *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 1, index, column 37 and vol. 2, index, column 58; Syročekovskij, "Muxammed-Geraj i ego vassaly," pp. 27 and 38; Xoroškevič, *Rus' i Krym*, pp. 95 and 255. It was in fact Mamish Ulan who was entrusted to deliver the present document to King Sigismund and witness Sheikh Ahmed's execution requested by Mengli Giray; cf. n. 33 below. Syročekovskij's assumption that Mamish Ulan and Apağ belonged to the Qıpchaq clan was challenged by Beatrice Forbes Manz, who considered them "service begs" and not the members of the clan aristocracy; see Manz, "The Clans of the Crimean Khanate," pp. 292–293 (in fact, the clan of Suleşoghlu can be traced from Apağ; cf. n. 167 in Part I). Mamish Ulan was probably still alive in 1524, as his name opened the list of *ulans* and service beys who swore an oath to keep peace with Muscovy; see Malinovskij, "Istoričeskoe sobranie," p. 414.

<sup>13</sup> Lit. "Qiyat Mansur Bey, his son Saqal Bey;" perhaps in the Tatar original this entry read *Qiyat Mansur Biy-oğlu Saqal Biy* ("Saqal Bey, the son [or perhaps descendent] of Qiyat Mansur Bey"); Qiyat Mansur, son of Mamay, was the founder of the branch of the Qiyat clan that had left the Volga region after 1380 and settled in Lithuania and the Crimea; Xoroškevič, *Rus' i Krym*, pp. 97–98 and 296. Saqal was the leader of the Crimean Qiyats on the turn of the 15th century, see *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 2, pp. 20 and 57. According to Jankowski, the nickname Saqal ("beard") is probably a distortion of another, more typical nickname Saqav ("mute"); cf. *idem*, *Historical-Etymological Dictionary*, pp. 955–956 and 1151.

<sup>14</sup> Tevkel, son of Temir, the Manghit (i.e., Nogay) bey and brother of Mengli Giray's wife Nur Sultan; he entered the Crimean service in 1503, after the collapse of the Great Horde; see *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 1, index, column 51; Leslie Collins, "On the alleged 'destruction' of the Great Horde in 1502," pp. 384 and 396; Xoroškevič, *Rus' i Krym*, p. 97; Trepavlov, *Istoriija Nogajskoj Ordj*, pp. 124–126.

<sup>15</sup> Mamish, son of Ediger, leader of the Sedjevüt (Sedjeut) clan and brother-in-law of Mengli Giray; cf. *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 1, index, column 37 and vol. 2, index, column 58.

<sup>16</sup> Agish, son of Köğüş, leader of the Shirin clan between 1507 and ca. 1523; he succeeded in this post Devletek and was followed by Memesh; see *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 2, index, column 4 and Xoroškevič, *Rus' i Krym*, pp. 96–97; for the somewhat confused genealogical tree of the Shirins, see Manz, "The clans of the Crimean Khanate," p. 308, and Halil Inalcık, "The Khan and the Tribal Aristocracy," p. 454. On the basis of the present document, the year 1508 proposed by both authors for Agish's rise to the *qaraçı* post should be corrected to 1507.



Devlet Bakhti Bey,<sup>17</sup> with regimental beys,<sup>18</sup> courtiers, nomadic beys, and my servants, [we have] all appeared before the great envoy of our brother, King Sigismund, before Pan Jurij Zenovevyč,<sup>19</sup> and before Pan Jakub Ivašencovyč,<sup>20</sup> and before the Tatar marshal and scribe, Ibrahim,<sup>21</sup> and I—to begin with—along with the above listed brother, children, ulans and beys, all regimental beys and courtiers, nomadic beys, and my servants, while standing altogether, we have sworn to our brother, King Sigismund, and we have given this oath-letter<sup>22</sup> with the pronounced engagements [Ruth. c tymy vyznanymy rečmy] that have been proclaimed. And Pan Jurij Zenovevyč, and Pan Jakub Ivašencovyč, and the Tatar marshal Ibrahim Bey [Ruth. knjaz], have sworn with the soul of our brother, King Sigismund, and with the souls of all lords of Lithuania, to begin with the Reverend Bishop.<sup>23</sup>

If you do not break this written and pronounced oath to the khan, neither will we break it, and we will fulfill word for word your request that is written in the oath, we will not do otherwise. Hence they have sworn to us, and we have also sworn our pronounced words that we will be a friend to any friend of our brother, King Sigismund, and of the lords of Lithuania, beginning with the Reverend Bishop, and we will jointly show enmity towards [each other's] enemy; and if we make terms with an enemy, we will do it jointly, and whoever we stay friends with, we will stay friends together; we will not reconcile with anybody without the other's knowledge and we will not be anybody's enemy without the other's knowledge.

Moreover, [as was the custom] from the times of our ancestors: Tokhtamish Khan and my father Hadji Giray Khan, also now I have granted the Ruthenian borderland [Ruth. ruskuju vkraynu] [with] the castles that had used to belong

<sup>17</sup> Devlet Bakhti, son of Kazı (i.e., Ghazi or Hadji?), leader of the Barın clan and the khan's lieutenant (*qaymaqam*) of Qarasu Bazar from ca. 1501 till 1526; he figured prominently in the Crimean international policy and led embassies to Poland-Lithuania (1512–1513) and to the Ottoman sultan Selim I (1515); see *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 2, index, column 34; Syročekovskij, "Muxammed-Geraj i ego vassaly," p. 31; Manz, "The Clans of the Crimean Khanate," p. 287; Xoroškevič, *Rus' i Krym*, pp. 95 and 251. On his embassy of 1512–1513, see also Documents 10–11 and Document 16, n. 9.

<sup>18</sup> The term *polkovyi knjazi* (lit. "regimental beys"), entered between the beys and courtiers (the latter term refers to the khan's court officials < Tat. *ıçki nökerler*), might refer to the remaining clan leaders, especially the leaders of the Arghın and Qıpchaq clans, who also swore the oath (cf. n. 40 below).

<sup>19</sup> On Jurij Zenovevyč, see Document 8, n. 38.

<sup>20</sup> On Jakub Ivašencovyč, see Document 8, n. 39.

<sup>21</sup> On Ibrahim Tymirčyn, see Document 8, n. 40.

<sup>22</sup> The Ruthenian term *prysjažnyj lyst* ("oath-letter") is the literal equivalent of the term *šartname* used by the Crimean chancery.

<sup>23</sup> The bishop, not mentioned by name or even by his see, was the bishop of Vilnius, Wojciech (Albrycht) Radziwiłł. His oath is mentioned in Sigismund's letter to Mengli Giray, dated 26 November 1507; see Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, p. 326. Wojciech Radziwiłł became the bishop of Vilnius after the death of his predecessor, Wojciech Tabor, in March 1507 (officially nominated only in September), and remained in this post until his death in 1519; see his biography by Maria Michalewiczowa in *PSB*, vol. 30 (Wrocław etc., 1987), pp. 377–379.

to us, along with [their] lands, waters, incomes and levies, to my brother, King Sigismund, to the Lithuanian throne, and to the lords, beginning with the Reverend Bishop; and we have given the letter<sup>24</sup> under the golden nišan and under the red stamp. And we have given our letter accordingly, and we will not change our bestowal.

And whoever is an enemy of our brother, King Sigismund, I, his brother Mengli Giray, will send my brother or son along with a great army [so that it should set out against this enemy] together with the royal army of our brother. Likewise, Sigismund, our brother, if I, or my son, set out against my enemy, then—under the oath—[you should] send us a notable lord or a notable commander [Ruth. *dobrogo maršalka*] along with a great Lithuanian army, so that he should set out together with us and show enmity to our enemy as a proof of unity.

And you should execute Halek Sultan,<sup>25</sup> the nephew<sup>26</sup> of my enemy Sheikh Ahmed,<sup>27</sup> his servant Tokhtamish,<sup>28</sup> Sultan Ahmed,<sup>29</sup> and his other important servants;<sup>30</sup> as to his minor servants, you should relocate them to distant areas [of Lithuania] and turn them into serfs.

<sup>24</sup> The khan refers to his *yarlıq* that was sent along with the present document; cf. Document 8.

<sup>25</sup> Halek Sultan was the son of Qodjaq (or Hadjike, referred to as *Xozjak* in Russian sources), the younger brother and qalga of Sheikh Ahmed; see Trepavlov, *Istorija Nogajskoj Ordy*, pp. 150–152; Zajcev, “Šejx-Axmad—poslednij xan Zolotoj Ordy,” p. 38.

<sup>26</sup> Ruth. *bratanyč*, i.e., “brother’s son.”

<sup>27</sup> Sheikh Ahmed, the last khan of the Great Horde, archenemy of Mengli Giray and ally of King Alexander against Muscovy. Defeated by Mengli Giray in 1502, he found refuge in Lithuania, but was kept in custody due to the pressure of the Crimean diplomacy. Contrary to gossip about his execution or premature death (for instance, see the 16th-century chronicle by Maciej Strykowski, *Kronika polska, litewska, żmudzka i wszystkich Rusi*, vol. 2, p. 330, and the monograph of Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, p. 208), he lived many years in Lithuania and in 1527 was released to successfully regain the throne in Astrakhan; see the letters by the royal secretary Jan Zambocki to Johannes Dantiscus regarding Sheikh Ahmed’s release in 1527 (*Acta Tomicihana*, vol. 9, pp. 211–213 and 251–252), the khan’s letter to King Sigismund reporting his successful return to the throne (RGADA, f. 389, no. 7, pp. 1010–1011), and the biographical article by Zajcev, “Šejx-Axmad—poslednij xan Zolotoj Ordy,” pp. 37–52.

<sup>28</sup> On Tokhtamish, who belonged to the prominent Alchin clan of the Great Horde, see Zajcev, “Šejx-Axmad—poslednij xan Zolotoj Ordy,” pp. 38 and 48, n. 53.

<sup>29</sup> On Sultan Ahmed Mirza, see *ibidem*, p. 38. In July 1503, he participated in the failed siege of Astrakhan by Sheikh Ahmed.

<sup>30</sup> The whereabouts of the imprisonment of Sheikh Ahmed and his retinue in Lithuania can be learned from the letter of Mengli Giray sent to Ivan III of Muscovy in the summer of 1504: “At the beginning of this winter our children stayed in Djankerman (Rus. *v Novomgorodke*; lit. “in New Town,” i.e., Očakiv); on hearing about Sheikh Ahmed, they chased him, but a freezing cold, wind, and heavy snow descended, so they returned, having captured and brought along a number of Sheikh Ahmed’s servants. And Sheikh Ahmed, Qodjaq, Halek, and Alchin Tokhtamish, eight of them altogether, rushed to Kiev; and the palatine of Kiev Dmytryj [Putjatyč] captured them and sent to the Upper Castle [apparently in Vilnius-DK]. And King Alexander sent an envoy, [letting us know]: ‘I have captured your enemies, Sheikh Ahmed, Qodjaq, and Halek; and now as I have captured your enemies and you know it, let us keep [friendly] relations: as previously your father Hadji Giray had kept [friendly] relations with King Casimir, you should keep [friendly] relations with us accordingly’” (*I see*

Moreover, as 4,500 florins is spent each year on my castle named Islamkerman built on the Tavan' [crossing],<sup>31</sup> they [i.e., the Lithuanian envoys] have engaged: "each year and without delay we will send you the sum that you give for the fodder to the men, who guard the castle." And whenever we request [the return of] our captives, noble ladies [Ruth. knjahin'] and others, if you return them to us, we will also meet any request of yours, our brother, so that if there are any captives with us, we will search for them and send them back. And you should find and send back my servant Shadi.

"And as our Muscovian enemy captured our lands from us, if you take them [from him] and return to us, we will each year collect the incomes and levies from these people and towns, and give them to your brothers and sons, all the princes, your ulans and beys, to begin with Tевkel Bey, Mamish Bey, and Devlet Bakhti Bey,<sup>32</sup> and your other regimental beys, thus gaining their favor. And in regard to your enemy Sheikh Ahmed, as you said, so we will do;"<sup>33</sup>—thus [i.e., in these words] have sworn here Pan Jurij Zenovevyč, Pan

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zimy, s pervozim'ja, naši deti byli v Novomgorodke; i oni, poslyšav Šig-Axmetja, za nim gonjalisja; ino prišla studen' velika i v'jalica i snegi veliki, i oni vorotilisja, a slug Šig-Axmetevyx poimav s soboju priveli. I Šig-Axmet i Xozjak i Xalek i Alčín Taktamyš, vosm' ix, v Kiev pribegli; i kievskoj voevoda knjaz' Dmitrej poimav, ix na Vyšegorod vvel. I Oksandr korol' čeloveka prislal: nedrugov tvoix Šig-Axmetja, Xozjaka i Xoleka esmi poimal; i nyneča čo esmja poimali tvoix nedrugov, i tebe ved' to vedomo, i ty s nami ssylajsja: kak napered togo otec tvoj Azi-Girej car' s Kazymirom koroleom ssylalisja, i ty s nami potomuž ssylajsja); see *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 1, p. 516; cf. also Ivan's reply in *ibidem*, pp. 521–522. These events are also confirmed by the Lithuanian chronicler Maciej Strykowski; see *idem*, *Kronika polska, litewska, żmudzka i wszystkiej Rusi*, vol. 2, pp. 316–317. Although Sheikh Ahmed remained in Lithuanian custody for the following two decades, the conditions of his imprisonment were rather mild as he was useful to hold the Crimean khans in check only as long as he was alive; cf. Zajcev, "Šejx-Axmad—poslednij xan Zolotoj Ordy," pp. 38–41. At the first sight, it seems curious that Mengli Girey demanded the death of Sheikh Ahmed's "important servants" but did not mention the two most prominent captives: Sheikh Ahmed and his brother Qodjaq. Yet, in 1507 Qodjaq was no longer in Lithuanian hands as in 1505 he was let go to the Nogay Horde (see Strykowski, *op. cit.*, p. 325), and the execution of Sheikh Ahmed was in fact requested in a separate letter, see n. 33 below.

<sup>31</sup> On Islamkerman (or Islamkermen), a castle built by Mengli Giray around 1504 on the left shore of the Dnieper, at the river crossing named Tavan' (< Tat. *Toğan kečidi*), see Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, "Stara turecka mapa Ukrainy," pp. 11, 13, and 17.

<sup>32</sup> These three clan leaders were already mentioned above; the fourth one, Agish Bey from the Shirin clan, was probably left out due to a copyist's error; cf. notes 14–17.

<sup>33</sup> The last provision obviously refers to Mengli Giray's request to execute Sheikh Ahmed, who was kept in Lithuanian custody. Apparently Mengli chose not to word this clause openly in his official document that only referred to the execution of Sheikh Ahmed's nephew and servants (see n. 30 above). In a separate letter, sent to King Sigismund along with the present document, Mengli Giray openly requested the execution of Sheikh Ahmed and invoked the oath by Jurij Zenovevyč taken in his presence: *Pan Jurij Zenovevyč nam tak prysjahnul: koly ja do hospodarka svoeho do korolja, y do Lytovskoe zemly biskupa, y do panov velykyx doedu, tut ja tvoju pravdu vydel, nepryjatelja tvoeho Ši Axmata, kak ty hovoryl, ys seho sveta zbavjat', poterjajut' eho, y smert' eho smetu Mamušu-vlanu a Odine* [the Crimean envoys sent to Lithuania-DK], *sluze tvoemu, vkažu, na to prysjahnul nam dušeju vašoju*; see *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 8 (1499–1514). Užrašymų knyga 8*, p. 86. In fact, contrary to various gossip, Sheikh Ahmed was never executed; cf. n. 27 above.

*Jakub Ivašencovyč, and the Tatar marshal and scribe, Ibrahim, with the soul of our brother, King Sigismund, and with the soul of the lords, beginning with the Reverend Bishop.*

*If—by following my above request and my word—you show enmity to my enemy, we will also not break or depart from our written oath and pronounced word, and we will firmly keep our oath. And if my brothers or my children, or anybody from among our ulans and beys, or regimental beys, or courtiers, or nomads, or from among my servants, goes and commits harm to Lithuania and the people of our brother, King Sigismund, if they come back on their own, we will punish them, capture them and deliver to you, and we will return the taken captives that they bring; and if these people, having committed harm, do not come back to us, we will arrest their wives, children, and daughters, and we will send them to the Dnieper crossing<sup>34</sup> and deliver them from our castle Islamkerman, so that your men may [come] with boats, take them and escort [to Lithuania].*

*If you, my brother King Sigismund, along with the lords, beginning with the Reverend Lithuanian Bishop, [fulfill] my above worded request and—keeping firmly your engagement—take an oath and do not break it, neither will we [break it], and if we break our present oath and confirmed words, [we]<sup>35</sup> will be repudiated by the highest and only God and cursed by our holy Prophet Muhammad, the messenger of God.*

*I have accordingly written down and given this oath from my lips; and we have given to our brother, King Sigismund, and to the Lithuanian grand lords and [lesser] landholders, beginning with the Reverend Bishop, the legally valid<sup>36</sup> letter under the signet ring and under the blue stamp, having stamped it with our signet ring and blue stamp.*

*Given 913 years after our Prophet, written<sup>37</sup> on the 4th day of the prosperous month of Rebi I, on Wednesday.*

appendix:<sup>38</sup>

*An oath was given by Mehmed Giray Sultan—to begin with—and other princes, by Mamış Ulan, the next in prominence after me<sup>39</sup>—to begin with—, and other ulans, beys, and qaraçıs and regimental beys: Agışh Bey, Devlet Bakhtı Bey, the beys Merdan and Mahmud.<sup>40</sup>*

*Written by Ibir Hodja, the scribe.*

<sup>34</sup> I.e., Tavan'; see n. 31 above.

<sup>35</sup> Ruth. *tot budet'* (lit. "such individual will be") obviously refers to the khan.

<sup>36</sup> The Ruthenian adjective *pravo podnesenyj* is rendered here as "legally valid."

<sup>37</sup> Perhaps the word *pysan* ("written") entered at the end of the Ruthenian phrase, belongs to the original *locatio* that was left out by the scribe; cf. Document 8.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. n. 1.

<sup>39</sup> "Me" apparently refers to the khan.

<sup>40</sup> On the term "regimental beys," cf. n. 18 above. The last two beys appear on the list of the Crimean dignitaries who swore the oath to keep peace with Muscovy in 1508; see *Pamjatniki diplomaticheskix snošenij*, vol. 2, p. 20. Merdan was the leader of the Arghın clan (referred to as *Argyn Mardan knjaz'*), and Mahmud the leader of the Qıpchaq clan (referred to as *Kypčak Magmud knjaz'*); as we see, it was Mahmud and not Mamış Ulan who headed the Qıpchaqs; cf. n. 12 above.

DOCUMENT 10 (5 SEPTEMBER 1513)

The instrument of agreement (*dokončen'e*) issued by Sigismund as the grand duke of Lithuania and sent to Khan Mengli Giray

The original document is missing.

Ruthenian copies:

A. RGADA, fond 389 = Litovskaja metrika, no. 7, pp. 466–473 [old foliation: 234b–238a].

A.\* 18th-century Latin script transcription: AGAD, Metryka Litewska, no. 193, pp. 318–321.

Published in Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, pp. 416–418.

Доконченье с царем перекопскимъ:

Во има боже станса!

Къ векуистое тое то рѣчи памѣти, мы Жикгимонт, з ласки божее король полский, великий князь литовский, руский, княжа прѣское, жомойтский, и иныхъ, ѣвно чинимъ тымъ то нашимъ листомъ, штожъ згленувши в старые докончания, привилея, и листы щастное памѣти продковъ нашихъ, то есть дѣда нашего, Короля Его Милости Владыслава Якгела, и великого князя Витовта, и Жикгимонтта [*sic*], и славное памѣти втца нашего, короля и великого князя Казимера, с продкы Великое Врды великого царя Менѣдли Кгирея, брата нашего, то есть с царемъ Тактомышомъ и иными цари, также и с царемъ Ачжикгирѣемъ, втцомъ его, иж вни часъ панованя своего промежъкъ себе были в вѣрномъ братстве и в сталои приязни, вдин дрзого приятелю был приятелемъ, а неприятелю неприятелемъ, и везде споломъ на всякого ихъ [неприятеля]<sup>a</sup> стоѣли за вдин, а с того панство ихъ ширилося и множилоса, а неприятелемъ ихъ рѣка слаба была. Мы бачечи, иж каждая приязнь стараѣ тывала есть, а новое дѣло подъ вонѣтпенемъ сталости, по смерти брата нашего Алексѣсандра, короля и великого князя, седши на столцохъ тыхъ втчизныхъ и дедичныхъ нашихъ панствъ, то есть Корѣны Полское и Великого Князѣства Литовского, не хотели [есмо]<sup>b</sup> искати индеи приѣтелеи мимо брата нашего, волного царя Мендли Кгирия. По вси тѣе лѣта вт вѣныхъ часовъ и до сихъ мѣсть [склонилисѣ]<sup>c</sup> есмо приязни нашой и добротою к немъ, вѣпѣсылаючи его, и здоровѣ его навежаючи многими послы и частыми гонцы. Тыми пак часы брат наш, Мендли Кгирея царь, видечы справедливую и сердечнѣную нашу к нему приязнь, писал и вѣсказал к намъ черезъ свои велики послы, черезъ

<sup>a</sup> Apparently left out by the copyist; cf. Document 17.

<sup>b</sup> Written mistakenly: *есме*; cf. Document 17.

<sup>c</sup> Written mistakenly: *сконѣчилисѣ*; cf. Document 17.

Довлет Бакъты, и князя Вицентиц, а Потестина, жадаючи нас, абыхмо для верного братства и вечнии [на]шее<sup>d</sup> приязни промежку нами докончальными нашими листы списалися и присагами ѳтвердилися. Ино мы Жыкгимонт, корол и великий князь, порадившися ѳ то с князи бискупы и со всеми Паны Радами нашими Великого Князьства Литовского, з божее ласки и з наше воли к тому есмо призволили.

Через сес наш лист знаминито чинимъ, штож взали есмо мир и вѣчное докончане з братомъ нашимъ, Великое Ѱрды великимъ царемъ Медли Кгирием, штож жити намъ с нимъ в ла[с]це, в приязни по тому, как и предкове наши были зъ его предки, и ѳтец наш Казимер корол зъ его ѳтцомъ Ачжикгириемъ царемъ, приателю его быти намъ приателемъ, а неприателю неприателемъ, и вездѣ на всакого его недрѣга быти намъ с нимъ за ѳдин. Также брат наш, Мендли Кгирей царъ маєт съ своими детми и внучаты, и з бра[т]ею своею молодшою, и его правое рѣки и левое великого влуса с темъники, и тисачники, и сотники, и всеми вланы, и мурзы, и кнези, приателю нашему приателемъ быти, а неприателю неприателемъ, и везде на всакого нашего неприателя бы с нами за ѳдин.

А которые города и волости, земли и воды неприател наш московский через свою прысагу и докончане зрадне по[д] братомъ нашимъ Александромъ, королемъ и великимъ княземъ, забрал и посел, тые города и волости, и земли и воды брат наш, Менди Кгирей царъ, помочю своею вынемъши з рѣкъ того неприателя нашего московского, маєт заса намъ в наше моц подати, и на потомъ завжды на того нашего неприателя московского всеми своими воиски помохон маєт быти. Теж естли бы са пригодило на которогоколѣ иного неприателя нашего помочи намъ ѳт брата нашего, Менди Кгирей царя, и брат наш, Менди Кгирей царъ, маєтъ намъ сумою людеи послати, колко намъ ѳздеть потребѣ.

Также и тые города, которые передкови его, первые цары, и ѳтецъ его Ачжикгирей царъ, и брат наш вжо тых часовъ Менди Кгирей царъ, со тмами и землями, и з водами, и со всеми доходы и данми, в своих листех за золотыми печатъми вписали к Великому Князьству Литовскому, ино нѣкоторые с тыхъ городов, и з волостей, землѣ, и водѣ, невеременемъ предковъ нашихъ ѳпали в рѣки московского, брат наш Мендли Кгирей цар подле докональныхъ листов предков его и своих, и подле приречена его крѣ[п]кого царьского слова, намъ, вынемши з моцы москов[ского], маєт заса подати.

А што братъ нашомъ, Менди Кгирей царю, неприатели ахматовы а магмѣтовы дѣти, то и намъ неприатели, быти намъ с царемъ Менди Кгириемъ на них за ѳдин. А неприателя его, Ши-Ахмата царя, в литовской земли твердо будемъ держати, а на его лихо не выпускати, и до живота его, поки ѳт Бога смерть на него приидет; также и слуг его на его лихо не выпускати, естли теж Менди Кгирей царъ будет намъ слово свое царьское крепко держати, и прысагу полнити.

<sup>d</sup> Corrupt; cf. Document 17.

А которые лихие дѣла стали ся были за отца нашего, Казимера короля, и за братю нашу старѣшую Албрахта и Александра королев, и вжо за насъ, Жикгимонта короля, в головахъ въ Магмет Кгирей солтана, и въ иныхъ солтановъ брати ваше и въ дѣтеи вашихъ, и въ всѣхъ члановъ и кнезеи, и въ всѣхъ слугъ вашихъ панствамъ нашимъ въчизнымъ, Корвне Полскои и Великому Князѣству Литовскому, и шѣтоколвекъ вни шкодъ тымъ землямъ нашимъ по тые лѣта вчинили, мы то все имъ отпускаемъ, и тые ихъ вси лихыи дѣла з мысли наше ск[л]адаемъ, и не хочомъ того имъ паматити.

Такъже з божего допущеня Менди Кгирей царь, братъ наш, и сынъ его Махмет Кгирей солтан в головахъ, и иншии солтанове в томъ еднани будѣчи, до насъ, к Великому Князѣству Литовскому в гостинѣ приедѣтъ, або ко мнѣ, Жикгимонтъ королю, на помочъ напротивку неприятеля моего, на наше слово з войскомъ своимъ неприятелю неприязнѣ чинити, и наше дѣло на добрыи конецъ на неприятеля доводити, ино вни маютъ в насъ в ласцѣ и во чти быти, а в ласце и во чти втѣхати, задѣнъ въ насъ шкоды имъ [не] будетъ.

Такъже въ Мендли Кгиреа царя, брата нашего влусовъ, которые богатые або вбогие купцы коли до наше земли приедѣтъ, стародавныи вставленные мыта въдавши, звышъ того нашимъ врадникомъ силы, [моцы имъ не делати; а которые врадникъ нашъ с того бы розказана нашего выступи, на звышъ пошлены што на нихъ възалъ, того намъ]<sup>е</sup> сказѣннати, а имъ заплату<sup>ф</sup> сполна казати заплатити; нехай вси купцы брата нашего во здорови приедѣтъ, а в цѣлости втѣдѣтъ.

Такъже брату нашему, Мендли Кгирею царь, з ласки наше братское хочечи помочъ вчинити, абы вни своихъ верныхъ слугъ къ помочи нашои напротивку неприятелей нашихъ въспомагалъ, вбѣщаемъ ему в каждыи годъ въпоинки слати с тыхъ вбеюхъ нашихъ панствъ, с Корвны Полское и Великого Князѣства Литовского, патнадцатъ тисачъ золотыхъ, а то тымъ вобычаемъ: с Корвны пол вسمى тисачи золотыхъ, а зъ Великого Князѣства пол вسمى тисачи золотыхъ, половицѣ пѣнѣзми, а половицѣ товаромъ, кождого годъ на два роки: первыи рокъ маютъ быти в брата нашего в семеи съботе пол вسمى тисача золотыхъ, другии рокъ в Светомъ Мартине другаа полъ вسمى [тисача] золотыхъ. А братъ наш, Мендлы Кгирей царь, мае на того нашего неприятеля, коли намъ надобѣ, завжды безъ вымовы помочъ слати, и на всихъ иныхъ нашихъ неприятелей, и во всемъ намъ по тому правити, какъ вышеи в семъ нашемъ листе выписано.

А мы тежъ съ своего слова брату нашему ни в чомъ не выступимъ; и на тые на вси правдивыи наши слова [с] кнези бискупы, и со всеми Паны Радами нашими Великого Князѣства Литовского присагу твердѣю вчинивши, дали есмо сеи нашъ листъ з нашою печатю Великого Князѣства Литовского маестатною болшою, и с печатми Панов Рад

<sup>е</sup> This whole fragment is omitted by the copyist; instead, the corrupt text reads: *нашимъ врадникомъ силы моцнымъ сказѣннати*; for the correct reading, cf. Document 17.

<sup>ф</sup> Written mistakenly: *заплаву*; cf. Document 17.

наших при томъ будѣчихъ:<sup>8</sup> князь Мартин бискуп жомотский; воевода виленский, канцлер наш, пан Миколаи Миколаевич Радивиловича; пан виленский, гетман наш, староста луцкий, и браславский, и веницкий, маршалокъ волынское земли, князь Костентин Ивановичъ Вострозкий; воевода троцкий, маршалокъ наш дворный, пан Григорей Станиславовичъ Встиковича; пан троцкий, староста жомойтский, пан Станислав Іанович; маршалокъ земский, староста городенский, пан Станислав Петрович; воевода новгородский, маршалокъ наш, пан Іан Іанович Заберезенский; воевода витебский, маршалокъ и секретар наш, пан Иван Сапега; маршалок наш, староста берестейский и лидский, пан Юрей Иванович Илинича; маршалокъ, намѣстник ковенский, пан Воитех Іанович; кухмистръ наш, намѣстникъ ѳтенский, пан Петръ Влехнович; подскарбии земьский, пан Аврамъ Езоович.

Стало са и дано лѣта божего тисача патсот третегонадесат, месеца сентебра ѿ [5] ден, индикт ѿ [2].

Translation:

*The agreement with the khan of Perekop [i.e., the Crimean khan]:*

*Let it happen in the name of God!*

*For eternal memory, we, Sigismund, by the grace of God the king of Poland, the grand duke of Lithuania, Ruthenia, the duke of Prussia, Samogitia,<sup>1</sup> and other [lands], we make known with our present letter that having inspected the old agreements, privileges, and letters of our ancestors of felicitous memory, namely our grandfather, His Royal Majesty Vladislaus Jagiello, Grand Duke Vytautas, Sigismund,<sup>2</sup> and our father of glorious memory, the king and grand duke Casimir, [exchanged] with the ancestors of our brother Mengli Giray, the great khan of the Great Horde, namely Khan Tokhtamish and other khans, also with his father, Khan Hadji Giray, [we have concluded] that as during their reigns they had mutually cultivated loyal brotherhood and constant friendship, being a friend to the other's friend, and an enemy to the other's enemy, and together they had faced every enemy everywhere, in result their domain[s] had widened and multiplied, and their enemies had had their hands weakened. Seeing that every old friendship is durable while a new venture is subject to doubt in regard to its stability, having ascended the thrones of our ancestral and hereditary states, namely the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, after the death of our brother, the king and grand duke Alexander, we did not want to seek friends beyond our brother, the free<sup>3</sup> khan Mengli Giray. For all these*

<sup>8</sup> Written mistakenly: *будѣчимъ*.

<sup>1</sup> I.e., Žemaitija (Pol. Żmudź).

<sup>2</sup> Sigismund (Lith. Žygimantas), younger brother of Vytautas and grand duke of Lithuania in the years 1432–1440.

<sup>3</sup> The expressions *volnyj car* ("free khan") or *vol'nyj čelovek* ("free man"), found in Ruthenian and Russian sources, reflect the ancient Mongol-Tatar notion of sovereignty. The sovereign was independent from other rulers and could endow his subjects with titles, lands, or privileges at his will; see Xoroškevič, *Rus' i Krym*, pp. 117–118.



years since those times and until this point, we have been amiably and well disposed towards him, having dispatched multiple envoys and frequent couriers to inquire about his health. Upon seeing our loyal and sincere friendship towards him, our brother Mengli Giray Khan wrote and notified us through his great envoys, Devlet Bakhti,<sup>4</sup> Vincenzo,<sup>5</sup> and Baptista,<sup>6</sup> demanding that for the sake of loyal brotherhood and eternal friendship between us we exchange letters of agreement [Ruth. dokončalni lysty] and confirm them with oaths. And we, the king and grand duke Sigismund, having taken counsel with the reverend bishops and with all our Lords Councilors of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, have given consent for it with the grace of God and our will.

With the present letter we make known that we have concluded peace and eternal agreement with our brother Mengli Giray, the great khan of the Great Horde, to live with him in harmony and amity, as our ancestors had with his ancestors, and our father King Casimir had with his father Hadji Giray Khan, to be a friend to his friend and an enemy to his enemy, and to face jointly with him any of his enemies from any direction. Also our brother, Mengli Giray Khan, along with his children and grandchildren, his younger brothers, the commanders of ten thousands [tūmens], thousands, hundreds, and tens of the great people [ulus] of his right hand and left, all the ulans, mirzas, and beys [Ruth. knezy], should be a friend to our friend and an enemy to our enemy, and face jointly with us any of our enemies from any direction.

And whichever towns, estates, lands, and waters our Muscovian enemy treacherously captured and took in possession in violation of his oath and agreement under [the reign of] our brother, the king and grand duke Alexander, our brother, Mengli Giray Khan, by his [military] assistance should recapture these towns, estates, lands, and waters from the hands of the Muscovian enemy, and restore them into our might, and in the future he should always assist [us] with all his troops against the Muscovian enemy. And if it so happens that we [ask] our brother, Mengli Giray Khan, for help against any other of our enemies, then our brother, Mengli Giray Khan, should send us as many men as we need.

Moreover, [in regard to] the towns that his ancestors, the first khans, and his father, Hadji Giray Khan, and—also recently—our brother, Mengli Giray Khan, have written down in their letters with golden seals [and granted] to the

<sup>4</sup> On Devlet Bakhti, the leader of the Barin clan, see Document 9, n. 17. In 1512, Devlet Bahti along with Vincenzo de Guidulphis and Giovanni Baptista de San Nicolo (on them, see below) accompanied Mengli Giray's grandson, Prince Djalaleddin, to Kiev and then to Vilnius, where the latter was to be retained as an honorary hostage. King Sigismund, then absent from Lithuania, greeted the envoys in his letters sent from Poznań to Vilnius and dated 9 February 1513; see Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, p. 398; *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 2, p. 160. After Djalaleddin died in Vilnius, the envoys were sent back along with the present document.

<sup>5</sup> Vincenzo de Guidulphis, an Italian in the khan's service; in the Latin letter by King Sigismund referred to as Vincentius de Zugulfis; cf. n. 4 above and Document 16, n. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Giovanni Baptista de San Nicolo, an Italian in the khan's service; in the Latin letter by King Sigismund referred to as Johannes Baptista de S. Nicolao; cf. n. 4 above and Document 16, n. 11.

*Grand Duchy of Lithuania along with their tümens, lands, waters, all incomes and levies, as some of these towns, estates, lands, and waters have fallen into the hands of the Muscovian [ruler] in the unfortunate times of our ancestors, our brother, Mengli Giray Khan, should—in conformity with his ancestors' and his own letters of agreement, and with the tenor of his firm royal word—recapture them from the might of the Muscovian [ruler] and restore to us.*

*And as the children of Ahmed and Mahmud<sup>7</sup> are enemies of our brother, Mengli Giray Khan, they are our enemies, too, and we will face them jointly, along with Mengli Giray Khan. And we will detain in Lithuania his enemy, Sheikh Ahmed, for life, until he is reached by death sent by God; and we will not let him go so that he does not commit any harm to him [i.e., Mengli Giray]; likewise, we will not let his [i.e., Sheikh Ahmed's] servants go so that they do not commit any harm to him [i.e., Mengli Giray], if only Mengli Giray Khan keeps firmly his royal word and fulfills his oath [given] to us.*

*As regards the harm committed during [the reigns of] our father, King Casimir, and our elder brothers, the kings [John] Albert and Alexander, and also recently during [the reign of] us, King Sigismund, by Mehmed Giray Sultan—to begin with—and other sultans [i.e., princes], your brothers and your children, and by all ulans and beys, and all your servants towards our ancestral states, the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and whatever damage they have caused to our lands up till the present, we forgive them, we release all this harm from our memory, and we do not intend to hold it against them.*

*Moreover, if by God's permission our brother, Mengli Giray Khan, his son Mehmed Giray Sultan—to begin with, or other sultans [i.e., princes] participating in this reconciliation, come to us, to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, to seek hospitality or to assist me, King Sigismund, against my enemy and—on our request—to show enmity to [our] enemy along with their troops and to*

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<sup>7</sup> “The children of Ahmed and Mahmud” (Ruth. *axmatovy a mahmutovy dety*)—a customary formula in the Crimean correspondence with Muscovy and Poland-Lithuania, referring to the khans of the Great Horde and of Astrakhan, who were the traditional enemies of the Girays; cf. *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 2, column 15 of the index. Mahmud and Ahmed were the grandsons of Timur Qutlug (r. 1395–1401), once the rival of Tokhtamish to the throne of the Golden Horde, and the sons of Küchük Muhammed, the founder of the so-called Great Horde. After Küchük Muhammed's death in 1459, his two sons competed for the throne. Finally, Ahmed remained in power, entering an anti-Muscovian alliance with King Casimir. After Ahmed's death at the hands of the Nogays in 1481, the throne of the Great Horde was inherited by his sons, first Murtaza and Seyyid Ahmed, who ruled jointly, and then Sheikh Ahmed; see M. Safargaliev, *Raspad Zolotoj ordy* (Saransk, 1960), pp. 264–265, 269, and the appended genealogical tree. After the defeat of Sheikh Ahmed by Mengli Giray in 1502 (the disputed fall of the Great Horde), the sons of Mahmud [Abdelkarim (r. ca. 1508–1514); Djanibek (r. 1514–1521)] and of Ahmed [Sheikh Ahmed (r. 1527–1528)] as well as their descendents continued to rule in the Khanate of Astrakhan; see Zaitsev [Zajcev], “The Khanate of Astrakhan,” pp. 848–853; *idem*, *Astraxanskoe xanstvo*, p. 249 and passim. Zaitsev challenges the traditional view of Mahmud as the founder of the khanate of Astrakhan, arguing that the khanate itself developed as an independent state only after 1502. The accession date of Sheikh Ahmed to the throne of Astrakhan, initially proposed as ca. 1525–1528, was later precised by Zaitsev as 1527 (see Document 9, n. 27).

bring our case against this enemy to a propitious conclusion, they should enjoy favor and reverence among us, they should be able to depart enjoying favor and reverence, and should not suffer any harm from us.

Moreover, when merchants—either rich or poor—come to our land from among the peoples [uluses] of our brother, Mengli Giray Khan, after they have paid the ancient, established tolls, our officials should not employ force or violence against them; and if any of our officials breaks our present order and collects from them more than the [customary] tax, we should punish him and order to fully restore them the [illegal] payment; may all merchants of our brother come safe and depart sound.

Moreover, as—with our brotherly favor—we intend to help our brother, Mengli Giray Khan, so that he may provide his loyal servants [sent] to assist us against our enemies, we promise to send him each year gifts [upomynky] from our two states, the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, [in the amount of] 15,000 florins [zlotys], in the following manner: 7,500 florins from the Crown and 7,500 florins from the Grand Duchy, one half in cash and one half in goods, every year in two rates: the first rate—7,500 florins—should reach our brother on the seventh Saturday [i.e., the Saturday before the Pentecost], the second rate of another 7,500 florins on St. Martin's Day.<sup>8</sup> And [in return] our brother, Mengli Giray Khan, should always, whenever we need it and without any excuse, send assistance against our present [i.e., Muscovian] enemy and against all our other enemies, and he should fulfill all his duties towards us, as it is written above in our present letter.

And neither will we depart in any detail from our word [given] to our brother; and having confirmed with firm oath[s] the veracity of all our present words along with the reverend bishops and with all our Lords Councilors of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, we have issued our present letter with our great majestic seal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania,<sup>9</sup> and with the seals of our

<sup>8</sup> I.e., 11 November.

<sup>9</sup> A great majestic seal, measuring 98–99 mm. in diameter and depicting the grand duke sitting on the throne, was the most solemn seal used in the Lithuanian chancery in the first half of the 15th century. However, no majestic seal has been preserved from the later period. Although Casimir used a majestic seal, measuring 120 mm. in diameter, as the king of Poland, no majestic seal from his reign is known for Lithuania. In regard to Casimir's older sons, John Albert and Alexander, no majestic seal is known from their reigns and that led a modern scholar to conclude that they consciously discontinued its use; see Zenon Piech, *Monety, pieczęcie i herby w systemie symboli władzy Jagiellonów* (Warsaw, 2003), p. 105. Similarly, only the great and small seals (measuring respectively 67 and 32 mm.) have been preserved from the reign of Sigismund; see *ibidem*, pp. 106–107; cf. also Maryan Gumowski, *Pieczęcie królów polskich* (Cracow, 1910), pp. 25–27. The confusing reference to Sigismund's majestic seal in the present document as well as the documents from 1516 and 1535 (cf. Documents 17 and 26) should be treated either as a void chancery formula (while the documents concerned were sealed merely with the great seal), or as proof that the majestic seal was in fact used. This last possibility seems to be confirmed by a reference to the removal of the majestic seal from the Lithuanian chancery in 1544, when aged King Sigismund granted full authority over Lithuania to his son, Sigismund Augustus.

*Lords Councillors, who have been present: the Reverend Martin,<sup>10</sup> the bishop of Samogitia; Pan Mikołaj Mikołajewicz Radziwiłł,<sup>11</sup> the palatine of Vilnius and our chancellor; Prince Kostjantyn Ivanovyč Ostroz'kyj,<sup>12</sup> the lord [i.e., castellan] of Vilnius, our hetman, the starosta of Luc'k, Braclav, and Vinnycja, the marshal of Volhynia; Pan Hryhoryj Stanisławowicz Ościkowicz,<sup>13</sup> the palatine of Trakai and our court marshal; Pan Stanisław Janowicz,<sup>14</sup> the lord [i.e., castellan] of Trakai and the starosta of Samogitia; Pan Stanisław Piotrowicz,<sup>15</sup> the land marshal and the starosta of Hrodna; Pan Jan Janowicz Zabrzeziński,<sup>16</sup> the palatine of Navahrudak and our marshal;<sup>17</sup> Pan Ivan Sapeha,<sup>18</sup> the palatine of*

From then on, documents issued by the Lithuanian chancery were to be corroborated by the personal seal of the young king; cf. Grzegorz Błaszczyk, *Litwa na przełomie średniowiecza i nowożytności 1492–1569* (Poznań, 2002), p. 94.

<sup>10</sup> Martin Lintfari, bishop of Samogitia from 1492 till 1515, probably of German origin (his nickname Lintfari, registered in a Roman consistorial document, is unusual for a German surname and might be a misspelled place of origin, namely Lithuania); see his biography in Grzegorz Błaszczyk, *Diecezja żmudzka od XV do początku XVII wieku. Ustrój* (Poznań, 1993), pp. 47–49.

<sup>11</sup> Mikołaj Radziwiłł, palatine of Vilnius and Lithuanian chancellor since 1510; see his biography by Grzegorz Błaszczyk in *PSB*, vol. 30, pp. 316–319.

<sup>12</sup> Kostjantyn Ostroz'kyj (Pol. Konstanty Ostrogski), prominent military commander and patron of the Orthodox church in Lithuania; in 1497, after a series of successful battles with Crimean troops, he was appointed the Lithuanian hetman and the *starosta* of Braclav, Vinnycja, and Zvynhorod; in 1500 he fell into Muscovian captivity; after his return to Lithuania in 1507, he regained his former posts and was additionally appointed the marshal of Volhynia and the *starosta* of Luc'k; in 1511 he was nominated the castellan of Vilnius, and in 1522 the palatine of Trakai; he commanded the Lithuanian troops in numerous battles against the Crimean Tatars (1512, 1519, 1527) and Muscovy (e.g., the battle of Orša in 1514); see his biography by Zbysław Wojtkowiak in *PSB*, vol. 24, pp. 486–489.

<sup>13</sup> Pol. Grzegorz Stanisławowicz Ościkowicz / Ruth. Hryhoryj Stankovyč Ostykovyč, Lithuanian court marshal since 1494 and palatine of Trakai since 1510; see his biography by Agnieszka Winiarska in *PSB*, vol. 24, pp. 609–610.

<sup>14</sup> Stanisław Janowicz Kieżgajło, *starosta* of Samogitia since 1486, castellan of Trakai since 1499, castellan of Vilnius since 1522; see his biography by Zdzisław Spieralski in *PSB*, vol. 12, pp. 446–448.

<sup>15</sup> Stanisław Piotrowicz Kiszka, *starosta* of Hrodna since 1508 and Lithuanian land marshal since 1512; cf. his biography by Zdzisław Spieralski in *PSB*, vol. 12, pp. 515–517.

<sup>16</sup> Jan Janowicz Zabrzeziński, marshal since 1506, palatine of Navahrudak since 1509, Lithuanian land marshal since 1522, palatine of Trakai since 1531; see *Urządnicy centralni i dostojnicy WKL*, p. 251.

<sup>17</sup> On this ancient Lithuanian court title (in Latin referred to as *marschalcus noster* and in Polish as *marszałek nasz* or *marszałek hospodarski*), not to be confused with the more elevated titles of land marshal and court marshal, see *Urządnicy centralni i dostojnicy WKL*, p. 80.

<sup>18</sup> Ivan Sapeha (Pol. Sapieha), member of numerous embassies to Moscow and supporter of the union between the Greek and Latin church; marshal since 1504, palatine of Vicebsk since 1511, palatine of Podlachia (Podlasie) since 1514; see his biography by Maria Michalewiczowa in *PSB*, vol. 34, pp. 613–618.

*Vicebsk, our marshal and secretary; Pan Jurij Ivanovyč Ilinič,<sup>19</sup> our marshal, the starosta of Brest and Lida; Pan Wojciech Janowicz,<sup>20</sup> the marshal and the lieutenant of Kaunas; Pan Piotr Olechnowicz,<sup>21</sup> our head cook and the lieutenant of Utena;<sup>22</sup> Pan Avram Ezofovyč,<sup>23</sup> the land treasurer.*

*Took place and given anno Domini 1513, on the 5th day of the month of September, during the 2nd indiction.<sup>24</sup>*

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<sup>19</sup> Jurij Ivanovyč Ilinič, marshal since 1500, lieutenant of Lida since 1500 and of Brest since 1510, *starosta* of Kaunas since 1514, court marshal since 1519; see *Urzednicy centralni i dostojnicy WKL*, p. 211.

<sup>20</sup> Wojciech Janowicz Kloczko, chamberlain of Grand Duchess Helen, the wife of King Alexander, in the years 1495–1513; lieutenant of Kaunas and marshal since 1499; see his biography by Agnieszka Winiarska in *PSB*, vol. 13, pp. 49–50.

<sup>21</sup> Piotr Olechnowicz / Ruth. Petr Olexnovyč, head cook of the Lithuanian court since 1492; in 1507 sent in a failed embassy to Moscow along with a Crimean envoy in order to negotiate a common peace; see his biography by Agnieszka Winiarska in *PSB*, vol. 23, p. 733 (the present document proves that he assumed the post of the lieutenant of Utena earlier than 1514, as stated by Winiarska).

<sup>22</sup> On Utena (Pol. Uciiana), see *Słownik geograficzny*, vol. 12, p. 740.

<sup>23</sup> Jan Abraham Ezofovyč, a Jew converted to the Orthodox Christianity in 1488 and ennobled in 1507; Lithuanian land treasurer (*podskarbij*) since 1509; see his biography by Władysław Pociecha in *PSB*, vol. 6 (Cracow, 1948), pp. 328–331.

<sup>24</sup> The second indiction lasted from 1 September 1513 till 31 August 1514.

DOCUMENT 11 (7 SEPTEMBER 1513)<sup>1</sup>

The instrument of agreement (*patentes literae*) issued by Sigismund  
as the king of Poland and sent to Khan Mengli Giray

The original document is missing.

Latin copies:<sup>2</sup>

A. Bibl. Kórn., ms. 212, fol. 271a–273a.

Published in *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 2 (Poznań, 1852), pp. 239–241.

B. Bibl. Kórn., ms. 219, fol. 291b–293b.

C. Bibl. Jagiell., ms. 107, pp. 191–194.

D. Bibl. Jagiell., ms. 114, fol. 112b–114b.

Foedus inter regem Sigismundum primum et Mendikyrej, imperatorem Thar-  
tarotum Precopensem:<sup>a</sup>

In nomine Domini amen, etc.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. <sup>b</sup>Nos Sigismundus Dei gratia rex Poloniae,  
magnus dux Lituaniae,<sup>c</sup> Russie, Prussie Samogitieque etc.<sup>d</sup> dominus et heres  
etc. Significamus tenore presentium, quibus expedit universis et singulis,  
quia revolventes veteris federis<sup>e</sup> conclusiones serenissimorum predecessorum<sup>f</sup>  
nostrorum faelicis recordationis, Wladislai Jagello<sup>g</sup> avi, Vitoldi, Sigismundi,  
Casimiri<sup>h</sup> genitoris regis<sup>i</sup> Poloniae et magnorum ducum Lituaniae ex una, et  
predecessoris serenissimi Magnae Ordae magni caesaris Mendigerey,<sup>j</sup> fratris

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<sup>1</sup> The day number is uncertain; cf. n. bx below.

<sup>2</sup> The codices containing the copies A. and B. belong to the multi-voluminous 16th-century selection of official documents known as *Acta Tomiciana*, respectively to its Opaliński and Karnkowski collections; cf. Ryszard Marciniak, *Acta Tomiciana w kulturze politycznej Polski okresu odrodzenia*, the table after p. 180. The copies C. and D. are later (respectively from the early 17th and late 16th century) and lack the semiofficial character of the former two; cf. Władysław Wisłocki, *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, pts. 1–2 (Cracow, 1877–1881), pp. 40–42 and 46–47. Therefore the variations of the copies C. and D. are noted only when they regard proper names or affect the contents of the document.

<sup>a</sup> B. *Treugarum pacis cum Tartaro tenor*; C. and D. *Foedus Sigismundi primi regis Poloniae cum caesare Praecopiensi Mendigerei*.

<sup>b</sup> C. and D. begin here.

<sup>c</sup> In C. and D. here and hereafter *Lithuaniae*.

<sup>d</sup> B. *Prussiae, Masoviae etc.*; C. and D. *Russiae, Prussiae, Mazoviae etc.*

<sup>e</sup> B.-D. *foederis*.

<sup>f</sup> In B.-D. here and hereafter: *praedecessorum*.

<sup>g</sup> B. *Vladislai Jagello*; C. *Wladislai Jagielonis*; D. *Wladislai Jagellonis*.

<sup>h</sup> B. *Kasimiri*.

<sup>i</sup> B.-D. *regum*.

<sup>j</sup> C. and D. *Mendigerei*.

nostri, Taktomiss,<sup>k</sup> Asdigerey<sup>l</sup> patre nuncupato, et aliis imperatoribus, partibus ex altera factas, privilegiis et inscriptionibus utrinque confirmatas, quibus liquido satis perspeximus, illas, tempore presidentiae seu dominationis eorum inter se coniunctissime et fraternae convixisse et solido favore synceroque<sup>m</sup> affectu invicem fuisse complexos, ita ut alterius hostis pro communi hoste semper haberetur itidemque alterius amicus non nisi communis amicus censeretur, preterea<sup>n</sup> unitis semper viribus et concordi voto contra quemlibet hostem dimicabatur. Cuius amicitiae<sup>o</sup> interventu fines imperii et dominiorum utriusque, hostili potentia perdomita et confracta, propagabantur et non parvo in dies augebantur incremento, ita ut res illorum communes secundae admodum domi forisque haberentur. Nos etiam diligenti et matura intra nos deliberatione habita, considerantes novorum foederum, amicitiarum et societatum dubios fore eventus, illis veteres amicitias, quas solidiores usu semper didicimus preferentes posteaquam ad culmen regalis dignitatis in regno Poloniae et Magno Ducatu Lituaniae, paterna avitaeque solia, favente Domino, conscendimus usque ad id tempus a novis societatibus et confederationibus<sup>p</sup> semper abhorrentes non alibi unquam amicitias nobis comparare volumus<sup>q</sup> quam apud fratrem nostrum caesarem Mendigerey<sup>r</sup> dignumque existimavimus, cum quo mutuis officiis et beneficiis (innitendo vestigiis predecessorum nostrorum) certaremus. Quam nostram erga illam<sup>s</sup> tam propensam voluntatem frequentibus et honorificis legationibus, nunciis<sup>t</sup> nostris et aliis benivolentiae argumentis illum salutando, quamque<sup>u</sup> ipsum resque suas incolumes esse cupiamus, nixi sumus in hanc usque diem sedulo demonstrare. Is demum frater noster caesar Mendigerey,<sup>v</sup> eius nostri erga se affectus non ingratus, cupiens amicitiarum taliter iacta fundamenta, tam a predecessoribus, quam etiam a nobis coalescere et maiori certitudine roborari, nobis tam per literas quam per oratores suos Dowlekbaktibi et Vincentium [et] Baptistam,<sup>3</sup> quam declaravit se plurimum desiderare, ut predictas<sup>w</sup> amicitias novis rursus conclusionibus et inscriptionibus ac iuramentis confirmaremus.

Nos vero Sigismundus, predictus rex et magnus dux etc., de consilio consiliorum regni nostri status utriusque gratia divina id nobis inspirante in eiusmodi novas inscriptiones et conclusiones consensimus presentibusque

<sup>k</sup> B.-D. *Taktomisch*.

<sup>l</sup> D. *Asdigerei*.

<sup>m</sup> B. *sinceroque*.

<sup>n</sup> In B.-D. here and hereafter *praeterea*.

<sup>o</sup> In B.-D. here and hereafter: *amicitiae*.

<sup>p</sup> B. and C. *confoederationibus*.

<sup>q</sup> B. and C. *voluimus*.

<sup>r</sup> B. *Mendigerey*.

<sup>s</sup> B.-D. *illum*.

<sup>t</sup> B. *nunctiis*.

<sup>u</sup> B. and D. *quanque*; C. *quanquam*.

<sup>v</sup> C. and D. *Mendigerei*.

<sup>3</sup> On Devlet Bakhti, Vincenzo de Guidulphis, and Giovanni Baptista de San Nicolo, cf. Document 10, notes 4–6.

<sup>w</sup> In B. here and hereafter: *praedictas*.

literis nostris innotescimus universis et singulis, quia inivimus perpetue<sup>x</sup> pacis foedera cum magno imperatore Magne Orde Mendigerei,<sup>y</sup> fratre nostro, cum quo in ea amicitia et benivolentia perseverare volumus, qualis inter dive<sup>z</sup> memoriae predecessores nostros, et genitorem nostrum Casimirum regem, et Aczgir<sup>aa</sup> caesarem similiter patrem eius extitit, hoc est amicos et inimicos communes esse semper censendo, et sepe dictus frater noster Mendigerey cesar<sup>ab</sup> cum omnibus et singulis natis, nepotibus, fratribus natu minoribus, et cum universo tam dextri quam sinistri lateris senatu, legionariis, millenariis, centurionibus, et omnibus ulanis et mursis, ducibus ceterisque<sup>ac</sup> omnibus dignitariis, magistratibus, quomodocumque nuncupatis et gentibus contra quemlibet hostem nostrum, pro nostra iniuria veluti propria dimicare tenebitur et erit obligatus. Cum quibus supradictis omnibus erit amicus amico et inimicus inimico.

Et item castra, castella, territoria, civitates, urbes, villas, rura, aquas, terras, quas hostis noster fidefragus<sup>ad</sup> Moscovita<sup>ae</sup> de Magno Ducatu Lituaniae, tempore presidentie<sup>af</sup> serenissimi olim Alexandri regis, predecessoris et germani nostri charissimi, contra iusiurandum avulsit et dolose occupavit, predictus frater noster illa omnia suis suorumque viribus ex eius manibus seu ditione recuperare nobisque gratuito et sine quavis difficultate restituere tenebitur, et erit adstrictus, et quotiens opus eius auxiliis contra dictum hostem nostrum Moschovitam habuerimus, illa nobis cum omni potentatu suo quanto celerius poterit prestat.<sup>ag</sup> Et simili modo contra quemcumque<sup>ah</sup> alium hostem nostrum etiam nobis auxilia prestare tenebitur, et erit obligatus in eo numero et copiis, pro quibus nos fratrem nostrum requiremus.

Item simili modo castra, que<sup>ai</sup> predecessores eiusdem fratris nostri, cesaris,<sup>aj</sup> et pater, Aczgir cesar,<sup>ak</sup> ipseque frater noster cesar Mendigerey,<sup>al</sup> pariter cum legionibus, terris, aquis, et omnibus obventionibus, utilitatibusque et daciis<sup>am</sup> in eorum literis aliis sigillis signatis<sup>an</sup> et munitis describere ad<sup>ao</sup> dominia Magni Ducatus Lituaniae pertinere, que<sup>ap</sup> quidem ex talibus castris negligentia

<sup>x</sup> B.-D. *perpetuae*.

<sup>y</sup> B. *magno imperatore Magnae Ordae Mendigerey*; C. and D. *magno imperatore Magnae Ordae Mendigerei*.

<sup>z</sup> B.-D. *divae*.

<sup>aa</sup> C. *Aczger*; D. *Acziger*.

<sup>ab</sup> B. *Mendigerey cesar*.; C. and D. *Mendigerei cesar*.

<sup>ac</sup> B.-D. *caeterisque*.

<sup>ad</sup> D. *fide Graecque* [sic].

<sup>ae</sup> B.-D. *Moschovita*.

<sup>af</sup> B.-D. *presidentiae*.

<sup>ag</sup> In B. here and hereafter *praestabit*.

<sup>ah</sup> B. and D. *quemcunque*.

<sup>ai</sup> B.-D. *quae*.

<sup>aj</sup> B.-D. *caesares*.

<sup>ak</sup> B.-C. *Acziger cesar*; D. *Acziger cesar*.

<sup>al</sup> B. *cesar Mendigerey*; C. *cesar Mendigerei*; D. *cesar Mendigerei*.

<sup>am</sup> B.-D. *datiis*.

<sup>an</sup> B.-D. *obsignatis*.

<sup>ao</sup> C. and D. *ac*; in D. crossed out and corrected to *quae ad*.

<sup>ap</sup> B.-D. *quae*.



predecessorum nostrorum in manus hosti nostri Moscovitae<sup>aq</sup> incidentes eius ditioni<sup>ar</sup> accessere, sepedictus frater noster, cesar Mendigerei<sup>as</sup>, innitendo inscriptionibus predecessorum suorum conclusionibusque nobiscum factis verbo eius firmo caesareo<sup>at</sup> illa etiam viribus suis recuperare de manibus Moscovitae<sup>au</sup> hostis nostri et nobis simpliciter sine quavis renitentia resignare seu tradere ad Magnum Ducatum debebit.

Item nos etiam filios Achmat<sup>av</sup> et filios Machometi,<sup>4</sup> hostes fratris nostri Mendigerei caesaris,<sup>aw</sup> pro hostibus habebimus et cum ipso contra illos hostilia volumus exercere. Item hostem ipsius Dziahmat<sup>ax, 5</sup> in dominio<sup>ay</sup> Magni Ducatus Lituaniae captivum volumus tenere, et ex captivitate ad damnum et incommodum ipsius imperatoris illum ad tempora vitae suae<sup>az</sup> nunquam liberum dimittere, servis etiam suis in dispendium dicti fratris nostri licentiam seu facultatem abeundi nolumus prestare; et hoc, si imperator nobis supradicta<sup>ba</sup> servaverit promissa.

Preterea omnes et universas hostilitates, damna, indignitates et alia eiusmodi utrique dominio nostro, tam regno Poloniae quam Magno Ducatu Lituaniae, quam serenissimorum foelicis [*sic*] recordationis Casimiri<sup>bb</sup> patris, Alberti, Alexandri fratrum, regum et predecessorum nostrorum, tum etiam nostro temporibus per Machmetgierei<sup>bc</sup> Soltan et alios soltanos, fratres et filios dicti caesaris,<sup>bd</sup> satrapas seu ulanos, duces, illatas et inflictas, in universum illis remittimus omnemque rancorem seu ultionis libidinem ex animo abolemus.

Liberumque deinceps erit pretextu eius foederis et solide amicitiae fratri nostro cesari et Machmetgierei<sup>bc</sup> Soltan aliisque soltanis in eorum propriis personis in dominia<sup>bf</sup> Magni Ducatus Lituaniae, vel item ad nos Sigismundum regem tanquam hospitibus et invitatis veluti auxiliariis contra quemlibet hostem cum eorum gentibus in certo numero per nos admittendo sine quovis incommodo suo et dominiorum nostrorum<sup>bg</sup> venire et redire. Quiquidem taliter advenientes et redeuntes veluti amici debebunt a nobis non minus humaniter quam honorifice tractari.

<sup>aq</sup> B.-D. *hostis nostri Moschovitae*.

<sup>ar</sup> B. and C. *ditioni*.

<sup>as</sup> B. and D. *caesar Mendigerey*; C. *caesar Mendigerei*.

<sup>at</sup> B.-D. *caesareo*.

<sup>au</sup> B.-D. *Moschovitae*.

<sup>av</sup> C. and D. *Achmath*.

<sup>4</sup> On "the sons of Ahmed and Mahmud," cf. Document 10, n. 7.

<sup>aw</sup> B. and D. *Mendigerey caesaris*; C. *Mendigerei caesaris*.

<sup>ax</sup> B. *Dziachmat*; C.-D. *Dziachmath*.

<sup>5</sup> On Sheikh Ahmed, the last khan of the Great Horde, cf. Document 9, n. 27.

<sup>ay</sup> B.-D. *in dominiis*.

<sup>az</sup> B.-D. *suae*.

<sup>ba</sup> B.-D. *superscripta*.

<sup>bb</sup> B. *Kasimiri*.

<sup>bc</sup> B. *Machmetgierey*; C. and D. *Machmethgerey*.

<sup>bd</sup> B.-D. *caesaris*.

<sup>be</sup> B. *Machmetgerey*; C. and D. *Machmethgerey*.

<sup>bf</sup> C. and D. *dominio*.

<sup>bg</sup> B. *et dominia nostra*. C.-D. *in dominia nostra*.

Item mercatores institoresque tam dicti cesaris Mendigerei, fratris nostri,<sup>bh</sup> quam etiam eius senatus, solutis antiquis teloneis seu gabellis commeandi et commercia<sup>bi</sup> exercendi in dominia nostra, tam regni Poloniae quam Magni Ducatus Lituaniae, liberam habebunt potestatem. Si autem acciderit predictos mercatores per quempiam<sup>bj</sup> officialem nostrum ultra solita gravari, tunc nos facta in officialem iusta animadversione iubebimus omne damnum gravatis resartiri.<sup>bk</sup>

Item volentes ut munificentia fratris nostri, cesaris,<sup>bl</sup> in servitores eius magis appareat conspicua illique<sup>bm</sup> eiusmodi donariis sublevati ad auxilian- dum nobis reddantur paratiores et magis idonei, promittimus dicto fratri nos- tro, cesari Mendigerei,<sup>bn</sup> ex gratia nostra fraterna, qua illum complectimur,<sup>bo</sup> quolibet anno quindecim<sup>bp</sup> millia florenorum per proprium nostrum nunc- tium, medietatem in numerata pecunia, et alteram medietatem in mercibus transmittere.<sup>bq</sup> Quam summam in duas ratas dividere debemus: prima rata erit pro Pentecostes, secunda vero pro festo Sancti Martini, aliaque omnia superius expressa inviolabiliter tenere. Frater autem noster, caesar Mendi- gerei<sup>br</sup> omnes<sup>bs</sup> et singulas predictas condiciones, inscriptiones<sup>bt</sup> conclusiones in eorum articulis et punctis tenebitur observare inconcusse et simpliciter sine quovis colore et erit astrictus.

In quorum omnium fidem has nostras patentes literas de consiliariorum consilio nostrorum<sup>bu</sup> regni nostri<sup>bv</sup> conscribi et sigilli nostri munimine, quo tanquam rex Poloniae utimur, roborari [iussimus].<sup>bw, 6</sup>

Datum in septembro 1513.<sup>bx</sup>

<sup>bh</sup> B. *caesaris Mendigerey, fratris*; C. *caesaris fratris Mendigerei*; D. *cesaris fratris Mendigherey*.

<sup>bi</sup> B. *comertia*.

<sup>bj</sup> B. *quenpiam*.

<sup>bk</sup> C. *sartiri*; D. *sarciri*

<sup>bl</sup> B. and C. *caesaris*.

<sup>bm</sup> B. *illisque*.

<sup>bn</sup> B. *caesari Mendigerey*; C. *caesari Mendigerei*; D. *cesari Mendigherei*.

<sup>bo</sup> C. and D. *amplectimur*.

<sup>bp</sup> B. *quindecem*.

<sup>bq</sup> C. and D. *medietatem in mercibus transmittere, et alteram medietatem in numerata pecunia dare*.

<sup>br</sup> B. and D. *Mendigerey*.

<sup>bs-bt</sup> Missing in C. and D.

<sup>bu</sup> B.-D. *de consilio consiliariorum nostrorum*.

<sup>bv</sup> Missing in D.

<sup>bw</sup> In C. and D. only.

<sup>6</sup> According to Mengli's later document (cf. Document 15), the royal instrument in Latin was also corroborated with the seals of three Polish councilors (*kotoryj po frażskyj pysan lyst', tot pod ljad'skoju velykoju pečat'ju, y pod' ljadskyx panov trox pečatju*).

<sup>bx</sup> B. *Datum Vilnae, septembris, anno Domini 1513*; C. *Datum Vilnae, 7 septembris, anno Domini 1513*. D. *Datum Vilnae, VII<sup>o</sup> septembris, anno Domini 1513*. The reference to the day, namely September 7th, is doubtful as it does not appear in A. and B., which are earlier copies. Possibly the reference to the month, recorded in original orthography as *in 7bro* (A.) and *7bris* (B.) was mistakenly taken by later scribes for a day number.

DOCUMENT 12 (CA. DECEMBER 1513)  
The donation *yarlıq* cum *şartname* (*dokon'čan'e*) sent by  
Khan Mengli Giray to King Sigismund

The original document is missing.

Ruthenian copies:

A. RGADA, fond 389 = Litovskaja metrika, no. 7, pp. 490–496 [old foliation: 246b–249b].

A.\* 18th-century Latin script transcription: AGAD, Metryka Litewska, no. 193, pp. 329–333.

Published in Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, pp. 420–422.

Polish 16th-century translation:<sup>1</sup> a) Bibl. Kórń., ms. 222, pp. 106–109; b) Bibl. Czart., ms. 30 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 429–434.

Published in *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 3 (Poznań, 1853), pp. 211–212.

Доконъчанье царево, што привежли послы царевы Киидиш а Августын к Вилни на сеим месеца оеврала ғ [3] ден, индикт в [2]:

Починаем, [Господи],<sup>a</sup> въ Твое имя, которыи жо щасте дасть и жалъеть, Ѡн есть, ино братство наше в правдѣ твердо держати и слово свое в правде мети, без кожного хитланъства сполнати со всим чистым сердцем!

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<sup>1</sup> The Polish translation, entitled *Menligereia Wielkiej Ordy wolnego cara pakta*, is dated ten months later than the time when the Ruthenian copy was probably issued: “in the month of September of the year 920 after the departure of Prophet Muhammad from this world [*sic*; it should refer to the Hegira and not Muhammad’s death], [and of the year] 1514 since the birth of Lord Christ, in the Tatar Horde” (*lata po roku ześcia z świata Mahometa Proroka 920, miesiąca septembra; od narodzenia Pana Chrystusowego 1514 w Ordzie Tatarskiej*). As the Muslim year 920 A.H. lasted from 26 February 1514 till 14 February 1515, the dating according to both calendars seems to be consistent. Yet, the contents of the Polish version is almost identical with the Ruthenian one, known to be brought to Vilnius on 3 February 1514. Both versions list the same four royal envoys, in whose presence the khan took his oath. Perhaps the Polish translation was made from a duplicate sent by the khan several months after the original document? Although the Polish translation is inferior to the Ruthenian copy (for instance, the translator did not understand the passage about the death of Djalaleddin Sultan; cf. n. 25 below), it also contains some details that are omitted in the latter. For instance, Kačybej (*Kaczebyej*), Majak (*Mayak*), Novhorod-Sivers’kyj (*Syewierski Nowogrod*), and Ryl’sk (*Rylsko*) are listed among the settlements “granted to Lithuania” only in the Polish version.

<sup>a</sup> Empty space; apparently the term *Госноду*, referring to God, had been elevated and/or written in different color (gold?) in the original, hence it was omitted by the copyist.

Великого цара Мендликгирѣво слово:

Правое и левое рѣки темникомъ, и тисачником, и сотником, и десатникомъ, и старшому сынъ нашому Магмет Кгирею солтанъ, и сынъ моему Ахмат солтанъ, а Магмуть Кирею, а Бурнашъ Кирею, а Мубарекъ Кгирею, и сынов моихъ детемъ солтановымъ, и вланом, и княземъ, мѣрзамъ,<sup>b</sup> и всеи рѣской земли городом и местомъ, и митрополитомъ, и владыкамъ, игуменомъ, и черникомъ, и попомъ,<sup>c</sup> и княземъ, и паномъ, и боѣромъ, и мещаномъ, и всему посполству сполна ведати симъ<sup>d</sup> нашимъ листомъ, штож з давныхъ часов великий цари дады наши, и великий царь утец наш, коли им кони потны были, до литовского панѣства, до княза великого Витовта, а потомъ до великого корола Казимера, до княза великого литовского, коли в нихъ гостемъ бывали, великую ласку и честь выдали, города и места, и волости, со всеми тмами, и пошлинами, и з выходы, со всеми сполна с тыми иманы писаными, великий цари дади наши, и великий царь утецъ наш, пожаловали, ѣрлыки свои дали были. А после них Богъ нас пожаловал на втца нашего, цара, на столцы его царем встали, ино мы на тьи ѣрлыки посмотривши, по тому ж и мы пожаловали, великому королю Казимеръ и великому князю ѣрлык дали есмо. А потом з Жикгимонт, королемъ и великимъ князем, братом нашим, приателем и братомъ стали есмо, и великого посла нашего, Мамѣшь влана в головах, и иншихъ послов нашихъ послали есмо. Подѣлугъ первых нашихъ ѣрлыковъ по тому ж поновлаем, ѣрлыки наши зъ золотыми печатми приложивши есмо дали.

Ино как в литовской земли первые короли и великий князи держали, и сес Жикгимонт, король и великий князь, брат нашъ, нехаи держить, и внѣчата его, вов покои и в целости: Киев со тмою, и з землями и з водами, з данми, и с пошлинами; Володимер со тмою, зъ землями и з водами, з данми, и с пошлинами; Великий Лучоскъ со тьмами и со всеми приходы; и Смолнескъ<sup>e</sup> со тмою, и с приходы и выходы; Полоцько и Витебско со тмами, и зъ землями и з водами, с приходы и выходы; подолска тма зъ землями, з водами, с приходы и выходы; Каменець со тмою, зъ землями, з водами, с приходы и выходы; браславская тма со всеми доходы; Сокал зъ землями, з водами, и со всеми доходы; Звинегородъ из землями, з водами, со всеми доходы; почон вт Киева города Днепромъ и до вста; Снепород, Глинескъ з людми; Жолваж, Пѣтивль зъ землями, з водами; Бирин, Синеч, Хотин, Лосичи, Хомышь зъ землями, з водами, с приходы и выходы; чергиновская<sup>f</sup> тма из землями, з водами, с приходы и выходы; курская тма; Саралева сына Егалтева тма; Радогощъ, Милолюбъ со всеми их землями, з водами, с приходы

<sup>b</sup> The initial stroke is missing thus the initial letter *м* reminds *и*.

<sup>c</sup> Written erroneously *потом*.

<sup>d</sup> Repeated by error.

<sup>e</sup> Written with a metathesis.

<sup>f</sup> Written with a metathesis.

и выходы, а Мужень, Исков; Стародѣбъ, Бранескъ, из земли, з водами, с приходы и выходы; Мченескъ, Любатескъ, Тула-городъ, зъ земли, з водами, с приходы и выходы; Берестей, Ратно, Козелско, Пронско, Волконско, Спаш, Донецъ, из земли, з водами, с приходы и выходы; Дашод-город,<sup>8</sup> Балыклы, Карасъл, Чорный город, Штешков-городищо, Тушинь, Немир, згромская тма, Мушал, Оедоров-городъ, со всеми землями и водами, с приходы и выходы; Псков и Великий и Новгород, резанская Переяславль, тыи в головах, со тмами, з города и з селы, з реками и потоками, с приходы и выходы, к литовскому столцѣ пожаловали, придали есмо.

Ино для сих нашихъ справедливыхъ делъ, со мною посполь сын мой Магметъ Кгирей солтанъ в головах, Ахмат Кгирей солтан, Магмет Кгирей солтан, Бурнаш солтан, Мубарек Кгирей солтан, со всеми ѣ детьми своими и з сына моего, Магмет Кгирей солтановыми детьми, и з ѣланы и князи, и з мурзами порадивши, твердо присагнѣли есмо, штожь з Жикгимонтом королем, з великимъ князем братом нашим, в братстве и приязни быти, против приателя его приателем, а противку неприателем [*sic*] его неприателем маем быти, и до внячат наших против каждого неприателя неприателем быти и неприазнь свою доводити.

А што первей сего Александра королевых людей и города наперед сего московский князь забрал, тыи выше писаны люди и города из сыном своим Магмет Кгирей солтаном в Бозе надею маемъ, возем, Жикгимонту королю, великомъ князю, брату нашему, ѣтдадим з божее ласки. Ино со мною сын мой Магмет Кгирей солтан в головах, Ахмат Кгирей, Магмет Кгирей, Бурнаш Кирей, Мубарек Кирей, со всеми детьми, и со всеми внячаты, и з ѣланы, князи, и мурзами, и все великое мое войско Жикгимонту королю и великому князю, братъ нашему, коли будет потреб на князя моск[овск]ого, маемъ послати Жикгимонтъ королю, брату нашему, на помоч. И на иного неприателя войска нашего ѣдет надобъ, и ѣн до нас мает человека своего прислати, войска в нас жадаючи; колько ѣдет емъ надобъ, мы маем послати Жикгимонту королю, брату нашему, на помоч.

Ино за великого короля Казимера, великого князя, и за короля Шлбрыхта, и за Александра короля, и за вас Жикгимонта короля, а ѣ самъ и сын мой Магметъ Кгирей солтан в головахъ, Ахмат Кирей, Магмет Кгирей, Бурнаш Кирей, и ѣто всех моих детей, и ѣт сына моего, и Магмет Кгирей солтановыхъ детей, и ѣт ѣланов, кнезей, мурзь, и ѣт слуг наших, и ѣт всех подѣданных наших, во всей ладьской земли и литовской вашимъ людямъ лихотѣ и шкодѣ вчинили, воевали, тыи выступы вы Жикгимонт корол, брат наш, маете то имъ ѣтпустити и не поматати. И мы, великий царь, брат ваш, тыи прошлые дела лихий, и первые и последние, вси ѣтпускаемъ, которые были. Прошлые лихие дѣла вы и на мысли своей не держите, и мы з мысли своею выпускаем, так ведаите.

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<sup>8</sup> It should read *Дашов-город*.

Ино первей сего вам Жикгимонту королю, брату нашему, дла верное приязни и братства знаемости, сына моего Магмет Кгирей солтанова сына, Джалалдын солтана, там послали были есмо. Ино божя воля так са стала, Бог его с того света собрал. Ино мы царь, брат ваш, з вами с королем братом нашимъ, а сын мой Магмет Кгирей солтан, здоровы быхмо были, Магмет Кгирей солтанова ѡдного сына еще до вас пошлем, Наръмъ царичана сына, так ведаите. Ино приатели наши слышавши и видевши то радовати са будят, а неприатели то слышивши и видевши, ѡчи имъ рострескают са.

Ино мы, великий царь, брат ваш, съ сыном моимъ Магъмет Кгирей солтаномъ, вамъ, великому королю Жикгимонъту, брату нашему, дла приязни и братства, и дла тых поминков, которые до нас шлете, нехай ваши купцы к нам почол ездать безъ кожъдое боѡзани, и переполохъ, и шкоды. Воземъши сол, до вашею земли едѡтъ, а естли бы имъ ѡт наших людей котораѡ шкода была, мы сами хотим им заплатить, ѡт нас им лиха и шкоды некоторое не будет. А из ладское земли, и литовское, и з немецкое, и со всех ваших земель, к нашою земли торговцы ваши приедѡт, никоторое им силы, и шкоды, и втиску не будет, доброволне приедѡт, а доброволне ѡтедѡт, нижи подлуг давного ѡбычаѡ старое мыто заплативши поедѡт.

Ино што в сем листе писанные наши слова в правде хотимъ держати, иначе не вчиним, такъ ведаите, а тыми разы з великим войском моим сына моего, Магмет Кгирей солтана, на неприателя вашего московского пошлем вам на помоч. А тые люди и города, што московского князя ѡтець ѡт литовское земли ѡтнал был, з божее ласки тые люди и города зъ московского князя рѡк возем, тобѡ брату нашему дадим и литовской земли столцѡ, а на каждого неприателя за ѡдин будем.

Ино ѡ сам, и сын мой Магмет Кгирей солтанъ в головахъ, и вси дети мои солтановѡ, а детеи моих дети солтанове, и вланы, кнези, и мурзы, вси перед послы вашими, перед паном Станиславомъ Скиндерем, и перед паном писарем Григоремъ Громыкою, и перед паном Ёѡцкомъ Ратомскимъ, и перед писарем вашим паномъ Михаилом, твердо присагу вчинили есмо, на то алымъ пѡтномъ а <з> золотымъ нишаномъ притопаѡ послали есмо.

Translation:

*The khan's letter of agreement [dokon'čan'e] brought by the khan's envoys Keldish<sup>2</sup> and Augustin<sup>3</sup> to Vilnius for the Diet, on the 3rd of the month of February, during the 2nd indiction:<sup>4</sup>*

<sup>2</sup> Here referred to as *Kijdiš*, but his name is correctly spelled on p. 614; apparently identical with Keldish, son of Cheshmesh (*Keldiš*, *Cešmešov syn*), a Crimean noble listed among those entitled to Muscovian gifts in 1515; see *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 2, index, column 47. Keldish Ulan also figured among the *ulans* and service beys who swore an oath to keep peace with Muscovy in 1524; see Malinovskij, "Istoričeskoe sobranie," p. 415.

<sup>3</sup> On Augustino de Garibaldis, a Genovese from Caffa in the khan's service, see Document 16, n. 18.

<sup>4</sup> The second indiction lasted from 1 September 1513 till 31 August 1514.

*We commence in Your name, [oh God,] He who exists, who gives and grants felicity, and [we promise] to keep our brotherhood firmly and in truth, and treat our word sincerely, and fulfill it without any fraud and with an entirely pure heart!*<sup>5</sup>

*The word of the great khan Mengli Giray:*

*To the commanders of tens of thousands [tümens], thousands, hundreds, and tens of the right and the left hand, to our elder son Mehmed Giray Sultan, to our son Ahmed Sultan,<sup>6</sup> to Mahmud Giray,<sup>7</sup> Burnash Giray,<sup>8</sup> and Mübarek Giray,<sup>9</sup> to the children of my sons, the sultans [i.e., princes], to the ulans, beys [Ruth. knjazem], mirzas, and to the castles and towns of the whole Ruthenian land, metropolitans, [Orthodox] bishops, heads of Orthodox monasteries [ihu-mens], monks, [Orthodox] priests, princes, lords, boyars, townsmen, and all the commoners:*

*[you ought] to know by our present letter that from the ancient times the great khans, our grandfathers, and the great khan, our father, when their horses were growing sweaty [beneath them], [they would come] to Lithuania, to Grand Duke Vytautas, and then to the great king Casimir, the grand duke of Lithuania; while they were their guests, they experienced great favor and reverence, [so in return] the great khans, our grandfathers, and the great khan, our father, granted [them] the castles, towns, and estates, whose names are written [below], along with all tümens, taxes, and incomes, and they issued their yarlıqs [on account of this]. And after them [i.e., their death], God placed us on the throne of our father, the khan, and we became the khan; and having inspected these [old] yarlıqs, we made our grant accordingly, and we gave a yarlıq [on account of this] to the great king Casimir, the grand duke. And thereafter we became friends and brothers with our brother, the king and the grand duke Sigismund, and we sent our envoy Mamish Ulan<sup>10</sup>—to begin with, and our other envoys. [Now,] in accordance with our earlier yarlıqs we renew [our will], and we have issued our yarlıqs, having stamped them with golden seals.*

<sup>5</sup> The original tenor of the Tatar document must have been slightly changed by the translator; the document from the same year, preserved in the original in Italian, begins with the invocation: "We commence in the name of God, who gives felicity [...] to those who [...] keep brotherhood [...] and observe [their] word;" cf. Document 16.

<sup>6</sup> The second son of Mengli Giray; cf. Document 9, n. 4.

<sup>7</sup> The third son of Mengli Giray; cf. Document 9, n. 6.

<sup>8</sup> The fifth son of Mengli Giray; cf. Document 9, n. 8.

<sup>9</sup> The sixth son of Mengli Giray and the father of the future khan Devlet Giray; see *Pamjatniki diplomatskix snošenij*, vol. 2, index, column 62 and *Le khanat de Crimée*, p. 88.

<sup>10</sup> On Mamish Ulan, the prominent Crimean noble and the envoy to Lithuania in 1507, see Document 9, n. 12.

*And as the first kings and grand dukes in Lithuania used to hold, also may our present brother Sigismund, the king and grand duke, and his grandchildren, hold in peace and in [their] entirety:*

- Kiev with its *tümen* along with lands, waters, levies, and taxes;
- Volodymyr with its *tümen* along with lands, waters, levies, and taxes;
- Great Luc'k with its *tümens* [sic] along with all profits;
- Smolensk with its *tümen* along with profits and incomes;
- Polack and Vicebsk with their *tümens* along with lands, waters, profits, and incomes;
- the *tümen* of Podolia along with lands, waters, profits, and incomes;
- Kamjanec<sup>11</sup> with its *tümen* along with lands, waters, profits, and incomes;
- the *tümen* of Braclav along with all revenues;
- Sokolec<sup>12</sup> along with lands, waters, and all revenues;
- Zvynhorod<sup>13</sup> along with lands, waters, and all revenues;
- starting from the town of Kiev along with the Dnieper down to its mouth;
- Sneporod and Hlyns'k along with [their] people;<sup>14</sup>
- Žolvaž<sup>15</sup> and Putyvl' along with lands and waters;
- Byryn, Synec, Xoten', Losyčy, Xotmyšl along with lands, waters, profits, and incomes;<sup>16</sup>
- the *tümen* of Černihiv along with lands, waters, profits, and incomes;
- the *tümen* of Kursk;
- the *tümen* of Jagoldaj, son of Saraj;<sup>17</sup>
- Radogošč' and Myloljub along with all their lands, waters, profits, and incomes, Mužeč and Oskol;<sup>18</sup>
- Starodub and Brjansk along with lands, waters, profits, and incomes;
- Mcensk, Ljubutsk, and the town of Tula along with lands, waters, profits, and incomes;<sup>19</sup>
- Berestej, Retan', Kozel'sk, Pronsk, Volkonsk, Spažsk, and Donec along with lands, waters, profits, and incomes;<sup>20</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Document 8, n. 3.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Document 8, n. 4.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Document 8, n. 5.

<sup>14</sup> On Sneporod and Hlyns'k, cf. Document 8, notes 8–9.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Document 8, n. 10.

<sup>16</sup> On these estates in the region of Putyvl' and on the rivers Sula and Vorskla, cf. Document 8, notes 11–15.

<sup>17</sup> On this estate, extending between the upper Sejm and the upper Donec rivers, and its former owner, see Document 8, n. 18.

<sup>18</sup> Myloljub, Mužeč and Oskol (corruptly rendered as Iskov in the manuscript) belonged to the *tümen* of Jagoldaj (cf. Document 8, notes 18–19) while the town of Radogošč' was situated further to the northwest. As the latter did not figure in the earlier *yarliqs* and was registered for the first time in the present document, apparently by error the scribe entered its name in the wrong place, i.e., between the *tümen* of Jagoldaj and Myloljub.

<sup>19</sup> On Mcensk, Ljubutsk, and Tula, see Document 8, notes 20–21.

<sup>20</sup> On these localities and estates, see Document 8, notes 22–26.



- the castle of Dašov, Balykly, Karaul, Čornyj Horod,<sup>21</sup> the ruined castle [Ruth. horodyščo] of Uteškov,<sup>22</sup> Tušyn, Nemyr, the tümen of Uhrom, Mušal, and the castle of Fedorov<sup>23</sup> along with all lands, waters, profits, and incomes;
- Pskov, Velikij Novgorod, and Perejaslavl' Rjazan'skij—to begin with, along with their tümens, with towns and villages, rivers and streams, profits and incomes—we have granted and appended [all the above localities] to the Lithuanian throne.

And for the sake of our just deeds [I,] and along with me my son Mehmed Giray Sultan—to begin with, Ahmed Giray Sultan, Mahmud Giray Sultan,<sup>24</sup> Burnash Giray Sultan, and Mübarek Giray Sultan, having taken counsel with all my children and the children of my son, Mehmed Giray Sultan, with the ulans, beys, and mirzas, we have firmly sworn that we should remain in brotherhood and friendship with our brother, King Sigismund, the grand duke, we should be a friend to his friend and an enemy to his enemy, and till [the times of] our grandchildren, we should be enemies and prove our enmity towards any of his enemies.

And as previously the duke [knjaz'] of Muscovy captured a number of people and towns of King Alexander, we—I with my son Mehmed Giray Sultan—hope, putting our trust in God, that with the grace of God we will take the above listed people and towns and restore them to our brother, King Sigismund, the grand duke. And whenever our brother, the king and grand duke Sigismund, needs assistance against the duke of Muscovy, I and my son Mehmed Giray Sultan—to begin with, Ahmed Giray, Mahmud Giray, Burnash Giray, and Mübarek Giray, along with all children and grandchildren, with ulans, beys, and mirzas, and with my whole great army, we should send assistance to our brother, King Sigismund. And if he needs our troops against another enemy, he should send his man to us, demanding our troops; and we should send assistance to our brother, King Sigismund, as much as he needs.

<sup>21</sup> On these four settlements, situated on the lower Boh and lower Dniester, see Document 8, notes 28–31.

<sup>22</sup> Unidentified, perhaps it refers to Očakiv situated in the place of former Dašov; cf. Document 8, n. 31. In the *yarlıq* from 1507 the term *horodyščo* (“ruined castle”) referred to Dašov while in the present document Dašov is referred to as a castle or town (*horod*). Hence it is possible that the same ruined locality was registered twice under two names. In fact, since the 1490s the area in question was controlled by the Tatars who constructed a new castle named Djankerman in the vicinity of the former Lithuanian castle of Dašov. The new castle was referred to in the Slavic sources as Očakov (today Očakiv), while in the Ottoman sources as Özü qal'esi (“the Dnieper castle”).

<sup>23</sup> The last four settlements along with the *tümen* of Uhrom could not be identified, but they were apparently situated in lower Podolia, between the Boh and Dniester rivers, along with other localities listed in the same paragraph. Tušyn, Nemyr, Mušal, and Fedorov are also registered in the *yarlıq* from 1507 (cf. Document 8) as Tošyčy, Nemyr, Mušač, and Xodorov (the last variation is easily explainable since both personal names Fedor and Xodor stem from the name Theodor).

<sup>24</sup> Erroneously rendered as Mehmed; cf. n. 7 above and Document 9, n. 6.

And as regards the harm and damage, and the raids committed during [the reigns of] the great king and grand duke Casimir, King [John] Albert, King Alexander, and yours, King Sigismund, by myself and my son Mehmed Giray Sultan—to begin with, Ahmed Giray, Mahmud Giray, and Burnash Giray, and by all my children and the children of my son, Mehmed Giray Sultan, and by the ulans, beys, mirzas, and our servants, and by all our subjects to your people in entire Poland and Lithuania, you, our brother, King Sigismund, should forgive them all these wrongful acts and you should not remember them. Also we, your brother, the great khan, forgive all the past wrongs, the earlier and the most recent, that have been done. You should not hold the past wrongs in your memory, and we release them from our memory, too; thus you should know.

Moreover, formerly we had sent Djalaledin Sultan,<sup>25</sup> the son of my son, Mehmed Giray Sultan, to you, our brother King Sigismund, as mark of loyal friendship and brotherhood. However, God willing, God took him from this world. May we, your brother, the khan, along with you, our brother, the king, and my son, Mehmed Giray Sultan, stay healthy; and you should know that we will send you yet another son of Mehmed Giray Sultan, the son of the princess [caryča] Nurum.<sup>26</sup> On hearing and seeing this, our friends will rejoice, and our enemies will go blind.<sup>27</sup>

And for the sake of friendship and brotherhood between us, your brother, the great khan, and my son, Mehmed Giray Sultan, and you, our brother, the great king Sigismund, and in return for the gifts that you send us, let your merchants travel to us without any fear, anxiety, or damage. Having taken salt, they may go [back] to your land, and if any damage is done to them by our people, we want to compensate them ourselves; they will experience no harm or damage from us. And when your merchants come to our land from Poland, Lithuania, Germany,<sup>28</sup> and any of your lands, they will experience no violence, damage, or oppression and they will freely come and go, having only paid the old toll according to the ancient custom.

<sup>25</sup> In 1511 Mengli Giray promised to send his grandson Kemelesh Sultan, the son of Mehmed Giray, to Lithuania as an honorary hostage to secure peace. As eventually Kemelesh did not arrive, in March 1512 his brother, Djalaledin Sultan, was sent in his stead; see the letter by Mengli Giray, announcing his arrival, addressed to Jurij (Jerzy) Mikołajewicz Radziwiłł, the palatine of Kiev, composed in Ruthenian and preserved in original in Bibl. Czart., ms. 2893, pp. 147–148. Having spent over one year in Lithuania, Djalaledin died in Vilnius in 1513; see Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, pp. 178–180, 185, 380–381, 396–397, 404, 407; *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 2, pp. 159–160.

<sup>26</sup> Nurum, the wife of Mehmed Giray, played an important role in the Crimean politics and even corresponded with foreign rulers; in 1517 she openly refused to give yet another son as a hostage to Lithuania; cf. *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 2, pp. 472–473, 502–503 and index, column 64.

<sup>27</sup> Lit. “their eyeballs will crack.”

<sup>28</sup> The term *z nemeckoe [zemly]* (lit. “from the German land”) might refer to Royal Prussia or any German lands, whose inhabitants arrived in the Crimea from the direction of Poland-Lithuania; see n. 135 in Part I and Chapter 6 in Part II; cf. also Document 19, n. 34.

*And you should know that we want to keep sincerely our words written in this letter and we will not do otherwise; and this time we will send my son, Mehmed Giray Sultan, along with a great army, to assist you against your Muscovian enemy. And as regards the people and towns that the father of the duke of Muscovy conquered from Lithuania, with the grace of God we will take these people and towns from the hands of the duke of Muscovy, and we will restore them to you, our brother, and to the Lithuanian throne; and we will jointly face any enemy.*

*And I, and my son Mehmed Giray Sultan—to begin with, and all my children, the sultans [i.e., princes], and the children of my children, the sultans, and the ulans, beys, and mirzas, we have all firmly sworn before your envoys: Pan Stanisław Skinder,<sup>29</sup> Pan Hryhoryj Hromyka,<sup>30</sup> the scribe, Pan Jacek Ratomski,<sup>31</sup> and Myxajło,<sup>32</sup> your scribe, and we have sent [this letter of agreement] having stamped [lit. trodden] it with the red stamp and the golden nišan.*

<sup>29</sup> Stanisław Skinder, lieutenant of Oster and marshal, sent in missions to the Crimea in 1511, 1512–1514, and 1516 (Document 17); see *Urzędnicy centralni i dostojnicy WKL*, p. 88; Banionis, *LDK pasiuntinybių tarnyba*, pp. 81, 104–107, 148, 193–195, 251, 372–375, 378–379. In December 1512 he was sent along with Jacek Ratomski in order to deliver the gifts due for that year. He remained in the Crimea until 1514 and returned along with Hryhoryj Hromyka; cf. n. 30 below.

<sup>30</sup> Hryhoryj Hromyka, scribe and steward (*ključnyk*) of Vilnius, tenant of Svislač, sent in embassies to Moscow in 1499, 1506, and 1509, and to the Crimea in 1513–1514 and 1514; see Banionis, *LDK pasiuntinybių tarnyba*, pp. 81, 104, 108, 194, 209–214, 297, 375. Sent to the Crimea in September 1513 along with the royal instruments of peace (Documents 10–11), he returned to Vilnius on 28 July 1514 with another, slightly different version of the present document (Document 14); cf. Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, p. 434.

<sup>31</sup> Jacek Ratomski, courtier and castle inspector (*horodnyčyj*) of Minsk, sent in missions to the Crimea in 1507, 1508, 1511, 1512–1514, 1514–1515, and 1517; see Banionis, *LDK pasiuntinybių tarnyba*, pp. 103–107, 192–196, 251, 372, 379. In December 1512 he was sent along with Stanisław Skinder in order to deliver the gifts due for that year and was detained by the khan. Along with Myxajło Svyjnuska (cf. n. 32 below), he accompanied the Crimean embassy that delivered the present document to Vilnius. On 23 December 1514 he was again sent to the khan carrying a second installment of the annual gifts; see Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, pp. 434 and 444–447.

<sup>32</sup> Myxajło Vasyľevyč Svyjnuska, scribe and member of numerous embassies to the Crimea (1510, 1513–1514, 1514, 1519) and Kazan (1514); see Banionis, *LDK pasiuntinybių tarnyba*, pp. 104–107, 148, 163–164, 193–194, 196, 372, 375, 379. Sent to the Crimea from Mielnik in July 1513, he witnessed the khan's oath and—along with Jacek Ratomski (cf. n. 31 above)—accompanied the Crimean embassy that delivered the present document to Vilnius. In 1514 he was again sent to the Crimea in order to obtain from the khan a separate peace document for Poland (Document 15).

DOCUMENT 13 (CA. DECEMBER 1513)

The oath by Khan Mengli Giray

Ruthenian copies:

A. RGADA, fond 389 = Litovskaja metrika, no. 7, pp. 504–506 [old foliation: 253b–253\*b].<sup>1</sup>

A.\* 18th-century Latin transcription: AGAD, Metryka Litewska, no. 193, pp. 337–338.

Published in Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyną*, p. 423.

Присагаю на ал-Хоран, через Бога моего и через Махомета, пророка нашего справедливого, присаги и вбетници ховать. Верне естли не будѣ держал, нехаи будѣ отдалени паниства моего и вѣры законѣ махмѣтового, а нехаи будѣ без споможениа Бога моего и Махомета пророка нашего, тако ѿко чловик запираючися законѣ его, и жона моѿ нехаи будѣ вызволена, а ѿ нехаи будѣ неверный поганин.

Дрюгии раз присегаю на ал-Хоран и через Бога [прав]дивого,<sup>a</sup> и через<sup>b</sup> пророка нашего Махомѣта, естли не буду держати присеги и вбетници, ижбы жадный мой сын, и мои по мнѣ будѣвчии, пановал бы на панстве, на котором ѿ царюю, але как Бог правдивый и справедливый, нехаи их скинет съ столца ѿтцовского, а неприятели мои нехаи вчини моего панѣства паны и дѣдици.

п, Менликиреи, Великое Урды великий царь, присагаю на закон махмѣтов, през Бога вшехмогѣщего, и пре[з]<sup>c</sup> сто и двадцать и чотыри тисахи пророков, и през закон махмѣтов, нашего справедливого пророка, иж маем быт твоємѣ, брата нашего корола и великого княза Жикгимонта, приѿтелеви приѿтелем а неприѿтелеви неприѿтелемѣ, а тобѣ, наѿснийшому моемѣ братѣ, маем помощни быти во вшелкий потребе твоеи, а естли бых иначеи вчинил, абы мѿ заразил Бог вшехмогѣцы и закон махмѣтов, и теж тыи сто и двадцат и чотыри тисахи пророки, и теж наш справедливый пророкѣ Махмѣтъ, абы мои жоны были в неволи, а ѿ быхѣ был поганиномѣ.

Translation:

*I swear by the Koran, by my God and by Muhammad, our just prophet, to keep the oath and promise. If I do not keep it loyally, may I be separated from*

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<sup>1</sup> Erroneous foliation: fol. 253 appears twice.

<sup>a</sup> Corrupt; corrected in A\*.

<sup>b</sup> Written with a metathesis (*печез*); corrected in A\*.

<sup>c</sup> Corrected in A\*.

my state and the faith of the Mohammedan law, and may I be deprived of the assistance of my God and our prophet Muhammad as a man, who denies his [religious] law, and may my wife become freed [i.e., divorced]<sup>2</sup> and I become an infidel heathen.

Again, I swear by the Koran, by the true God, and by our prophet Muhammad, that if I do not keep the oath and promise, may none of my sons and descendants reign in the state in which I reign but—as God is true and just—may He remove them from the ancestral throne and may He make my enemies the lords and heirs of my state.

I, Mengli Giray, the great khan of the Great Horde, swear by the Mohammedan law, by Almighty God, by the 124,000 prophets,<sup>3</sup> and by the law of Muhammad, our just prophet, that we should be a friend to a friend of yours, our brother, the king and grand duke Sigismund, and an enemy to your enemy, and we should assist you, my highest brother, whenever you need it; and if I do otherwise, may Almighty God, the Mohammedan law, the aforementioned 124,000 prophets, and our just prophet Muhammad kill me, and may my wives be in captivity<sup>4</sup> and I be a heathen.

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<sup>2</sup> According to the Muslim law a wife of an apostate would automatically become divorced. An analogous clause can be found in Mengli Giray's oath recorded in a document from 1478, whose original text in Khwarezmian Turkic has been preserved. It reads: "and let my wife, taken in a legal marriage-process, be discharged from me with the threefold *talaq*[-formula]" (*taqı ba'du nakah-i şar'i birle alğan halalım mendin üç talaq haram bolğay*); see Vásáry, "A contract of the Crimean khan," pp. 294–295 and a facsimile after p. 296.

<sup>3</sup> According to a Muslim tradition (*hadith*), recorded in the collection of Ahmad bin Hanbal, Allah sent 124,000 prophets to the earth; see *Musnadu'l-Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal* (164–241 H.), vol. 36 (Beirut, 2001 A.D./1421 A.H.), p. 619. A reference to 124,000 prophets can be found already in Mengli Giray's oath registered in a document from 1478; see Vásáry, "A contract of the Crimean khan," pp. 293–295.

<sup>4</sup> Or: "be sold into slavery."

DOCUMENT 14 (CA. JUNE 1514)

The donation *yarlıq* cum *şartname* (*dokončenie*) sent by Khan Mengli Giray to King Sigismund

The original document is missing.

Ruthenian copies:

A. RGADA, fond 389 = Litovskaja metrika, no. 7, pp. 564/565–571/572<sup>1</sup> [old foliation: 283b–288a].

A\*. 18th-century Latin script transcription: AGAD, Metryka Litewska, no. 193, pp. 364–367.

Докончание Менгли Кгиреа, цара перекопъского, прислано паномъ Громыкою, писаромъ и ключникомъ виленскимъ до Вильни року #3Kĭ [7023] июля кѣ [28], индикъ ѿ [2]:

Почал есми в боже има, што счастье роздае и жалуетъ тых, которые братъство верне держать, и правдѣ и слово свое полнят безо лсти и безъ хитрости, с чистого сердца!

Цара Менликгиреево слово:

Правое рѣки и левое рѣки великого влуса темникомъ, и тисачъникомъ, и сотникомъ, и десатникомъ, и всимъ тымъ вланомъ и княземъ, такъ же всихъ рѣскихъ земель внутрѣныхъ и замъчистыхъ мѣстъ и городов митрополитомъ, владыкамъ, всимъ дѣховнымъ, княземъ, и бояромъ, и мешаномъ, и всему поспольству:

Будъ вамъ вѣдомо, штожъ цѣвно чинимъ тымъ то нашимъ листомъ, ижъ з давна предковъ нашихъ цареи и втца нашего, Ачжикгиреа цара кони, коли потни были, тогда к великому князю Витовту, къ королю и великому князю Казимерю, в литовскую землю гостемъ приходили, и честь великую и добротѣ видевши, подле стародавного обычаа земли рѣски з города и мѣсты, и волости, со тмами и з землами, и з водами, и з доходы записали. Ничого не вменьшивала<sup>a</sup> вт тыхъ царьлыков, которые жъ с початъку вт первыхъ цареи выписаны к Великому Князьству, и перво сего вт насъ ещо за вныи час, коли насъ Богъ жаловалъ сести на великомъ столѣцы цареи дѣдъ нашихъ и втца нашего, тогда мы вглянувши в стародавныи доконъчана предковъ нашихъ, листъ нашъ тымъ же обычаемъ Казимерю королю и великому

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<sup>1</sup> Mistaken double pagination: two consecutive page numbers appear on each page.

<sup>a</sup> Perhaps it should read *вменьшиваа*?

князю дали. А тыхъ часов недавно, коли есмо з Жикгимонтомъ королемъ и великимъ княземъ, братомъ нашимъ, в приазнь вступали, заса великие наши послы Мамышъ влана и иныхъ ѡтновивши, в тое ж слово листь нашъ подъ золотыми печатми нашими послали, и брату нашему Жикгимонту королю, великому князю, и его сыномъ, и их наследникомъ, держати вов покои: Киев город со тмою, и з выходы, и з данми, и з землами, и з водами, и з доходы; Великий Лучоскъ со тмою и з землами, и з водами, и з доходы; Смоленскъ со тмою, з доходы, и з землами, з водами; Полътескъ, Витебскъ со тмами и з доходы, и з землами, и з водами; Подоле со тмою и з землами, и з водами; Браславль со тмою и з выходы; соколецкаа тма з выходы, и з землами, и з водами; Звинагород з выходы, и з землами, и з водами; Качибѣев, Малакъ из землами, и з водами; також почон ѡт Киева и до днепраского вѣста; Снепородъ, Глинескъ с людьми; Жалваж, Путивль зъ землами и з водами; Биринъ, Синецъ, Хотин, Лосичи, Хотмышл, и Ничаны со всеми землами, и з водами, и з доходы; курскаа тма; Саравеа сына Аголдаева тма; Радогощъ, Мимолюбъ со всеми землами, и з водами, и з доходы, Мужецъ, Скол; Стародѣб, Бранскъ, со всеми землами, и з водами, и з доходы; Мценескъ, Любутескъ, Тула-городъ, со всеми землами, и з водами, и з доходы; Берестье, Ратно, Козлескъ, Пронескъ, Волкона, Испаш, Донецъ, со въсьми землами, и з водами, и з доходы; Дашов-город, Банаклы, Курал, Ъчорънь город, Ътешъков-городищо, Тушин, Немер, ѡхромова тма, Мушен, Ѡедоровъ-городокъ рекомо ѡстров, со всеми землами, и водами,<sup>b</sup> и з доходы; Петъковъ<sup>c</sup> и Великий Новъгород, и Резаньскый Переясловль в головах, люди со тмами, и зъ города, и з лесы, и з доходы, а што течеть и канеть, к литовской земли столъцѣ придали есмо.

И надѣто порадивши са из своими сынами царевичи, и внучаты, и зо всеми вланы, и мурзы, и князи, присагу твердзю есмо с ними вчинили, штож намъ с королемъ и великимъ княземъ Жикгимонтомъ быти в вѣрномъ братстве и в верной приазни, и дѣтемъ нашимъ, и напотомъ будѣчимъ счадкомъ, из его детми и счадки, приателю его быти намъ приателемъ, а неприателю неприателемъ, и везде на всякого его неприателѣ быти намъ с нимъ за ѡдинъ.

А которыи города и волости, земли и воды, московский подъ братомъ его королемъ и великимъ княземъ Александромъ забралъ и поселъ, и теж—Боже вховаи—если бы которыи городъ подъ нимъ взал, тые города и волости, земли и воды мы, Мендли Кгирей царь, з божею помощю вынемши з рукъ московского, маемъ заса королю и великому князю Жикгимонту в его рѣки дати. Теж на неприателѣ его, великого князя московского мы, Мендли Кгирей царь, со всеми дѣтми и людьми своими, всимъ войскомъ своимъ королю и великому князю Жикгимонту маемъ помочни быти, ныне и завжды, и напотомъ.

<sup>b</sup> The word *водами* is written corruptly.

<sup>c</sup> Corrupt; it should read *Псковъ*.

Такъже и на иных неприятелей его, коли пришет к намъ жадаючи ѿ люди, маемъ ему помоч давати сумою людеи, колко ему будет надоби.

А которые лихих дѣла были стали сѧ за ѿтца вашего Казимера, короля и великого князя, за братю вашу Ѱлтбрахта<sup>d</sup> и Александра, и вжо за вас панствамъ вашимъ ѿчизным, Корѧне Полскои и Великому Князству Литовскому в головах ѿ Магмет Киреи солтана, и ѿ иншихъ царевичовъ, и ѿ всехъ вланов и князей, и людеи, слуг наших, штоколве ѿные шкоды по тые лѣта землямъ вашимъ починили, то все брат нашъ имъ ѿпустит и тые лихие дѣла на мысли своеи не мает паматати. А которое лихо стало сѧ дѣтемъ або людемъ нашимъ в земли брата нашего, Жикгимонта короля, за Казимера, и Ѱлбрыхта, и Александра, и тепере за Жикгимонта вжо королев, намъ теж не паматати и съ сердца выложити.

А што есмо перъво сего на знама милого братства и вернейшой приязни послали к брату нашему Жикгимонту, ко королю и великому князю на змешканье внука нашего Джалалдаинъ солта[на], ино божья воля стала сѧ, Богъ его с того света взалъ. Мы на его мѣстыцо дрягого царевича на змешкане завѣжды братъ нашему Жикгимонту, королю и великому князю, маемъ слати, сына або внука своего, абы то слышачи приѧтели радовали сѧ, а неприѧтели боали сѧ.

К тому мы теж, Менѣдди Киреи царъ, хотячи брата нашего, Жикгимонъта короля, добротамъ и впоминькомъ, и тѧю приѧзнь против чинити, купцомъ Великого Князства доброволно безъ каждаго выстереганъа и заплаты солъ в Кочевѣевѣ и тамъ ѿтколе везде брати, и до Киева и до Лѧвца, и до иныхъ всехъ городовъ вѣзти за нашихъ людеи сторожою, абы имъ тамъ в Кочевееви и везде на поли которого лиха ѿ казаковъ наших и ѿ всякихъ иныхъ не стало сѧ. А естли бы купцомъ его которое сѧ недобро <при> пригодило, мы брату нашему за то маемъ досытъ вчинити. Такъжо и инымъ всимъ купцомъ Короны Польское и Великого Князства Литовского, богатымъ и вбогимъ, волно приехати с куплами своими до Ѱрды и до Каѧы, и торговавши волно ѿтехати, заплативши тежъ стародавние и звѣчные мыта.

Такъже и все то вышеи писано в листе нашемъ маемъ ему полънити, и с того николи не выступити. А тыхъ часовъ ничего не мешъкаючи, сыновъ нашихъ з воискомъ нашимъ великимъ маемъ на его неприѧтеля московского послати, и тые города и волости, земли и воды, которые ѿтець московского ѿ литовского столъца побравъ, вынемъши з рѧкъ его маемъ брату нашему Жикгимонъту, королю и великому князю, подати, и на всякого его неприѧтеля быти с нимъ за ѿдинъ.

И на то есмо мы, Менли Киреи царъ в головахъ, з Магъмет Киреи солтаномъ, и со всеми солтъаны, и вланы, и муръзами, и князи,

<sup>d</sup> In A\* rendered mistakenly as *ot brata*.



присагу твердзю вчинивши брату нашому, королю и великому князю Жикгмоньту, передъ его послы, сесь нашъ листъ ему дали, зъ золотымъ нишаномъ а алою томъгою ярлыкъ дали.

Писан в Перекопе.

Translation:

*The letter of agreement [dokončenie] of Mengli Giray, the khan of Perekop [i.e., the Crimean khan], sent through Pan Hromyka,<sup>2</sup> the scribe and the steward [ključnyk] of Vilnius, brought to Vilnius on the 28th of July of the year 7023, during the 2nd indiction:<sup>3</sup>*

*I have commenced in the name of God, who gives and grants felicity to those who faithfully keep brotherhood, and who fulfill their oath and word without any deceit or fraud and with a pure heart!*

*The word of Mengli Giray Khan:*

*To the commanders of tens of thousands [tümens], thousands, hundreds, and tens of the great people [ulus] of the right and the left hand, all the ulans and beys [Ruth. knjazem], and also to the metropolitans, [Orthodox] bishops, all clergymen, princes, boyars, townsmen, and commoners of the inland and fortified towns and castles of all the Ruthenian lands:*

*You should know that we announce with our present letter that in the ancient times, when the horses of our ancestors, the khans, and our father, Hadji Giray Khan, were growing sweaty [beneath them], then they would come as guests to Grand Duke Vytautas, to King and Grand Duke Casimir, to Lithuania, and having experienced great reverence and kindness, they endowed [them], according to the ancient custom, with the Ruthenian lands along with castles, towns, and estates along with [their] tümens, lands, waters, and incomes. And earlier, when God allowed us to ascend the great throne of our uncles, the khans, and our father, we too, having inspected the ancient letters of agreement [dokončanja] of our ancestors, we gave our letter to the king and grand duke Casimir in the same manner, without diminishing anything from [the contents of] those yarlıqs that had been initially written to the Grand Duchy by the first khans. And in the recent times, when we concluded the friendship with our brother, the king and grand duke Sigismund, we sent again our great*

<sup>2</sup> On Hryhoryj Hromyka, cf. Document 12, n. 30.

<sup>3</sup> The dating is confusing as the second indiction lasted from 1 September 1513 till 31 August 1514, while the year 7023 of the Byzantine era (beginning 1 September 5509 B.C.) lasted from 1 September 1514 till 31 August 1515. It is rather unlikely that the scribe referred to the so-called ultra-March (*ul'tramartovskij*) mode, according to which the year 7023 began on 1 March 1514, as this mode was already out of use in the given period. As in the Lithuanian chancery practice indictions were used more commonly than the Byzantine era dating, the later date is apparently wrong.

*envoys, Mamish Ulan<sup>4</sup> and others, and we sent our letter under our golden seals, [composed] in the same words;*

*and may our brother King Sigismund, the grand duke, and his sons, and their descendants, hold in peace:*

- the town of Kiev with its tümen along with incomes, levies, lands, waters, and revenues;*
- Great Luc'k with its tümen along with lands, waters, and revenues;*
- Smolensk with its tümen along with revenues, lands, and waters;*
- Polack and Vicebsk with their tümens along with revenues, lands, and waters;*
- Podolia with its tümen along with lands and waters;*
- Braclav with its tümen along with incomes;*
- the tümen of Sokolec<sup>5</sup> along with incomes, lands, and waters;*
- Zvynyhorod<sup>6</sup> along with incomes, lands, and waters;*
- Kačybej and Majak along with lands and waters;<sup>7</sup>*
- also starting from Kiev to the mouth of the Dnieper [along with the river];*
- Sneporod and Hlyn's'k along with [their] people;<sup>8</sup>*
- Žolvaz<sup>9</sup> and Putyvl' along with lands and waters;*
- Byryn, Synec, Xoten', Losyčy, Xotmyšl, and Nycjany along with all lands, waters, and revenues;<sup>10</sup>*
- the tümen of Kursk;*
- the tümen of Jagoldaj, son of Saraj;<sup>11</sup>*
- Radogošč' and Myloljub along with all lands, waters, and revenues, Mužeč and Oskol;<sup>12</sup>*
- Starodub and Brjansk along with all lands, waters, and revenues;*
- Mcensk, Ljubutsk, and the town of Tula along with all lands, waters, and revenues;<sup>13</sup>*

<sup>4</sup> On Mamish Ulan, the prominent Crimean noble and the envoy to Lithuania in 1507, see Document 9, n. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Document 8, n. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Document 8, n. 5.

<sup>7</sup> On Kačybej and Majak, cf. Document 8, notes 6–7.

<sup>8</sup> On Sneporod and Hlyn's'k, cf. Document 8, notes 8–9.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Document 8, n. 10.

<sup>10</sup> On these estates in the region of Putyvl' and on the rivers Sula and Vorskla, cf. Document 8, notes 11–16.

<sup>11</sup> On this estate, extending between the upper Sejm and the upper Donec rivers, and its former owner, see Document 8, n. 18.

<sup>12</sup> Myloljub, Mužeč and Oskol belonged to the *tümen* of Jagoldaj (cf. Document 8, notes 18–19) while the town of Radogošč' was situated further to the northwest. As the latter did not figure in the earlier *yarlıqs* and was registered for the first time in Document 12 and in the present document, apparently by error the scribe entered its name in the wrong place, i.e., between the *tümen* of Jagoldaj and Myloljub.

<sup>13</sup> On Mcensk, Ljubutsk, and Tula, see Document 8, notes 20–21.

- Berestej, Retan', Kozel'sk, Pronsk, Volkonsk, Spažsk, and Donec along with all lands, waters, and revenues;<sup>14</sup>
- the castle of Dašov, Balykly, Karaul, Čornyj Horod,<sup>15</sup> the ruined castle [Ruth. horodyščo] of Uteškov,<sup>16</sup> Tušyn, Nemyr, the tümen of Uhrom, Mušen, and an island referred to as the castle of Fedorov<sup>17</sup> along with all lands, waters, and revenues;
- Pskov, Velikij Novgorod, and Perejaslavl' Rjazan'skij—to begin with, their people with their tümens along with towns, forests, revenues, and [everything] that flows or streams—we have appended [all the above localities] to the throne of Lithuania.

Moreover, having taken counsel with my sons, the sultans [i.e., princes], [my] grandchildren, and with all the ulans, mirzas, and beys, we have firmly sworn along with them that we should remain in loyal brotherhood and loyal friendship with the king and grand duke Sigismund, and [so should] our children and future descendants with his children and descendants, and we should be a friend to his friend and an enemy to his enemy, and face jointly with him any of his enemies from any direction.

And whichever towns, estates, lands, and waters the Muscovian [ruler] captured and took in possession under [the reign of] his [i.e., Sigismund's] brother, the king and grand duke Alexander, and—God forbid!—if he captures any town under his [own reign], we, Mengli Giray Khan, should—with God's help—take these towns, estates, lands, and waters from the hands of the Muscovian [ruler], and restore them to the hands of the king and grand duke Sigismund. And we, Mengli Giray Khan, along with all my children and people and all my troops, should assist the king and grand duke Sigismund against his enemy, the grand duke of Muscovy, at present and always, and in the future. Moreover, if he sends [an envoy] to us asking for people [i.e., troops] against his other enemies, we should assist him with as many men as he needs.

And as regards the harm committed during [the reigns of] your father Casimir, the king and the grand duke, your brothers [John] Albert and Alexander, and also recently during your [reign] towards your ancestral states, the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, by Mehmed Giray Sultan—to begin with—and other princes, and by all the ulans and beys, and [other] men [being] our servants, whatever damage they have caused to your lands up till the present, our brother [i.e., you] will forgive them all this and will not hold this harm in his memory. And whatever harm has been experienced by our children and men in the land of our brother, King Sigismund, during [the reigns of] the

<sup>14</sup> On these localities and estates, see Document 8, notes 22–26.

<sup>15</sup> On these four settlements, situated on the lower Boh and lower Dniester, see Document 8, notes 28–31.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Document 12, n. 22.

<sup>17</sup> The last four settlements along with the tümen of Uhrom could not be identified, but they were apparently situated in lower Podolia, between the Boh and Dniester rivers; Mušen appears in the earlier documents as Mušač or Mušal; cf. Document 8, n. 32 and Document 12, n. 23.

kings Casimir, [John] Albert, Alexander, and now also Sigismund, we should not remember it and should release it from our heart.

Formerly we had sent our grandson, Djaleddin Sultan,<sup>18</sup> to reside with our brother Sigismund, the king and grand duke, as mark of kind brotherhood and even more loyal friendship; however, God willing, God took him from this world. In his place we should always send another prince, our son or grandson, to reside with our brother Sigismund, the king and grand duke, so that upon hearing this, our friends may rejoice, and our enemies tremble with fear.

Also, in desire to reciprocate the kindness, gifts, and friendship of our brother, King Sigismund, we, Mengli Giray Khan [allow] the merchants from the Grand Duchy to take salt from Kačybej and the whole surrounding area freely, without any anxiety, and without payment, and carry it to Kiev, Luc'k, and all other towns, guarded by our men so that they do not experience any harm in Kačybej or anywhere in the field [i.e., steppe]<sup>19</sup> from our cossacks<sup>20</sup> or anybody else. And if his [i.e., royal] merchants are harmed in any way, we should compensate it to our brother. Also all other merchants from the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania—either rich or poor—may come with their goods to the Horde [i.e., the Crimean Khanate] or to Caffa, conduct their trade and depart, having paid the old and ancient tolls.

And we should fulfill all the above written [promises] to him [i.e., King Sigismund] contained in our letter, and never depart from them. And now, without any delay, we should send our sons along with our great army against his Muscovian enemy, and we should take from his [i.e., the Muscovian ruler's] hands the towns, estates, lands, and waters that were taken away from the Lithuanian throne by the father of the Muscovian [ruler], and restore them to our brother Sigismund, the king and grand duke, and we should face jointly with him any of his enemies.

And we, Mengli Giray Khan—to begin with, along with Mehmed Giray Sultan, and all the sultans [i.e., princes], ulans, mirzas, and beys, have sworn the firm oath to our brother, the king and grand duke Sigismund, before his envoys, and have given him our present letter, the *yarlıq* with the golden *nišan* and the red *tamğa*.

Written in Perekop.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Document 12, n. 25.

<sup>19</sup> The Ruthenian term *pole* ("field") or *dykyja polja* ("wild fields;" cf. Pol. *dzikie pola*) referred to the barely inhabited steppe area extending to the north from the Black Sea.

<sup>20</sup> The Turkic word *kazak* (hence the later Slavic *kozak*, i.e., "cossack") applied to free vagabonds; cf. Chapter 6 in Part II.

<sup>21</sup> Perekop was the Slavic name of the Tatar town of Ferahkerman, also known as Or qal'esi or Or qapu; see Jankowski, *Historical-Etymological Dictionary*, pp. 748–750. Yet, in the given context, the term might also refer to the whole Crimean peninsula; cf. Document 15, n. 20.

DOCUMENT 15 (29 OCTOBER 1514)  
The *šartname* (*dokončalnyj lyst*) regarding Poland sent  
by Khan Mengli Giray to King Sigismund

The original document is missing.

Ruthenian copies:

A. RGADA, fond 389 = Litovskaja metrika, no. 7, pp. 614/615–619/620<sup>1</sup>  
[old foliation: 309b–312a].

A.\* 18th-century Latin script transcription: AGAD, Metryka Litewska,  
no. 193, pp. 386–389.

Polish 16th-century translation:<sup>2</sup> a) Bibl. Kórn., ms. 222, pp. 110–114; b) Bibl.  
Czart., ms. 30 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 419–423.

Published in *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 3, pp. 162–164.

Лист вт Мендли Кгиреа, цара перекопского, до Короля Его Милости  
писаны:

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<sup>1</sup> Mistaken double pagination: two consecutive page numbers appear on each page.

<sup>2</sup> The Polish translation, entitled *Menligireia cara wielkiego [pakta]*, is dated two months earlier than the Ruthenian copy: “on the 29th day of the month of August of the year 920 after the departure of His Majesty, Prophet Muhammad, from this world [sic; it should refer to the Hegira and not Muhammad’s death], and of the year 1514 since the birth of Lord Christ, in the Tatar Horde” (*po ześciu z tego świata Jego Miłości Machometa Proroka lat 920 roku, a od narodzenia Pana Chrystusa roku 1514, miesiąca augusta 29 dnia, w Ordzie Tatarskiej*). As the Muslim year 920 A.H. lasted from 26 February 1514 till 14 February 1515, the dating seems to be consistent. Yet, as the contents of both Ruthenian and Polish versions are almost identical, it is likely that the term *axturyś*, found in the Ruthenian text and apparently referring to October, was mistranslated as August in the Polish version, hence its correct dating should be 29 October, and not 29 August. Although the Polish version is inferior to the Ruthenian one, it contains certain details of the lost original that are missing in the Ruthenian version. For instance, the Kipchak Steppe is correctly referred to as Deşt-i Qıpçaq (*Destykypczak*), Prophet Muhammad with his two names as Muhammad Mustafa (*Machmet Mustaffa*), and the Crimean envoy Giovanni Baptista de San Nicolo, who figures in the Ruthenian version merely as Baptista (*Potestin*), is recorded with his two names, Baptista and Nicolo (*Pakss* and *Mikula*), though mistakenly treated as two different persons. The Polish version also specifies that the annual royal gift to the khan should be paid in “red florins,” i.e., golden ducats (*15000 złotych czerwonych*). Curiously, St. Martin’s Day is referred to as falling on 16, and not 11 November (*novembra dnia 16 na Święty Marczin*). The Polish version also contains redundant information referring to the number of Lithuanian lords, who sealed the royal instrument of peace from 1513, as three (*pod pieczęciami trzech panów litewskich*), while in fact their number was twelve; cf. Document 10.

Починаемъ великого Бога именемъ! Ун поживене даетъ и жалзетъ! Нѣтъ инъшого бога нежли одинъ Богъ, а Мухамъметъ посол его!

На боже има! Мендли Кгирей цар, бою милостью Великое Урды великий цар, всихъ Кипъчаковъ, и Туркмена, и татарский господаръ. Штож царство ут предъковъ намъ zostало, мы порадили с правои руки полъки, и с лѣвои, зъ [сы]нъми нашими в головахъ Магъмет Кгирѣемъ царевичом, и з дѣтми и з царевичи, и з великими и з малыми, з вланы и с князьми, и з муръзами.

Какъ же всимъ вѣдомо, иж Великое Урды ѓ, Менъдли Кгирей, великий цар, и иныхъ земель господаръ, иж предъков нашихъ приязнь и братство, и мир видачи, какъ же великий цар Токмышъ и великий цар Ажъчгирей, отецъ мой, почонъ ут тыхъ, в приязни и в братъстве будъчи и гостемъ бывали тамъ, з великимъ королемъ Іаггеломъ, ладским, а потомъ з великимъ княземъ литовскимъ Витолътомъ, и з великимъ королемъ Казимеромъ, ладъскимъ и литовъскимъ, уни з нашими предки в приязни и братъстве были, и мир в правде держали, одинъ одного приятелю приятелемъ, а неприятелю неприятелемъ были; где уни такъ были, межи их неприятель звошол, ничего не вчинивалъ неприятельства, тогды пансѣтва <панства> во покои бывало, приятели то виде в радовали сѧ, а неприятели сидовали сѧ, панства болшали, а слугъ болживало сѧ.

Ино ѓ тепер из сыномъ моимъ в головахъ, Магъмет Кирей царевичом, и з ыншими дѣтми своими, и з дѣтми царевичи, и з вланы, и з князьми, и з муръзами порадили есмо, из Жикгимонтомъ братомъ нашимъ, з боже милости королемъ полскимъ и з великимъ княземъ литовскимъ, рѣскимъ, пруским, и з жомоитскимъ, и иншихъ земель зъ господаремъ, в приязни и в братстве стоѧли есмо, приятелю приятелели, а неприятелю неприятнли маемъ быти, одинъ одному со всихъ сторонъ, какъ жо и наши предки были. А коли такъ бѣдемъ, межи нас неприятелю звоити нелъзѧ. И всказали были есмо до вас Жикгимонта, великого короля, брата нашего, черезъ Мамыша влана, черезъ Довлетъ Бахътыѧ князя, и черезъ Виценътыѧ, и черезъ Потестина первеи того, и напотомъ Августыномъ всказали есмо, ижбы вы Жикгимонт, великий король, брат нашъ, неприятеля нашего Шахмата твердо бы держалъ, с панства бы своего не выпустили, поки Богъ ему смертъ дастъ. И вы намъ тежъ всказали, иж такъ вчинимъ.

Еще тежъ у сее дѣло, иж царевичомъ дати, и ихъ дѣтемъ, вланомъ, и княземъ, и муръзамъ дати, штож ут вас просили: петнацѧть тисѧч золотыхъ на кождый год, семъ тисѧч и пѧтсот золотыхъ ут Ладской Короны, а семъ тисѧч и пѧтсот золотыхъ ут Великого Князьства Литовской мали есте дати. А ты корол, брат нашъ, на то еси положил. Ино сии выписаны и золоты петнацѧть тисѧч: и семъ тисѧч и пѧтсот золотыхъ товаромъ в ценѧ, а семъ тисѧчъ и пѧтѣсот золотыхъ золотыми, маете слати на два роки: после своего хрестиѧнъского свѧта в семи

неделахъ в семой съботе товаро[м], а готовыми золотыми на дръгии рок в восен в Мартине.

Ты Жикгимонът, великий корол, брат наш, для братства и приязни нашей знаменуячи намъ два листы доконченъе прислали есте, один еражский, а дръгии по рвский. Который по еражский писан листъ, тот под ладьскою великою печатю, и подъ <ладъ> ладских панов трох печатю, и который по рвский писан листъ доконъчальный, <с>под литовскою великою печатю, и подъ литовских панов печатю до нас прислали есте. Мы то велми вѣдочно принали.

И вы также, брат наш Жикгимонт, великий король, вт нас жеданъа в Полскю Коръну и в Литовское Князьство листъ доколъчальный с посломъ вашимъ, с паномъ Громыкою; нашимъ посломъ послали есмо, а в Ладскю Корънъ не послали были есмо. Ино посломъ нашимъ Кельдышомъ, Авкгустиномъ, а своимъ посломъ паномъ Михаиломъ писаромъ жедая нас прислали есте, абыхмо докончальный листъ в Ладскю Коръну дали. И мы в то из сыном моимъ Магъметъ Кирѣемъ царевичомъ в головахъ и з ынъшими дѣтми моими, и з их дѣтми, и з вланы, и с князьми своими, и з мурзами порадивши, доконъчальный листъ сес написавъ послали есмо. Иж Ладская Коръна и Литовское Князьство нам вдно есть, хтоколве Ладскои Коръне неприагьтель будет, и нам тожъ неприагьтель. Ладскои Коръны который города прислушают, Львов в головах, людемъ, городомъ, мѣстомъ и селомъ вашимъ всимъ, которыйж тутъ выписаны, хто им вѣдетъ неприагьтел, тотъ и нам неприагьтель.

Ино мы сес докончальный листъ <подъ тою>, и под тою присагую дали есмо, и ж Машу вланъ, и Довлет Бахтыа князь, и з Мамукъ вланомъ, а Виценътомъ, а Бестин, а Кельдишъ, Акгустиномъ,<sup>a</sup> а напотомъ который ж ехали томъ<sup>b</sup> послы наши: Абдула вланъ, а Вбдикъ князь, и Довлет вланъ там поехал, нашею душею вамъ [Жи]-кгимонту королю, брату нашему, правдъ и присагу вчинили. Мы на тои присаге стоимъ в правде, Ладскому Панству и Литовскому Князьствъу приатели и братя есмо, приателю приагьтель, а неприателю неприагьтелем есми. Хтоколве симъ двема панствомъ неприагьтельство чинити помыслить, мы тому неприатели есмо, такъ вѣдаите. Наша са приазнь и братство дѣтемъ нашимъ, вначатомъ нашимъ нехай будет.

Такеж вт Лахов и вт Литвы до наших людей купец приедетъ, а вт нашихъ людей до ваших людей, к Лахомъ, и к Литвѣ, купецъ приедетъ, силы и кривды не было бы им, подлвгъ первого вобычаа мыто давши, здоров поехал, и добры бы здоров втехал. А ли тут мои сынове, або их сынове царевичи, або вланы, князи, и мурзы, и козаки

<sup>a</sup> It should read *и Акгустиномъ*.

<sup>b</sup> It should read *тамъ*.

наши, естли имъ силѣ вчинатъ, або товар ихъ втберѣтъ, мы ѣ нихъ взем, тым квпцом вашимъ засѣ маем вернѣти и заплатити. А естли наши бы тежъ квпцы ѣ вашихъ людей сила и кривда им стала, и вы бы тежъ шкоды им поплатили.

Для того сес нашъ докончальныи лист дали есмо. В сем докончальномъ листе выписаны речи наши, инако вже не маемо чинити. На то присагаем Богѣ, и вѣроу, и Мухамедем, пророком нашимъ Его Милостью, и черезъ сто тисачъ и двадцѣтъ и чотыри тисачъ пророков, иж черезъ сес нашъ листъ докончальныи што есмо мовили, инако не маемо быти.

И на тую твердость сес докончальныи листъ наш, подъ золотымъ знаменем и подъ черлеными печатми лист посланъ, после Пророка нашего ѣ деветисот лѣтѣхъ и въ двадцѣти, а после его милости Изас пророка в тисача и в патисот и в чотырнадѣ[ца]тъ лѣтъ, ахтуриса месеца ѣ двадцѣти и ѣ девѣти день, ѣ Перекопе, Киркели городе, ѣ Щасливой Полате, на ща[с]те и на ласкѣ.

Translation:

*The letter from Mengli Giray, the khan of Perekop [i.e., the Crimean khan], written to His Royal Majesty:*

*We commence in the name of the great God! He gives and grants nourishment! There is no god but the only God, and Muhammad is His prophet!*

*In the name of God! [I,] Mengli Giray Khan, by the grace of God the great khan of the Great Horde, all the Kipchaks and Turkomans, and the lord of the Tatars. As we have inherited the reign from our ancestors, we have taken counsel with the regiments of the right and the left hand, with our sons, to begin with Mehmed Giray Sultan, with children and princes [carevyčy], both older and younger, with the ulans, beys [Ruth. s knjaz'my], and mirzas.*

*As everybody knows, I, Mengli Giray, the great khan of the Great Horde and the lord of other lands, having seen the friendship, brotherhood, and peace originating from [the times of] the great khan Tokhtamish and the great khan Hadji Giray, our father, who used to remain in friendship and brotherhood and come as guests to the great king of Poland, [Vladislaus] Jagiełło, and thereafter to the grand duke of Lithuania, Vytautas, and the great king of Poland and Lithuania, Casimir, who [on their part] used to remain in friendship and brotherhood with our ancestors and keep peace in earnest, being a friend of the other's friend and an enemy of the other's enemy, [I have concluded that] while they were doing so, if an enemy appeared, he could not do any harm and [their] states remained in peace; upon seeing that their friends rejoiced and their enemies were crushed, [their] states widened and servants multiplied.*

*And now, I have taken counsel with my son, Mehmed Giray Sultan—to begin with, my other children and the princes' children [i.e., my grandsons], and with the ulans, beys, and mirzas, and as we used to keep friendship and brotherhood with our brother Sigismund, by the grace of God the king of*



Poland and the grand duke of Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Samogitia,<sup>3</sup> and the lord of other lands, [also now] we should be friends to the other's friends and enemies to the other's enemies from any direction, as our ancestors used to. And when we do so, no enemy will come between us. And we have asked you, our brother, the great king Sigismund, firstly through Mamish Ulan,<sup>4</sup> through Devlet Bakhti Bey,<sup>5</sup> through Vincenzo,<sup>6</sup> and through Baptista,<sup>7</sup> and then through Augustin,<sup>8</sup> that you, the great king Sigismund, our brother, should firmly detain our enemy, Sheikh Ahmed,<sup>9</sup> and not let him go from your state until God sends him death. And you have answered: "so we will do."

Moreover, you were expected to give each year 15,000 florins [zlotys]: 7,500 florins from the Polish Crown and 7,500 florins from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, to the princes and their children, and to the ulans, beys, and mirzas, as they had asked you. And you, the king, our brother, gave your consent to it. Hence you should send the above written 15,000 florins: 7,500 florins in goods at their actual value, and 7,500 florins in cash, in [the following] two rates: seven weeks after your Christian feast [i.e., Easter], by the seventh Saturday [i.e., the Saturday before the Pentecost]—in goods, and the second rate, in cash, in autumn by [St.] Martin's Day.<sup>10</sup>

And you, the great king Sigismund, our brother, sent us two letters of agreement [lysty dokončene] making known our brotherhood and friendship: one in Frankish<sup>11</sup> and another in Ruthenian. The letter written in Frankish, you sent us under the great Polish seal and the seals of three Polish lords, and the letter of agreement written in Ruthenian, under the great Lithuanian seal and the seals of Lithuanian lords. And we accepted them with gratitude.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., Žemaitija (Pol. Żmudź).

<sup>4</sup> On Mamish Ulan, the khan's envoy to Poland-Lithuania in 1507, who arrived with the task to ensure and witness the requested execution of Sheikh Ahmed, see Document 9, n. 12.

<sup>5</sup> On Devlet Bakhti, the leader of the Barin clan and the Crimean envoy to Poland-Lithuania in 1512, see Document 9, n. 17, Documents 10–11, and Document 16, n. 9.

<sup>6</sup> On Vincenzo de Guidulphis, an Italian in the khan's service, sent in embassy to Poland-Lithuania in 1512 along with Devlet Bakhti, see Document 16, n. 10.

<sup>7</sup> On Giovanni Baptista de San Nicolo, an Italian in the khan's service, sent in embassy to Poland-Lithuania in 1512 along with Devlet Bakhti, see Document 16, n. 11.

<sup>8</sup> On Augustino de Garibaldis, a Genovese from Caffa in the khan's service, see Document 16, n. 18. Here his most recent embassy to Poland-Lithuania is referred to. Having arrived at Vilnius in February 1514 along with Mengli's *yarliq* (Document 12), he was sent back in May along with the first installment of the annual gifts due for that year. In this embassy he was accompanied by another envoy, Keldish (cf. n. 13 below).

<sup>9</sup> On Sheikh Ahmed, see Document 9, notes 27, 30, and 33.

<sup>10</sup> I.e., 11 November; yet, in the Polish translation St. Martin's day is identified with 16 November; cf. n. 2 above.

<sup>11</sup> The Ruthenian term *fijažskyj* applied to Latin or any Romance language, in the given case to Latin as the royal document was composed in Latin (see Document 11).

And you, the great king Sigismund, our brother, requested through your envoy, Pan Hromyka,<sup>12</sup> that we issue a letter of agreement for the Polish Crown and the Lithuanian Duchy; we sent one through our envoy, but we did not send any regarding the Polish Crown. So you sent [again] our envoys Keldish<sup>13</sup> and Augustin, and your envoy Pan Myxajlo, the scribe,<sup>14</sup> requesting that we issue a letter of agreement regarding the Polish Crown. And we, having taken counsel with my son, Mehmed Giray Sultan—to begin with, and with my other children, and their children, and with the ulans, and my beys, and mirzas, have written and sent this letter of agreement. As the Polish Crown and the Lithuanian Duchy is like one [body] to us, whoever is an enemy to the Polish Crown, will also be an enemy to us. As regards the towns that belong to the Polish Crown, beginning with L'viv [Pol. Lwów], whoever is an enemy to any of your people, castles, towns, and villages that are recorded here, will be also an enemy to us.

And we have given this letter of agreement under the present oath, and whoever from among our envoys has gone there [i.e., to you]—Mamish Ulan, Devlet Bakhti Bey, <Mamish Ulan,<sup>15</sup>> Vincenzo, Baptista, Keldish, Augustin, and more recently Abdullah Ulan, Abdiq Bey, and Devlet Ulan,<sup>16</sup> has engaged and sworn with our soul to you, King Sigismund, our brother. And we sincerely keep this oath, we are the friends and brothers of the Polish State and the Lithuanian Duchy, a friend of [your] friend and an enemy of [your] enemy. Whoever schemes a hostile act towards these two states, will be an enemy to us, thus you should know. And our present friendship and brotherhood should last among our children and grandchildren.

<sup>12</sup> On Hryhoryj Hromyka, cf. Document 12, n. 30. Sent to the Crimea in September 1513 along with the royal instruments of peace (Documents 10–11), he returned to Vilnius on 28 July 1514 with a *yarlıq* of Mengli Giray (Document 14).

<sup>13</sup> On Keldish, the Crimean envoy to Poland-Lithuania in 1514, who accompanied Augustino de Garibaldis, cf. n. 8 above and Document 12, n. 2.

<sup>14</sup> On Myxajlo Vasyľ'evyč Svyņjuska, cf. Document 12, n. 32. Sent to the Crimea in July 1513, he witnessed Mengli Giray's oath and accompanied the Crimean envoys, Keldish and Augustino de Garibaldis, who brought the khan's *yarlıq* (Document 12) to Vilnius in February 1514; then he was again sent to the Crimea in order to ask for a separate document regarding Poland.

<sup>15</sup> Mamish Ulan is erroneously mentioned twice, first as *Mašu ulan* and then as *Mamuk ulan*.

<sup>16</sup> Abdullah Ulan and Abdiq Bey arrived in Lithuania in July 1514, accompanied by the returning royal envoys Stanisław Skinder (see Document 12, n. 29) and Hryhoryj Hromyka (see n. 12 above); see Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, pp. 434 and 444. The first one was probably identical with Abdullah Ulan (in the Russian sources referred to as *Abdula* or *Abdu-La*), who escorted the Italian masters traveling to Moscow in 1504 and attended the audience of Muscovian envoys in 1516; see Syroëckovskij, "Muxammed-Geraj i ego vassaly," pp. 41–42. Devlet Ulan must have been sent more recently, between August and October 1514; he is mentioned in the Crimean-Muscovian correspondence from 1518; see Xoroškevič, *Rus' i Krym*, pp. 257–258. Abdullah Ulan and Devlet Ulan might be identical with their namesakes mentioned in Document 22 from 1527.

And if a merchant comes to our people from among the Poles and Lithuanians, or a merchant from among our people goes to your people, the Poles and Lithuanians, they [i.e., such merchants] should experience no violence or harm and should go and depart safe and sound, after having paid tolls according to the ancient custom. And if my sons, or their sons, the princes, or the ulans, beys, mirzas, or our cossacks<sup>17</sup> use force against them [i.e., your merchants] or capture their goods, we will take [these goods] back and restore [them], and compensate your merchants. And if our merchants experience violence or harm among your people, you should also compensate their losses.

Therefore we have given our present letter of agreement. Our engagements have been recorded in this letter of agreement and we will not do otherwise. We swear to God by the faith, His Excellency our prophet Muhammad, and by the 124,000 prophets<sup>18</sup> that we will not violate our present letter of agreement or anything that we have uttered.

To confirm this [our] firmness, our present letter of agreement [dokončalnyj lyst] under the golden stamp and under the red seals has been sent in the year 920 after our Prophet,<sup>19</sup> and in the year 1514 after His Excellency, Prophet Jesus, on the 29th day of the month of October, in Perekop,<sup>20</sup> in the town of Qırq Yer, in the Prosperous Palace,<sup>21</sup> for the sake of happiness and harmony.

<sup>17</sup> The Turkic word *kazak* (hence the later Slavic *kozak*, i.e., “cossack”) applied to free vagabonds; cf. Chapter 6 in Part II.

<sup>18</sup> According to a Muslim tradition (*hadith*), recorded in the collection of Ahmad bin Hanbal, Allah sent 124,000 prophets to the earth, including Prophet Muhammad; cf. Document 13, n. 3.

<sup>19</sup> The Muslim year 920 A.H. lasted from 26 February 1514 till 14 February 1515.

<sup>20</sup> The term Perekop, apparently entered by the Ruthenian translator, refers in the given context to the whole Crimea and not the town of Perekop (Tat. Ferahkerman), situated in the Crimean isthmus.

<sup>21</sup> The Ruthenian term *Ščaslyvaja Polata* (“the Prosperous Palace”) is the literal translation of the Turkish name Devletsaray, applied to the khan’s residence built in the years 1500–1503 in Saladjiq near Qırq Yer; cf. Document 8, n. 43; Devletsaray (i.e., Saladjiq) is identified here with Qırq Yer, although these were initially two separate localities. During the 16th century not only Qırq Yer and Saladjiq, but also the neighboring localities of Eski yurt and Baghchasaray gradually began to be treated as one locality and referred to under the common name of Baghchasaray; cf. Muzaffer Ürekli, *Kırım Hanlığının kuruluşu ve Osmanlı himâyesinde yükselişi (1441–1569)* (Ankara, 1989), p. 70.

DOCUMENT 16 (29 NOVEMBER 1514)  
The *şartname* (*lectra patente*) regarding Poland sent  
by Khan Mengli Giray to King Sigismund  
[Facs. I]

Original parchment document in Italian: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 65, t. 1, no. 575.

76 × 43 cm. (shorter on the right side: 73 x 43 cm.)

the golden *nişan* of Mengli Giray (5.5 x 5.5 cm.) is impressed at the top text (gold;<sup>1</sup> bottom three lines in black)

the reddish *nişan* of Hadji Giray (12 x 11.5 cm.) is impressed twice at the bottom

Italian copies: a) *ibidem*; b) Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 163–170 (alternative pagination: 147–154).

Polish 17th-century translation by Samuel Otwinowski: a) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 65, t. 1, no. 576; b) Bibl. Ossol., ms. 3555, fol. 323a–327b.

19th-century Russian translation: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 65, t. 1, no. 576.

**Bismillahi`r-rahmani`r-rahimi! La ilaha illa`llah Muhammadun rasul`llah!  
As-sultanu`l-a`zam al-haqan /<sup>a</sup> Mengli Gërey Han bin Haci Gërey Han<sup>2</sup>**

AL NOME DE DIO<sup>b</sup> incomenciamo, lo quale da felicitate et ogni bene ac quelli chi ben se adoprano, et chi con verace et fedelmente la fraternita e ll'amicicia coltevano, et la parola de la veritate fermamente sencza dolo et sencza fraude observano.

Questa dunche è la fedel parola del Serenissimo Menligueri, per la gracia de Dio imperatore de la Grande Orda, de tucta la Tartarea et de la Gaza-rea signore et herede et cetera, et del gran consiglio de la destra et senestra mano sua, zoe de li legionarii, millenarii, centorioni, decurioni, et de tucti loro satrape, duchi, et cetera:

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<sup>1</sup> Since almost the entire text is written in gold it is not rendered here in bold but in ordinary Roman characters (cf. the Principles of publication, n. 12).

<sup>a</sup> Here begins the inscription in the middle frame.

<sup>2</sup> The text of the *nişan*: “[outer frame] In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful! There is no god but God! Muhammad is the Prophet of God! The greatest sultan and the khaqan, [middle frame] Mengli Giray Khan, son of Hadji Giray Khan;” in the inner frame there is the trident-shaped emblem of the Girays (*taraq tamğa*); for the reading of this *nişan*, cf. Mirkasym Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, p. 153.

<sup>b</sup> Written in capital letters.

Sappeano tucti gli homini presenti et futuri come noi, Menligueri, de la Grande Orda imperatore et cetera, resguardando a le antiche confederacioni, amicie, et vincoli de la fraternitate, che hanno havuto et con fermecza fedelmente observato li nostri antecessori imperatori, zoe Tactomisch,<sup>3</sup> et Adzygeri,<sup>4</sup> et altri nostri progenitori, con li serenissimi principi, signori Wladeslao Iagelo, re de Polonia, et Vitoldo, grandi duchi de Lifania, et semelmente con Cazimiro, re de Polonia et gran duca de Lifania, con li quali li nostri predecessori vivendo in optima, verace, et stabele amicicia et fraternetate, hanno sempre avuto equali li amici e li inimici loro, immodo che lo amico del uno era amico del altro, e lo inimico del uno era anco inimico del altro, et così li loro imperii, signorie, et tucti li subditi indreczavano bene, et sempre li amplificavano.

Così dunche noi, Menligueri Imperatore,<sup>5</sup> colli nostri figlioli piccoli et grandi, et prencepalmente con Machmetcherei Soltano,<sup>6</sup> et con li soi figlioli, et con li altri nostri nepoti, et anco con tucti satrape, et duchi, et olani, et morszi,<sup>7</sup> et nostri subditi, sequendo li vestigii e la provedencia de li nostri antecessori, con lo Serenissimo Prencepe, Signore Sigisimondo, per la gracia de Dio re de Polonia et gran duca de Lifania, signore et herede de Rossia et de Prussia, et cetera, fratello nostro carissimo, per li fedeli ambasciatori nostri, primo per Mamisch Olan,<sup>8</sup> et da poi per Devlekbachtì,<sup>9</sup> Vicenczo de Guidulphis,<sup>10</sup> et Baptesta de San Nicolo,<sup>11</sup> da la imagine de quella antecha amicicia havemo facta et contracta fra noi e li figlioli nostri una fraternita, et vera,

<sup>3</sup> I.e., Tokhtamish.

<sup>4</sup> I.e., Hadji Giray.

<sup>5</sup> I.e., Mengli Giray Khan.

<sup>6</sup> I.e., Mehmed Giray Sultan.

<sup>7</sup> I.e., *murzas* or *mirzas*.

<sup>8</sup> On Mamish Ulan, the khan's lieutenant (*qaymaqam*) of Qırq Yer sent to Poland-Lithuania in 1507, see Document 9, n. 12.

<sup>9</sup> On Devlet Bakhti, the leader of the Barın clan, see also Document 9, n. 17. In 1512, Devlet Bahti along with Vincenzo de Guidulphis and Giovanni Baptista de San Nicolo (cf. notes 10–11 below) accompanied Prince Djaleddin, Mengli Giray's grandson, to Kiev and then to Vilnius, where Djaleddin was to remain as an honorary hostage. King Sigismund, then absent from Lithuania, greeted the envoys in his letters sent from Poznań to Vilnius in February 1513; see Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, p. 398; *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 2, p. 160. After the prince died for unknown reasons in the summer of 1513, in September the envoys were sent back along with Sigismund's instruments of peace, issued in Ruthenian and Latin (see Documents 10 and 11).

<sup>10</sup> Vincenzo de Guidulphis, an Italian in the khan's service and a member of the embassy of 1512 (cf. n. 9 above); in a Latin letter by King Sigismund referred to as Vincentius de Zugulfis; cf. *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 2, p. 160. His father, Zaccaria de Guidulphis (or Ghisolfi), had been a semi-independent Genovese ruler of Matrega (Taman'), and his mother originated from a princely Circassian family. After the Ottoman conquest of Matrega, both Zaccaria and Vincenzo entered the Crimean service; cf. Aleksandr Nekrasov, *Meždunarodnye otnošenija i narody Zapadnogo Kavkaza*, pp. 36–37 and 66–67.

<sup>11</sup> Giovanni Baptista de San Nicolo, an Italian in the khan's service and a member of the embassy of 1512 (cf. n. 9 above); in a Latin letter by King Sigismund referred to as Johannes Baptista de S. Nicolao; cf. *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 2, p. 160.

sencera, et fedele amicitia, et perpetua confederacione, et sempremai dura-bele. Immodo che li amici nostri et de li nostri figlioli et nepoti saranno amici al Serenissimo Signor Sigisimondo, e li inimici nostri et de li nostri figlioli et nepoti saranno inimici a la Sua Serenissima Maiestate, et voltato l'ordine: li amici de la Sua Serenissima Maiestate saranno amici nostri et de li nostri figlioli et nepoti, e li inimici de la Sua Serenessema Maiestate saranno inimici nostri et de li nostri figlioli et nepoti.

Et aczoche la nostra equale amicitia et vera fraternetate sia gia nota et mane[fe]sta a ttucti, tanto a li amici, quanto anco a li inimici, lo Serenessemo Signor Sigisimondo, re de Polonia et gran duca de Lifania, et cetera, sara anco inimico a li nostri inimici, zoe a li figlioli de Achmuth, et a li figlioli de Machmeth.<sup>12</sup> Et ad Sachmat,<sup>13</sup> chi è nostro inimico, lo tenera sempremai captivo in sino a la morte, et anco non lassera mai andiare li servitori soi a la sua libertate, ne al damno nostro, o al damno de li nostri figlioli, ne iammai ac quelli concedera libertate nessuna in lo regno suo in Polonia; et questo prencepalmente, se noi con li nostri figlioli et nepoti, subditi, legionarii, murszi, millenarii, centorioni, satrape, duchi, olani, et col nostro universo consiglio et dignitarii magistrati insieme tucti serveremo fermamente, et con ogni integretate, senza dolo et senza nessona fraude, la preducta fraternetate, perpetua confederacione, et equale amicitia inverso de la Sua Serenessema Maiestate, et de tucto lo regno, et de li dominii, et de tucti li subditi soi, secondo lo nostro fedele ioramento, el quale a la Sua Serenessema Maiestate havemo facto.

Et perche esso Serenessemo Prencepe et Signor Sigisimondo, re de Polonia et gran duca de Lefania, fratello nostro carissimo, tanto dal thesauro del Regno de Polonia, quanto dal thesauro del Gran Ducato de Lefania, de la sua regal munificencia et liberalitate per poter notrire li nostri homini, se have obligato in le altre letre soe de darene et de pagarne per ceascheduno anno de avenere, zoe quendece milia fioreni in questo modo: dal thesauro del Regno de Polonia septe milia et cenco cento fioreni, et dal thesauro del Gran Ducato de Lefania semelemente septe milia et cenco cento fioreni; et così la Sua Serenessema Maiestate pachera per ceascheduno anno una rata, zoe septe milia et cenco cento in robe, mercemonii, et prencepalmente in panni, per la festa de Pentecoste, et l'altra rata, zoe septe milia et cenco cento fioreni in denari contati, per la festa de San Marteno;<sup>14</sup> in recompensa de tanta munificencia et fraterna liberalitate, la quale de anno in anno si come sopra decto ne fara liberalmente, tanto dal Regno de Polonia, quanto dal Gran Ducato de Lefania, noi, Menligueri Imperatore, et anco li nostri figlioli, e li nepoti, et tucti gli altri consiliarii, duchi, satrape, murszi, olani, et qualunque se seano subditi nostri, promectemo et ne oblegamo, come al Serenessemo Re Sigisimondo,

<sup>12</sup> "The sons of Ahmed and the sons of Mahmud" or "the children of Ahmed and Mahmud"—on this customary formula, referring to the khans of the Great Horde and Astrakhan, who were the traditional enemies of the Girays; see Document 10, n. 7.

<sup>13</sup> On Sheikh Ahmed, the last khan of the Great Horde and the archenemy of Mengli Giray, see Document 9, n. 27.

<sup>14</sup> St. Martin's Day, i.e., 11 November.

fratello nostro carissimo, et al Regno de Polonia, contra ceascheduno suo inimico, de qual se voglia nome se sia chiamato, che o volesse assedeare, occupare, et guastare, o vero che assedeasse, occupasse, et guastasse li dominii del Regno de Polonia, et prencepalmente le terre de Rossia et de Podolia, come sonno li castelli czoe Camyenyecz,<sup>15</sup> et gli altri castelli in quelli lochi situati, et qual se vogliano altri castelli appartenenti al decto Regno de Polonia, con tucte le forcze nostre, ma pero con quello numero de la nostra gente, quale la Serenissima Regia Maiestate de lo nostro caressemo fratello demandera, a qualunque tempo se sia che da lui saremo chiamati, perche ad ogni suo bisogno, senza nessona demora del mondo saremo tenuti et obligati aiutare a la Sua Serenessema Maiestate, et anco con ogni nostro sforcho de scacciare via a qualunque suo inimico, et se alcun castello suo fosse assediato o vero occupato da qual se sia inimico suo, per recoperalle, con tucte le forcze nostre aiuteremo a la Sua Serenessema Maiestate.

Promectemo ancora, tanto per noi stessi, quanto per li figlioli nostri, et per tucti li subditi nostri, che quelli mercatanti li quali veneranno a li nostri domini, o da lo Regno de Polonia, o vero dal Gran Ducato de Lefania, con le robe et mercemonii loro, non li impederemo noi, ne li permecteremo essere impediti da altri, ne anco in altre cose damnificati; a ttucti li quali sarra libero et ben secoro el venere, el retornare, essendole secore et salve tanto tucte loro persone, quanto tucte le cose et le robe loro, pagando perczo le antiche gabelle in li nostri lochi antichamente consuete, et solite iustamente pagarese. Et se ad alcuno de li decti mercatanti sotto de questa nostra secreetate fosse facto danno nessonno da quali se siano nostri subditi, noi saremo tenoti et obligati a li decti de pagareli, et de resarcereli a lo iusto compimento ceaschedono suo danno.

Et aczoche questa nostra perpetua confederacione et vera fraternetate, et ferma et comone amicitia, facta fra noi, Menligueri Imperatore, et anco fra li nostri figlioli et nepoti, et tucto il gran consiglio del senestro et del destro lato nostro, et de tocti li duchi, satrape, mursczi, et fra tucti gli altri qualunque subditi se siano de lo nostro stato, et de quale ordine et condecione che se siano, dal una, et fra lo Serenessemo Prencepe, Signor Sigisimondo, re de Polonia et gran duca de Lefania, fratello nostro carissimo, et fra lo stato de la Sua Regal Serenetate, zoe fra li consiglieri del Reame de Polonia et del Gran Ducato de Lefania, de qual se voglia ordine et condicione, et qual se sia suo subdito, dal altra banda, debeat stare ferma et stabele, promectemo et ne oblegamo tucte le cose promesse secondo lo ioramento el quale havemo facto con tucti li nostri figlioli et nepoti, et prencepalmente con lo illustre Machmethcherei Soltano, figliolo nostro, integramente servare et inconcussamente tenere, senza nesson dolo, et senza fraude nessona del mondo. Et che tucte le sopradecte promesse serveranno anco tucti li nostri praedecti subditi, ne iammai faremo mal nessonno a li dominii de la Sua Serenessema Maiestate, ne

<sup>15</sup> I.e., Kamjanec' (Pol. Kamieniec Podolski); the paragraph refers to the southeastern Polish palatinates of Ruthenia (i.e., Red Ruthenia, centered in L'viv) and Podolia, which were the most exposed to Tatar raids.

al Reame de Polonia, ne al Gran Ducato de Lefania, ne iammai li lasseremo far male nessuno da li nostri subditi, ma come vero fratello et sencero amico, in tucte le cose tracteremo sempre et humanamente, et amicabelemente a la Sua Serenessema Maiestate. Così sempre noi aiute Dio, et [cento]<sup>16</sup> vente quatro milia prophete, et Machmectho Mustapha. Ma per piu chiara fede, et per piu maiore testimoniancza, havemo ad questa nostra lectra patente stampati li nostri sigilli de oro, e li sigilli rossi, si come manefestamente appare.

Data c-in Cherchere in Dovlat Sarai<sup>17</sup> et in lo angni de nove centto vinti de nostro profetta iusto et in lo angno de Jezu Criste in mille cinque cento quattordice et al di vintti nove novembris e ll'è scritta per mano Augustino de Garibaldis<sup>18</sup> milliti auratto.<sup>c-d</sup>

**Bismillahi`r-rahmani`r-rahimi! Quli`llahumma Malika`l-mulki tu`ti`l-mulka man taşa`u.**<sup>19</sup> /<sup>e</sup> **La ilaha illa`llah Muhammadun rasul`llah as-sultan Haci Giray Han**<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> According to a Muslim tradition (*hadith*), recorded in the collection of Ahmad bin Hanbal, Allah sent 124,000 prophets to the earth, including Prophet Muhammad. Thus the word *cento* ("hundred") must have been omitted by mistake; cf. Document 13, n. 3.

<sup>17</sup> On the identification of Devletsaray, the khan's new residence in Saladjıq, with the nearby old capital of Qırq Yer, cf. Document 15, n. 21.

<sup>18</sup> Augustino de Garibaldis, a Genovese from Caffa in the khan's service (see the letter by King Sigismund, addressed to *Augustino de Garibaldis, Genuensi, civi Caffensi*, in *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 2, p. 159), frequently sent in diplomatic missions. In 1506 Mengli Giray asked the Polish king, Alexander, to facilitate the private trip of his "good servant" to Spain, where Garibaldis had two brothers, one of whom had recently died; see *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 8 (1499–1514). Užrašymų knyga* 8, p. 52 (the same letter is entered in the book no. 595 of the *Lithuanian Metrika* and published in *Sbornik knjazja Obolenskago*, pp. 26–27); in 1510, Augustino played a key role in the Crimean-Lithuanian rapprochement, and in February 1514 brought Mengli Giray's *yarlıq* to Vilnius; see Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną*, pp. 145–146, 356, 363–369 and Document 12; on the role of de Garibaldis in the Crimean relations with Muscovy, see Xoroškevič, *Rus' i Krym*, pp. 110–111. As late as 1524, he figured among the Crimean officials, who swore an oath to keep peace with Muscovy; see Malinovskij, "Istoričeskoe sobranie," p. 413 (referred to as *Agusutun knjaz'*, whereas the title *knjaz'* was equivalent to bey).

<sup>c-d</sup> The last three lines are written in black ink by Augustino de Garibaldis with his own hand.

<sup>19</sup> **قل اللهم مالك الملك تؤتي الملك من تشاء** Koranic verse from the 3rd sura (al-'Imran, verse 26), see Muhammad F. 'Abd al-Baqi, *al-Mu'jam al mufahras li-alfaz al-Qur'an al-Karim* (Cairo, n.d.), p. 673.

<sup>e</sup> Here begins the inscription in the middle frame.

<sup>20</sup> The text of the *nišan*: "[outer frame] In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful! Say: 'O God, King of the kingdom! Thou givest the kingdom to whom Thou pleasest.' [middle frame] There is no god but God! Muhammad is the Prophet of God! The sultan, Hadji Giray Khan;" in the inner frame of the *nišan* there is the trident-shaped emblem of the Girays known in Turkish as the *taraq tamğa*; for the reading of this *nišan*, cf. Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, pp. 153 and 155.



DOCUMENT 17 (14 MARCH 1516)

The instrument of agreement (*dokončane*) issued by Sigismund as the grand duke of Lithuania and sent to Khan Mehmed Giray

The original document is missing.

Ruthenian copies:

A. RGADA, fond 389 = Litovskaja metrika, no. 7, pp. 621/622–629/630<sup>1</sup> [old foliation: 313a–317a].

A.\* 18th-century Latin script transcription: AGAD, Metryka Litewska, no. 193, pp. 389–393.

Тое доконъчанье ут Господара Его Милости, великого корола Жикгимонъта послано до Манметы Кгирѣа,<sup>a</sup> царя перекопского паном Скиньдерем:

Во има боже станъса!

Къ векъистой тое то рѣчи памяти, мы Жикгимонътъ, з ласки божей корол полский, великий князь литовский, рѣский, княжа прѣское, жомойтський, и иныхъ, ѣвно чинимъ тым то нашимъ листомъ, штож вглановши есмо в старьи доконъчальные привила и листы счасное памяти предъковъ нашихъ, то естъ дѣда<sup>b</sup> нашего, Корола Его Милости Владыслава Акгела, и великого княза Витовта, и Жикгимонъта, и славное памяти утца нашего, корола и великого княза Казимера, с предки Великое Урды великого царя Магъмет Кириа, брата нашего, то естъ с царемъ Такмомышомъ<sup>c</sup> и иными цари, такъже и с царемъ Ачжикгириемъ, и с царемъ Менъдликгириемъ, утцомъ его, иж уни часъ панованъа своего промежку себе были ѣ верномъ братстве и в сталои приязни, удин другого приятелю были приятелемъ, а неприятелю неприятелемъ, и везде споломъ на всакого их неприятела стоѣли<sup>d</sup> за удин, и с того панъство их ширилося и множилосѣ, а неприятелемъ их рѣка слаба была. Мы бачачи, иж каждая приязнь стараѣ тривала естъ, и новое дѣло подъ вонъпенъемъ сталости, по смерти брата нашего Алексанъдра, корола и великого княза, седши на столъцахъ тыхъ утчизныхъ и дедичныхъ нашихъ панъствъ, то естъ Короны Полское и Великого Князьства Литовского, не хотели есмо

<sup>1</sup> Mistaken double pagination: two consecutive page numbers appear on each page.

<sup>a</sup> A\*. *Mahmet Girieja*.

<sup>b</sup> Written mistakenly: *дѣла*; cf. Document 10.

<sup>c</sup> A copyist's mistake; as the written Cyrillic *m* is similar to *м*, it should read: *Такмомышомъ*; cf. Document 10.

<sup>d</sup> Written mistakenly: *стоѣати*; cf. Document 10.

искати индеи приѣтелеи мимо брата нашего ѡтца его, великого цара Менѣдликгиреа. По вси тии лета ѡт оных часовъ и до сих мистъ склонилися есмо приѣзню нашою и добротою к немѣ, ѡбѣсѣлаючи его, и здоровья его навежаючи многими послы и частыми гонѣцы. А какъ ѡтца его в животе не стало, Богъ дѣшѣ его с того света взялъ, а ѡн на столѣцохъ ѡтчизныхъ ѡтца своего царемъ ѡсталъ, мы такъже мимо его, брата нашего, великого цара Магъмед Киреа, инѣде приѣтеля собѣ не искали. Тыми пакъ часы брат нашъ, Магъметъ Киреи цар, видечи справедливзю и сердечную нашу к немѣ приѣзнъ, писал и всказалъ к намъ черезъ свои велики послы, через Башибекъ мурзѣ, Ёбукъ мурзѣ, а черезъ писарѣ своего латинъского, Августина Кгарибалдѣса, жадаючи нас, абыхмо дѣла верного братства и вечной нашої приѣзни промежку нами доконѣчальными нашими лсты списалися и присагами ѡтвердилися по тому, какъ и з ѡтцомъ его, братомъ нашимъ, славное памѣти великимъ царемъ Менли Кгириемъ. Ино мы Жикгимонт, король и великии князь, порадившися ѡ томъ с князи бискупы и со всеми Паны Радами нашими Великого Князьства Литовского, з божее ласки и з нашее воли к тому есмо призволили.

Через нашъ листь знаменито чиним, штож взяли есмо мир и вечное доконченѣ з братомъ нашимъ, Великое Ѱрды великимъ царемъ Магъметъ Кгириемъ, штож жити нам с нимъ в ласце и приѣзни по тому, какъ предѣкове наши были зъ его предки, и ѡтецъ нашъ Казимер король зъ его дѣдомъ Ачжикгириемъ царемъ, и мы зъ ѡтцомъ его великимъ царемъ Менликгириемъ, приѣтелю его быти намъ приѣтелемъ, а неприѣтелю неприѣтелемъ, и везде на всѣакого<sup>e</sup> его недрѣга быти намъ с нимъ за ѡдинъ. Такъже брат нашъ, Магъметкирей цар [мает]<sup>f</sup> съ своими детми и внучаты, и з братею своею молодѣшою, и его правое рѣки и левое великого влуса с темники, и з тисачники, и сотники, и всеми вланы, и мурзы, и князи, приѣтелю нашомя быти приѣтелемъ, а неприѣтелю неприѣтелемъ, и везде на всѣакого нашего неприѣтеля с нами быти за ѡдинъ.

И которые города и волости, земли и воды неприѣтел нашъ московский черезъ свою присагѣ и докончанѣ зрадне подѣ братомъ нашимъ Алексанѣдромъ, королемъ и великимъ княземъ, и под нами забрал и посел, тые города и волости, земли и воды братъ нашъ, Магъметъ Киреи царъ, помочю своею вынемѣши з рѣкъ того неприѣтеля нашего московского, мает заса нам в нашу моцъ подати, и на потомъ завжды на того нашего неприѣтеля московского всеми своими воиски помонѣнъ нам быти. Тежъ естли бы сѣа пригодно на которогокольве иного неприѣтеля нашего помочи намъ ѡт брата нашего, Магъметъ Киреа, и брат нашъ, Магъмет Киреи цар, маетъ намъ сѣмою людеи послати, колько намъ будетъ потребѣ.

<sup>e</sup> Mistakenly repeated.

<sup>f</sup> Cf. Document 10.

Такъже и тые города, которые ж предковѣ его, первые цари, и дедъ его Ачжикгирей цар, и втець его цар Менли Кгирей, и братъ нашъ вжо тыхъ часовъ Магъметъ Кгирей цар, со тмами и зъ землями, и з водами, и всими доходы и данъми, в своихъ листехъ за золотыми печатми писали к Великому Кназьству Литовскому, ино некоторые с тыхъ городовъ и волостей, и земель, и водъ, невеременемъ предъковъ нашихъ впади в руки московского, братъ нашъ Магъметъ Кгирей цар подле докончальныхъ листовъ предъковъ его, и втца его Менъдли Кгирей царя, и подле приреченъа его крепкого царского слова, вынемши з моци московского намъ маеть заса подати.

А што брату нашему, Магъметъ Кгирей царю, неприятели ахматовы а магъмутовы дети, то и намъ неприятели, быти намъ с царемъ Магметъ Кгирейемъ на нихъ за вдинъ. А неприятеля его, Ши-Ахъмата царя, в литовской земли твердо будемъ стояти,<sup>g</sup> а на его лихо не выпускати, и до живота его, поки вт Бога смерть на него приидеть; такъже и слугъ<sup>h</sup> его на его лихо не выпускати, естли тежъ Магъметъ Кгирей цар будетъ намъ слово свое царское крепкое держати и присагу полнити.

А которые лихие дѣла стали сѧ были за втца нашего, Казимера короля, и за братю нашу старъшую Влбрихта и Александра королевъ, и вжо за насъ, Жикгимонъта короля, вт брати и вт дети его, и вт иныхъ солтановъ, и вт всихъ влановъ и кнезей, и вт всихъ слугъ вашихъ панъствамъ нашимъ втчизнымъ, Корвне Полское и Великому Кназьству Литовскомъ, и штоколъве вни шкодъ тымъ землямъ нашимъ по тьи лета вчинили, мы то все имъ втпускаемъ, и тые ихъ вси лихие дѣла з мысли наше складаемъ, и не хотимъ того памятати.

Такъже з божего допущенъа<sup>i</sup> Магъметъ Кгирей цар, братъ нашъ, и сынъ его в головахъ Богатыр солътанъ, и Алпъ<sup>j</sup> солтанъ, и инъшие солтанове в томъ еднаньи будъчи, до насъ, к Великому Кназьству Литовскому в гостиною приедътъ, або и мнѣ, Жикгимонъту королю, на помочъ напротивку неприятеля моего, на нашо слово з воискомъ своимъ неприятелю неприязнь чинити, а нашо дѣло на добрый конецъ на неприятеля доводити, ино вни мають в насъ в ласце и в чсти быти, а въ ласце<sup>k</sup> и во чсти втехати, занюжъ вт насъ шкоды имъ не вьдетъ.

Такъже вт Магъметъ Кгирейя царя, брата нашего влусовъ, которые богатые а вбогие купцы коли до наше земли приедътъ, стародавние вставленные мыта втдавши, звышъ того нашимъ врадникомъ силы, моцы имъ не делати, а которые врадникъ нашъ с того бы росказанъ

<sup>g</sup> Apparently it should read *держати* as in Document 10.

<sup>h</sup> Written mistakenly: *слуга*; cf. Document 10.

<sup>i</sup> Written mistakenly: *допущенъе*; cf. Document 10.

<sup>j</sup> Written mistakenly with a metathesis: *Алпъ*.

<sup>k</sup> Mistakenly repeated (*а въ в ласце*).

нашого выступил, на звышъ пошлены што на нихъ възал, того намъ сказънити, а имъ заплату сполна казати заплатити; нехай вси<sup>1</sup> къпци брата нашего во здоровьи приедътъ, а в цилости штедът.

Такъже брату нашему, Магъмет Кгирею царъ, з ласки наше братское хотачи помочъ вчинити, абы онъ своихъ вѣрныхъ слугъ ку помочи нашої напротивку неприатели нашихъ вспомогаал, и шбецаемъ ему в каждыи годъ впомяинки слати с тыхъ шбеюхъ нашихъ панъствъ, с Короны Полское и Великого Кназьства<sup>м</sup> Литовского, пятнадцатъ тисачи золотыхъ, а то тымъ шбычаемъ: с Короны Полское полъ шсмы тисачи золотыхъ, а з Великого Кназьства полъ шсмы тисачи золотыхъ, половицъ пенезми, а половицъ товаромъ, кождого годъ на два роки: первыи рокъ маеть быти з брата нашего ш сеимой суботе пол шсмы тисачи золотыхъ, дрягии рокъ ш Светомъ Мартине дрягаа по[л] шсмы тисачи золотыхъ. А братъ нашъ, Магъметъ Кгирей цар, маеть на того нашего неприателя, коли намъ надобе, завжды без вымовы помочон быти, и на всихъ иныхъ нашихъ неприатели, и во всемъ намъ по тому правити, какъ шыей в семъ нашемъ листе<sup>н</sup> выписано.

А мы тежъ съ своего слова брату нашему ни в чомъ не выступимъ, и на тые на вси правдивые наши слова с князи бискупы, и со всеми Паны Радами нашими Великого Кназьства Литовского присагу твердзю вчинивши, дали есмо сеи нашъ листь з нашою печатью Великого Кназьства Литовского маистатьною большею, и с печатми Панов Рад нашихъ при томъ будъчихъ:<sup>о</sup> князь Воитехъ бискупъ виленский; воевода виленъский, панъ канцлер наш, панъ Миколай Миколаевичъ Радивиловича; пан виленъский, гетманъ наивыший, староста луцкии, маршалокъ волынское земли, князь Костантинъ Ивановичъ Штрозки; воевода троцкии, маршалокъ нашъ дворный, панъ Григорей Станиславовичъ Штиковича; пан троцкии, староста жомойтский, пан Станислав ІАновичъ; маршалокъ земъский, державца слонимъский, панъ ІАн Миколаевичъ Радивиловича; воевода полоцкии, державца мозырский, панъ Шльбрыхтъ Мартиновичъ Кгаштовтовича; воевода новгородский, маршалокъ наш ІАн ІАнович Забрезинъский; маршалокъ нашъ, староста берестейский и лидский, панъ Юрьи Ивановичъ Илинича; подскарбии земский, староста ковенский, панъ Аврам Езоовичъ.

Стало сѧ и дано з Вилни лѣта божего тисача пятъсотъ шостого-надъцать, месеца марта дї [14], индикт д [4].

<sup>1</sup> Written mistakenly: *вели*; cf. Document 10.

<sup>м</sup> Written mistakenly: *Книзьстви*; cf. Document 10.

<sup>н</sup> Written mistakenly: *листе*; cf. Document 10.

<sup>о</sup> Written mistakenly: *будучимъ*.

## Translation:

*This letter of agreement was sent from His Majesty, the hospodar [i.e., grand duke], the great king Sigismund, to Mehmed Giray, the khan of Perekop [i.e., the Crimean khan], through Pan Skinder:<sup>2</sup>*

*Let it happen in the name of God!*

*For eternal memory, we, Sigismund, by the grace of God the king of Poland, the grand duke of Lithuania, Ruthenia, the duke of Prussia, Samogitia,<sup>3</sup> and other [lands], we make known with our present letter that as we have inspected the old privileges and letters of agreement of our ancestors of felicitous memory, namely our grandfather, His Royal Majesty Vladislaus Jagiello, Grand Duke Vytautas, Sigismund,<sup>4</sup> and our father of glorious memory, the king and grand duke Casimir, [exchanged] with the ancestors of our brother Mehmed Giray, the great khan of the Great Horde, namely Khan Tokhtamish and other khans, also with Khan Hadji Giray, and with his [i.e., Mehmed Giray's] father, Khan Mengli Giray, [we have concluded] that as during their reigns they had mutually cultivated loyal brotherhood and constant friendship, being a friend to the other's friend, and an enemy to the other's enemy, and together they had faced every enemy everywhere, in result their domain[s] had widened and multiplied, and their enemies had had their hands weakened. Seeing that every old friendship is durable while a new venture is subject to doubt in regard to its stability, having ascended the thrones of our ancestral and hereditary states, namely the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, after the death of our brother, the king and grand duke Alexander, we did not want to seek friends beyond our brother's father, the great khan Mengli Giray. For all these years since those times and until this point, we have been amiably and well disposed towards him, having dispatched multiple envoys and frequent couriers to inquire about his health. And when his father was no longer among the living and God took his soul from this world, as our brother, the great khan Mehmed Giray, ascended the ancestral thrones<sup>5</sup> of his father, we also did not seek friends beyond him. Upon seeing our loyal and sincere friendship towards him, our brother Mehmed Giray Khan wrote and notified us through his great*

<sup>2</sup> On Stanisław Skinder, also the envoy to the Crimea in the years 1512–1514, see Document 12, n. 29.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., Žemaitija (Pol. Żmudź).

<sup>4</sup> Sigismund (Lith. Žygimantas), younger brother of Vytautas and grand duke of Lithuania in the years 1432–1440.

<sup>5</sup> Though in theory the plural might refer to the two hordes—the Crimean and Trans-Volgine—, to which the Girays claimed hereditary rights (cf. Document 7), it is rather a calque of the entry referring to the two thrones of Sigismund (i.e., of Poland and Lithuania).

envoys, Bashibek Mirza,<sup>6</sup> Yabuk<sup>7</sup> Mirza, and his Latin scribe, Augustino [de] Garibaldis,<sup>8</sup> demanding that for the sake of loyal brotherhood and eternal friendship between us we exchange letters of agreement [Ruth. dokončalnyi lysty] and confirm them with oaths, in the same manner as we had done with his father and our brother, the great khan of glorious memory, Mengli Giray. And we, the king and grand duke Sigismund, having taken counsel with the reverend bishops and with all our Lords Councilors of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, have given consent for it with the grace of God and our will.

With our letter we make known that we have concluded peace and eternal agreement with our brother Mehmed Giray, the great khan of the Great Horde, to live with him in harmony and amity, as our ancestors had with his ancestors, and our father King Casimir had with his grandfather Hadji Giray Khan, and we had with his father, the great khan Mengli Giray, to be a friend to his friend and an enemy to his enemy, and to face jointly with him any of his enemies from any direction. Also our brother, Mehmed Giray Khan, along with his children and grandchildren, his younger brothers, the commanders of ten thousands [tūmens], thousands, hundreds, and tens of the great people [ulus] of his right hand and left, all the ulans, mirzas, and beys [Ruth. knezy], should be a friend to our friend and an enemy to our enemy, and face jointly with us any of our enemies from any direction.

And whichever towns, estates, lands, and waters our Muscovian enemy treacherously captured and took in possession in violation of his oath and agreement under [the reign of] our brother, the king and grand duke Alexander, and under our [reign],<sup>9</sup> our brother, Mehmed Giray Khan, by his [military]

<sup>6</sup> Bashibek (Bakšibek in the Russian sources), a member of the Shirin clan referred to in a Russian diplomatic report as the brother of Hüdayar (Kudojar in the Russian sources), hence also the brother of Evliya (a future envoy to Poland-Lithuania in the years 1520–1522) and son of Devletek; see *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 2, p. 293; on the Shirins' genealogy, cf. Document 9, n. 16 and Document 19, notes 8–9. The Crimean embassy was received by King Sigismund in Cracow on 25 August 1515, after his return from the diplomatic congress in Vienna; see Kazimierz Pułaski, "Machmet-Girej," p. 288, and Feliks Šabul'do, "Jarlyki," pp. 257 and 261–262. Šabul'do suggests that Bashibek delivered a presently lost *yarlıq*, issued by the new khan, which served as the basis for the document issued in 1517 by Bahadır Giray (cf. Document 18). The argument is convincing, especially as in 1516 Mehmed Giray referred to the great embassy of Bashibek Mirza that had arrived "with an oath and [a letter of] agreement" (*z przysięgą i dokończeniem*); see his letter to Sigismund, published in *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 4, p. 88.

<sup>7</sup> The envoy's name was alternatively pronounced Chabuk (Czabuk); see *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 4, p. 88.

<sup>8</sup> On Augustino de Garibaldis, a Genovese from Caffa in the khan's service, frequently sent in diplomatic missions, see Document 16, n. 18; in February 1514 he brought Mengli Giray's *yarlıq* to Vilnius (Document 12) and in November 1514 issued the Italian version of the khan's instrument regarding Poland (Document 16).

<sup>9</sup> The mention of territorial losses under the reign of King Sigismund especially refers to Smolensk, captured by the Muscovian army in 1514; cf. Document 10, where this clause was not yet entered.

assistance should recapture these towns, estates, lands, and waters from the hands of the Muscovian enemy, and restore them into our might, and in the future always assist [us] with all his troops against the Muscovian enemy. And if it so happens that we [ask] our brother, Mehmed Giray, for help against any other of our enemies, then our brother, Mengli Giray Khan, should send us as many men as we need.

Moreover, [in regard to] the towns that his ancestors, the first khans, and his grandfather, Hadji Giray Khan, and his father, Khan Mengli Giray, and—also in the recent times—our brother, Mehmed Giray Khan, have written down in their letters with golden seals [and granted] to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania along with their tūmens, lands, waters, all incomes and levies, as some of these towns, estates, lands, and waters have fallen into the hands of the Muscovian [ruler] in the unfortunate times of our ancestors, our brother, Mehmed Giray Khan, should—in conformity with the letters of agreement of his ancestors and his father, Mengli Giray Khan, and with the tenor of his firm royal word—recapture them from the might of the Muscovian [ruler] and restore to us.

And as the children of Ahmed and Mahmud<sup>10</sup> are enemies of our brother, Mehmed Giray Khan, they are our enemies, too, and we will face them jointly, along with Mehmed Giray Khan. And we will detain in Lithuania his enemy, Sheikh Ahmed, for life, until he is reached by death sent by God; and we will not let him go so that he does not commit any harm to him [i.e., Mehmed Giray]; likewise, we will not let his [i.e., Sheikh Ahmed's] servants go so that they do not commit any harm to him [i.e., Mehmed Giray], if only Mehmed Giray Khan keeps his firm royal word and fulfills his oath [given] to us.

As regards the harm committed during [the reigns of] our father, King Casimir, and our elder brothers, the kings [John] Albert and Alexander, and also recently during [the reign of] us, King Sigismund, by his brothers and children, and other sultans [i.e., princes], and by all ulans and beys, and all your servants towards our ancestral states, the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and whatever damage they have caused to our lands up till the present, we forgive them, we release all this harm from our memory, and we do not intend to remember it.

Moreover, if by God's permission our brother, Mehmed Giray Khan, his son Bahadır Sultan<sup>11</sup>—to begin with, Alp Sultan,<sup>12</sup> or other sultans [i.e., princes] participating in this reconciliation, come to us, to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania,

<sup>10</sup> "The children of Ahmed and Mahmud"—on this customary formula, referring to the khans of the Great Horde and of Astrakhan, who were the traditional enemies of the Girays; see Document 10, n. 7.

<sup>11</sup> The oldest son of Mehmed Giray; in 1519, after the rebellion of Mehmed Giray's brother, Ahmed Giray, Bahadır replaced the latter as the qalga; in 1523, during the Astrakhan campaign, he was killed along with his father by the Nogays; cf. *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 2, p. 636 and index, columns 23–24; Syročekovskij, "Muxammed-Geraj i ego vassaly," pp. 53–57.

<sup>12</sup> The second son of Mehmed Giray; he sided with his brother, Bahadır Giray; in 1519 he killed their uncle, Ahmed Giray, after the latter rebelled against the khan; cf. *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 2, index, columns 9–10.

to seek hospitality or to assist me, King Sigismund, against my enemy and—on our request—to show enmity to [our] enemy along with their troops and to bring our case against this enemy to a propitious conclusion, they should enjoy favor and reverence among us, they should be able to depart enjoying favor and reverence, as they will suffer no harm from us.

Moreover, when merchants—either rich or poor—come to our land from among the peoples [uluses] of our brother, Mehmed Giray Khan, after they have paid the ancient, established tolls, our officials should not employ force or violence against them; and if any of our officials breaks our present order and collects from them more than the [customary] tax, we should punish him and order to fully restore them the [illegal] payment; may all merchants of our brother come safe and depart sound.

Moreover, as—with our brotherly favor—we intend to help our brother, Mehmed Giray Khan, so that he may provide his loyal servants [sent] to assist us against our enemies, we promise to send him each year gifts [upomynky] from our two states, the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, [in the amount of] 15,000 florins [zlotys], in the following manner: 7,500 florins from the Polish Crown and 7,500 florins from the Grand Duchy, one half in cash and one half in goods, every year in two rates: the first rate—7,500 florins—should reach our brother on the seventh Saturday [i.e., the Saturday before the Pentecost], the second rate of another 7,500 florins on St. Martin's Day.<sup>13</sup> And [in return] our brother, Mehmed Giray Khan, should always, whenever we need it and without any excuse, be of assistance against our present [i.e., Muscovian] enemy and against all our other enemies, and he should fulfill all his duties towards us, as it is written above in our present letter.

And neither will we depart in any detail from our word [given] to our brother; and having confirmed with firm oath[s] the veracity of all our present words along with the reverend bishops and with all our Lords Councilors of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, we have issued our present letter with our great majestic seal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania,<sup>14</sup> and with the seals of our Lords Councillors, who have been present: the Reverend Wojciech,<sup>15</sup> the bishop of Vilnius; Pan Mikołaj Mikołajewicz Radziwiłł,<sup>16</sup> the palatine of Vilnius and our chancellor; Prince Kostjantyn Ivanovyč Ostroz'kyj,<sup>17</sup> the lord [i.e., castellan] of Vilnius, the highest hetman, the starosta of Luc'k, the marshal of Volhynia; Pan Hryhoryj Stanisławowicz Ościkowicz,<sup>18</sup> the palatine of Trakai and our court marshal; Pan Stanisław Janowicz,<sup>19</sup> the lord [i.e., castellan] of

<sup>13</sup> I.e., 11 November.

<sup>14</sup> On the great majestic seal used in the Lithuanian chancery, see Document 10, n. 9.

<sup>15</sup> On Wojciech Radziwiłł, the bishop of Vilnius from 1507 till 1519, see Document 9, n. 23.

<sup>16</sup> On Mikołaj Radziwiłł, see Document 10, n. 11.

<sup>17</sup> On Kostjantyn Ostroz'kyj, see Document 10, n. 12.

<sup>18</sup> On Grzegorz Ościkowicz (Hryhoryj Ostykovyč), see Document 10, n. 13.

<sup>19</sup> On Stanisław Janowicz Kieżgajło, see Document 10, n. 14.



*Trakai and the starosta of Samogitia; Pan Jan Mikołajewicz Radziwiłł,<sup>20</sup> the land marshal and the tenant of Slonim; Pan Olbracht Marcinowicz Gasztold,<sup>21</sup> the palatine of Polack and the tenant of Mazyr; Jan Janowicz Zabrzeziński,<sup>22</sup> the palatine of Navahrudak and our marshal;<sup>23</sup> Pan Jurij Ivanovyč Ilinič,<sup>24</sup> our marshal, the starosta of Brest and Lida; Pan Avram Ezofovyč,<sup>25</sup> the land treasurer, the starosta of Kaunas.*

*Took place and given in Vilnius anno Domini 1516, on the 14th day of the month of March, during the 4th indiction.<sup>26</sup>*

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<sup>20</sup> Jan Radziwiłł, lieutenant of Slonim since 1505, Lithuanian land marshal since 1514, castellan of Trakai since 1522; see his biography by Krzysztof Pietkiewicz in PSB, vol. 30, pp. 191–192.

<sup>21</sup> Olbracht Gasztold, *starosta* of Bielsk and Mazyr and palatine of Polack since 1513, palatine of Trakai since 1519, palatine of Vilnius and Lithuanian chancellor since 1522; see his biography by Władysław Pociecha in PSB, vol. 7 (Cracow, 1948–1958), pp. 299–303.

<sup>22</sup> On Jan Janowicz Zabrzeziński, see Document 10, n. 16.

<sup>23</sup> On this title, not to be confused with the titles of land marshal and court marshal, see Document 10, n. 17.

<sup>24</sup> On Jurij Ivanovyč Ilinič, see Document 10, n. 19.

<sup>25</sup> On Jan Abraham Ezofovyč, see Document 10, n. 23.

<sup>26</sup> The fourth indiction lasted from 1 September 1515 till 31 August 1516.

DOCUMENT 18 (MAY–JUNE 1517<sup>1</sup>)

A copy of the donation *yarlıq* cum *şartname* (*lyst dokončannyj*) sent by Khan Mehmed Giray to King Sigismund, corroborated and sworn by Prince Bahadır Giray<sup>2</sup>

The original document is missing.

Ruthenian copies:

A. RGADA, fond 389 = Litovskaja metrika, no. 223, fol. 185b–188a [old foliation: 178b–181a].

A.\* 18th-century Latin transcription: AGAD, Metryka Litewska, no. 196, pp. 241–244 [new pagination: pp. 586–589].

Божѣимъ именемъ починаемъ, которыи щасте дает и милость тым, которыи братскую приказнь правдиве держать и слово свое правдивое сполняють безъ обмылы, съ чистого серъца своего.

Деда моего Мелли Кириа слово, втца моего Магмет Кириа слово, Багатырь солтаново слово, брата моего Алпъ Кирей солтаново слово:

Правая рѣка, левая рѣка<sup>а</sup> великого влуса темъникомъ, тисѣчникомъ, сотником, десѣтником, вланом, княземъ, тежъ рѣскимъ княземъ, мѣстомъ и городом, митрополитомъ, владыкамъ, белыголовымъ, чернѣцомъ,

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<sup>1</sup> This document is preserved in the Lithuanian Register among the documents recorded in 1521. Yet, it refers to Olbracht Gasztold as the Lithuanian envoy and to Hemmet Sultan as still present in the khan's retinue (on them, see notes 35 and 32 below). Besides, it is based on Mengli Giray's *yarlıq* from 1514 (Document 14) or probably on Mehmed Giray's unpreserved *yarlıq* from 1515 rather than on Mehmed Giray's document from 1520 (Document 19). These arguments allow us to date it in 1517. This dating was already proposed by Borys Čerkas and Feliks Šabul'do; cf. Čerkas, "Ukrajina v polityčnomu protystojanni Velykoho knjazivstva Lytovs'koho z Moskovs'koju deržavoju i Krymom u 20-x–30-x rr. XVI st.," p. 23; Šabul'do, "Jarlyki," pp. 264 and 268–270. Quoting a royal letter, announcing Gasztold's arrival at Kiev four weeks after Easter (that fell on 12 April in 1517), Šabul'do concluded that Gasztold might have arrived at Kiev on 10 May, and at Čerkasy between 15 and 20 May. Allowing for a delay, I would propose to date this document in May–June 1517.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting that Bahadır Giray issued his own sealed document of peace even before he became a qalga in 1519. It was not his first overture in this regard. Already in the instruction for the Muscovian envoy, Ivan Mamonov, drawn in 1515 in Moscow, the envoy was ordered *not* to accept any separate instrument of peace from Bahadır Giray if the Tatar prince proposed to draw such a document (*a nečto carevič stanet davati Ivanu svoju opričnjuju šertnuju gramotu, i Ivanu u careviča gramoty ego ne imati*); see *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 2, p. 215.

<sup>а</sup> It should read: *Правое рѣки, левое рѣки*.

кназемъ, боцпромъ, мѣщаномъ, и всему посполству, вамъ звездама бѣ было, штож мы павно чиним симъ нашимъ листомъ:

Первеи сего наши предки, цари, отецъ Магметъ Кирей царь, коли кон его потныи былъ, до великого князя Витолта, и до великого князя Казимера до Князьства Литовского в гостиное приездчали, вѣликую честь и славу видали; и водлуг давного обычаа рѣские земли из города, и з мѣсты, з волостями, со тмою, зъ землями, з водами, и со всеми доходы, ничего не вставуючи писали. Водлу[г] давных царьлыкы первых цареи писано было, штож первеи сего от нас. В тот час, коли божья ласка была, на столцы цареи ихъ милости, и теж отца нашего царя, тамъ есмо видели давные и старые докончаные листы предков нашихъ, и свои есмо листъ по тому ж, какъ отецъ мой, Мелли Кирей царь великому князю, королю Казимерю далъ, в тот час поновляючи подлуг стародавнихъ докончаней, свои есми дить зъ золотою печатю послал брату своему, великому королю и великому князю Жикгимонту, и детемъ его, и потомъкомъ, держати вов покои: Киевъ со тмою, зъ землями, з водами, и со всеми доходы; Великий Лучаскъ со тмою, зъ землями, з водами, и со всеми доходы; Смоленскъ со тмою, зъ землями, з водами, и со всеми доходы; Полтескъ, Витебскъ, со тмою, зъ землями, зъ водами, и со всеми доходы; Подоле со тмою, зъ землями, з водами; Бриславль со тмою и з доходы; Сокал со тмою, зъ землями, з водами, и со всеми доходы; Звинигород зъ землями, з водами, и со всеми доходы; Качибеево, Мазакъ, зъ землями, з водами; такежъ поченши Днепромъ от Киева аж до вѣстья днепрового; Снепород, Глинско, з людьми; Жолваш, Путивль, зъ землями, з водами; Бирин, Синяч, Хотен, Лучич, Хотемильш, Нисан, зъ землями, з водами, и со всеми доходы; Курско со тмою; Сараева сына Екалтаево со тмою; Радогощъ, Милелобъ, со всеми землями и доходы, Мужочъ, Ускол; Стародубъ, Брянско, со всеми землями, и водами, и доходы; Мченескъ, Любско, Тула-город, со всеми землями, и водами, и со всеми доходы; Берестъ, Ратно, Козелско, Брянско, Улькена, Испашъ, Донецъ, со всеми землями, и водами, и со всеми доходы; Дашув город, Балаклы на Богу, Учов-город, Утушков-город, Тушин, Немиров со тмою, Мумыш, [Оедоровъ] жекумо город устры,<sup>b</sup> со всеми землями, и водами, и со всеми доходы; Псков, Великий Новгород, Резанский Переяславль, Пашина, з людьми, со тмою, з города, з леси и доходы, што потечеть и вканеть, Великому Князьству Литовскому дали.

И на тое дѣло вравивши съ съ сынми своими, и съ царевичи, з вланы и князми, с мърззами, твердую присягу з ними весполомъ учинили, штож мы с королемъ и великим княземъ Жикгимонтомъ в правдивои приязни быт на вѣки з дѣтми и потомъками его; наши дети и потомъки его приятелю приятелемъ быти, а неприятелю неприятелем, в кождомъ мѣсте, на каждого его неприятеля быти за вдин.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Document 14: *Оедоровъ-городокъ рекомо остров.*

И которыи города и волости, земли и воды, брат московского князя и великого короля Алексъандра взял и къ собѣ привернул, Боже милыи даи, которыи города под ним взял, тыи города и волости, и земли, и воды ѿ, Магмет Кирии царь, сын мои Богатырь солтан, Алпъ Кирии солтан, з божею помочю и московского з рукъ отнявши, засе великомъ королю и великомъ князю Жикгимунту в руки дати! И на его неприятеля московского ѿ, Магмет Кирей царь, со всеми сынами своими, и з людьми, и з войскомъ своимъ королю и великомъ князю Жикгимунту помоч учинимъ ныне и завжды. А таже и на инших его неприятелей, коли до нас пришлетъ просиачи людей и войска на помоч, тогда мы маем дати сколько емъ будет потреба.

А которыи лихыи вчинки были за отца вашего Казимера, короля и великого князя, и за братю твою, за Влбрахта и за Влексъандра, а коли сѧ вжо за Вашу Милость<sup>c</sup> и панства Ваше Милости отчизного, и Коруну Полское, и Великого Князьства Литовъского,<sup>d</sup> от мене, Магъметъ Кирей царя, и от дечи моих, и со всехъ влановъ и князей, и слугъ моих, што в тот час вашомъ панству шкоды починили, и ты, брат нашъ то все имъ бы отпустил, и тыи лихыи дела съ серъца своего выпустете. Которыи лихыи дела были нашимъ детемъ,<sup>e</sup> и людемъ нашимъ брату нашомъ, Жикгимунту королю, и Казимеру, и Влбрахту, и Влександре, и на их мѣстцах ты, нашъ брат Жикгимунт, великий король,<sup>f</sup> тыи лихыи дела съ серъца своего выкин, а мы теж в серъцы своимъ ихъ мѣти не хотимъ.

А што первѣи сего, милость и братскую при<н>язнь нашъ <приязнь> знамѣнуочи, послали брату нашему Жикгимунту, королю и великому князю сына нашего Чалалдыинъ солтана в гостину. А такъ божѧ воля стала над нимъ, съ сего свѣта зышол. И на его мѣстцы другого солтана пошлемъ в гостину брату нашему Жикгимунту, королю и великомъ князю, сына або сынего сына. И тое слышачи, неприятели наши страшили<л>[б]и сѧ, а приятели радовали сѧ.

И на тое ѿ, Магмет Кирей царь, хотѧчи брата нашего, Жикгимонта короля, вьсего доброго, поминков и купцов призволил з Великого Князьства Литовского доброволно приити, ничого не выстерегаючи сѧ, и в Качибиеве сол взѧти, мыто заплативши жиеномъ,<sup>g</sup> до Киева и до Луцка, и теж до иншихъ городов привозити, за нашими людьми за сторожею, штобъ имъ в Качибееве сол берзчи от нашихъ людей лихих, и от казаков никотораѧ шкода сѧ не стала. А естли бы купцомъ котораѧ сѧ шкода стала, мы брату нашомъ маемъ тое заплатить. Купцомъ Корвны Полское и Великого Князьства Литовского,

<sup>c-d</sup> It should rather read: *панствамъ Ваше Милости отчизнымъ, и Коруну Полскою, и Великому Князьству Литовъскому*; cf. Document 14.

<sup>e-f</sup> It should rather read: *и людемъ нашимъ в земли брата нашего, Жикгимонта короля, за Казимера, и Влбрахта, и Влександра, и на их мѣстцах тебе, нашего брата Жикгимонта, великого короля*; cf. Document 14.

<sup>g</sup> Corrupt; it should read *аминомъ*; cf. Document 19.

богатымъ и вбогимъ, добровольне приехати съ своею торговлею и к Орде, и къ Коее, и поторговавши, добровольне поехали,<sup>h</sup> заплативши мыто водле стародавнего обычаа.

Такъ иако есть вышеи описано въ семъ нашемъ листе, то завжды будемъ сполнати, и с того не будемъ выступоват, и сыновъ своихъ з войскомъ своимъ на его неприятеля московского посылати, и тыи города и волости, и земли, и воды, которыи города московского штец, и сам з Великого Кназьства Литовъского к собѣ привернзълъ, и в него штиавши, брату нашемъ Жикгимонтъ, королю и великому князю литовскому подамо; и на каждого неприятеля его с одного быти.

А естли бы некако наши некоторые люди, або сына нашего, Богатырь солтановы, або <або> Алпъ Кирей солтановы люди воевали бы земли брата нашего, великого короля, мы ихъ самих поймавши, брату нашему, вѣликому королю пошлемъ; а статъки выграбивши, и жоны ихъ побравши, великомъ королю пошлемъ, естли бы тыи сами головами своими повтекали.

И почонши иа в головахъ, Магмет Кирей царь, съ сыномъ своимъ Богатырь солтаном, Алпъ Кирей солтаномъ, Гемет Кирей солтаномъ, и со всеми царевичи, з уланы, и князьми, и муръзами, твердо и правдиво есмо присагнули брату нашемъ, великому королю и великомъ князю Жикгимонту, перед его Радою, сесъ мои есми листъ далъ, зъ золотою печатю ему есмо дали.

Иа, Богатырь Кирей солтан, присагнулъ есми шца своего царя Магмет Киреа душу, и теж своею душею, и брата своего Алпъ Кирей солтановою душею, и другого брата своего Гемъметъ Кирей солтановою душею, к<л> пану Шбрахту к Гаштолтовичу с того листа докончанного копею выписавши дал есми под печатю своего перъстеня.

А што приидеть свято ваше Великъден, тогда иа пошлю до Киева брата своего Макъсуд<sup>i</sup> Кирей солтана, и которого пана своего против его Корол Его Милост штецъ нашъ пошлетъ, мы его тому пану з руки дадимъ.

Писан на мѣстыцу шца моего вѣлкого короля з Черъкасех.

Translation:

*We commence in the name of God, who gives felicity and love to those who truly keep brotherly friendship and fulfill their sincere word, without any deceit, from their pure heart.*

*The word of my grandfather Mengli Giray, [also] the word of my father Mehmed Giray, the word of [mine,] Bahadır Sultan,<sup>3</sup> [and] the word of my brother, Alp Giray Sultan:<sup>4</sup>*

<sup>h</sup> It should rather read: *noexamu*.

<sup>i</sup> In A\* written erroneously *Jaksud*.

<sup>3</sup> On the qalga Bahadır Sultan, see Document 17, n. 11.

<sup>4</sup> On Alp Giray Sultan, see Document 17, n. 12.

To the commanders of tens of thousands [tümens], thousands, hundreds, and tens of the great people [ulus] of the right and the left hand, the ulans and beys [Ruth. knjazem], also to the Ruthenian princes, towns and castles, metropolitans, [Orthodox] bishops, women [sic],<sup>5</sup> monks, princes, boyars, townsmen, and all the commoners, you should know that we announce [the following] with our present letter:

Previously our ancestors, the khans, [and also our] father, Mehmed Giray Khan, when his horse was growing sweaty [beneath him],<sup>6</sup> they would come seeking hospitality [i.e., refuge] to Grand Duke Vytautas and Grand Duke Casimir, in the Lithuanian Duchy, and they experienced great reverence and esteem; and according to the ancient custom they wrote down [and granted to them] the Ruthenian lands along with towns, settlements, estates, tümen[s], lands, waters, and all revenues, not omitting anything. What was earlier [i.e., above] written by us, was written on the basis of the ancient yarlıqs of the first khans. When, by the grace of God, [we ascended] the throne of their majesties, the khans, and also the khan, our father, we saw there [i.e., in the palace archives] the ancient and old letters of agreement [drawn] by our ancestors, and then—renewing [the peace] on the basis of the ancient letters of agreement—we sent our letter with a golden seal, such as the letter that my father, Mengli Giray Khan, had given to the grand duke, King Casimir, letting our brother, the great king and grand duke Sigismund, his children and descendants, hold in peace.<sup>7</sup>

- Kiev with its tümen along with lands, waters, and all revenues;
- Great Luc'k with its tümen along with lands, waters, and all revenues;
- Smolensk with its tümen along with lands, waters, and all revenues;
- Polack and Vicebsk with tümen<sup>8</sup> along with lands, waters and all revenues;
- Podolia with its tümen along with lands and waters;
- Braclav with its tümen along with revenues;
- Sokolec<sup>9</sup> with its tümen along with lands, waters, and all revenues;

<sup>5</sup> Apparently by misunderstanding, the scribe changed the term *belcom* (lit. “to those [wearing] white [garments]”), which had figured in earlier documents and referred to laymen living in monasteries (cf. Document 1, n. 2), into *belyholovym* (lit. “to those with white heads”). The latter term referred to women and is unlikely in the given context (i.e., a social group listed between bishops and monks); yet, the mistake was perpetuated for almost a century as in a document from 1592, composed in Turkish (Document 34), we encounter a mysterious term *aqbaşlı* (lit. “[the one] with a white head”).

<sup>6</sup> Written in singular; it should rather read: “when their horses were growing sweaty [beneath them].”

<sup>7</sup> The last sentence obviously refers in the first person to Mehmed Giray Khan and not his son, Bahadır Sultan.

<sup>8</sup> It is not clear whether the author regarded Polack and Vicebsk as one or two separate *tümens*.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Document 8, n. 4.

- *Zvynyhorod*<sup>10</sup> along with lands, waters, and all revenues;
- *Kačybej* and *Majak* along with lands and waters;<sup>11</sup>
- also starting from Kiev along with the Dnieper to its mouth;
- *Sneporod* and *Hlyns'k* along with [their] people;<sup>12</sup>
- *Žolvaž*<sup>13</sup> and *Putyvł'* along with lands and waters;
- *Byryn*, *Synec*, *Xoten'*, *Losyčy*, *Xotmyšl*, and *Nycjany* along with lands, waters, and all revenues;<sup>14</sup>
- *Kursk* with its *tümen*;
- the *tümen* of *Jagoldaj*, son of *Saraj*;<sup>15</sup>
- *Radogošč'* and *Myloljub* along with all lands and revenues, *Mužeč* and *Oskol*;<sup>16</sup>
- *Starodub* and *Brjansk* along with all lands, waters, and revenues;
- *Mcensk*, *Ljubutsk*, and the town of *Tula* along with all lands, waters, and revenues;<sup>17</sup>
- *Berestej*, *Retan'*, *Kozel'sk*, *Pronsk*, *Volkonsk*, *Spažsk*, and *Donec* along with all lands, waters, and revenues;<sup>18</sup>
- the castle of *Dašov* and *Balykly* on the *Boh* [river],<sup>19</sup> *Čornyj Horod* and the castle of *Uteškov*,<sup>20</sup> *Tušyn*, *Nemyrov* with its *tümen*,<sup>21</sup> *Mumyš*, and an island castle referred to as *Fedorov*<sup>22</sup> along with all lands, waters, and revenues;<sup>23</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Document 8, n. 5.

<sup>11</sup> On *Kačybej* and *Majak*, cf. Document 8, notes 6–7.

<sup>12</sup> On *Sneporod* and *Hlyns'k*, cf. Document 8, notes 8–9.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Document 8, n. 10.

<sup>14</sup> On these estates in the region of *Putyvł'* and on the rivers *Sula* and *Vorskla*, cf. Document 8, notes 11–16.

<sup>15</sup> On this estate, extending between the upper *Sejm* and the upper *Donec* rivers, and its former owner, see Document 8, n. 18. In the present document it is corruptly rendered as “*Ekaltaevo*, belonging to *Saraj*’s son, with its *tümen*.”

<sup>16</sup> *Myloljub*, *Mužeč* and *Oskol* belonged to the *tümen* of *Jagoldaj* (cf. Document 8, notes 18–19) while the town of *Radogošč'* was situated further to the northwest. As the latter did not figure in the earlier *yarlıqs* and was registered for the first time in 1513–1514 (see Documents 12 and 14), apparently by error the scribe entered its name in the wrong place, i.e., between the *tümen* of *Jagoldaj* and *Myloljub*.

<sup>17</sup> On *Mcensk*, *Ljubutsk*, and *Tula*, see Document 8, notes 20–21.

<sup>18</sup> On these localities and estates, see Document 8, notes 22–26.

<sup>19</sup> On these two settlements, situated on the lower *Boh*, see Document 8, notes 31 and 28. *Dašov* was in fact the ancient name of *Očakiv* (Tat. *Djankerman*; Tur. *Özü qal'esi*).

<sup>20</sup> The two terms, recorded in the instrument: *Očov-horod* and *Otuškov-horod*, might both refer to *Očakiv*. Yet, it is more likely that the first entry is a corrupt rendering of *Čornyj horod* while the second one refers to *Očakiv* (cf. Document 14, where these two localities are listed in the same order as *Učorn-horod* and *Uteškov-horod*); on the location of *Čornyj Horod* see Document 8, n. 30; on the entry *Uteškov* cf. Document 12, n. 22.

<sup>21</sup> Perhaps it should read “*Nemyrov* with the *tümen* of *Uhrom*,” the *tümen* of *Uhrom*, which could not be localized, appears in Documents 14 and 19 (in the latter corrupt as “the district of *Turov*”).

<sup>22</sup> For *Fedorov*, cf. n. b above and Document 14.

<sup>23</sup> The last four settlements, *Tušyn*, *Nemyrov*, *Mumyš*, and *Fedorov* could not be identified, but they were apparently situated in lower *Podolia*, between the *Boh* and

– Pskov, Velikij Novgorod, Perejaslavl’ Rjazan’skij, and Pavšino<sup>24</sup> along with their people and tümen, with towns, forests, revenues, and [everything] that flows or streams—[we] gave [all the above localities] to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

*And having taken counsel in this matter along with my sons, the [other] sultans [i.e., princes], ulans, beys, and mirzas, we have firmly sworn jointly with them that we should remain for centuries in true friendship with the king and grand duke Sigismund, his children and descendants; our children and descendants should be friends of his friend and enemies of his enemy, [and] they should jointly [with him] face any of his enemies in any place.*

*And whichever towns, estates, lands, and waters the brother<sup>25</sup> of the Muscovian duke captured and acquired from the great king Alexander, dear God let me, Mehmed Giray Khan, my son Bahadır Sultan, and Alp Giray Sultan take—with God’s help—from the hands of the Muscovian [duke] the towns, estates, lands, and waters that he captured under his [i.e., Alexander’s reign], and restore them to the hands of the great king and grand duke Sigismund! And I, Mehmed Giray Khan, along with all my sons, and people, and troops, will assist the king and grand duke Sigismund against his Muscovian enemy, at present and always. Moreover, if he sends [an envoy] to us asking for assistance in people and troops against his other enemies, then we should give them as many as he needs.*

*And as regards the wrongful acts committed during [the reigns of] your father Casimir, the king and grand duke, your brothers, [John] Albert and Alexander, and also recently during [the reign of] Your Majesty towards the ancestral states of Your Majesty, the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, by myself, Mehmed Giray Khan, my children, and all the ulans and beys, and my servants, whatever damage they caused then to your state, you, our brother, should forgive them all this and should release this harm from your heart. And whatever harm has been experienced by our children and our men [in the land of] our brother, King Sigismund, [during the reigns of] Casimir, [John] Albert, Alexander, and you, our brother, the great king Sigismund, [who are now] in their place, you should release this harm from your heart, neither do we want to hold it in our heart.<sup>26</sup>*

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Dniester rivers; Nemyrov appears in the earlier documents as Nemyr, and Mumyś as Mušač, Mušal, and Mušen; cf. Document 8, n. 32, Document 12, n. 23, and Document 14.

<sup>24</sup> Apparently this entry refers to the principality of Spažsk (centered in Pavšino) on the right side of the river Oka that had belonged to Lithuania until 1494; cf. Document 8, n. 25; yet, Spažsk is already mentioned above along with Volkonsk.

<sup>25</sup> *Sic*; Ivan III (r. 1462–1505), to whom this passage refers, was the father and not the brother of the grand prince of Muscovy of that time, Vasilij III (r. 1505–1533). It should rather read “the Muscovian duke captured and acquired from our brother, the great king Alexander;” cf. the same fragment in Document 14.

<sup>26</sup> Again, the text refers in the first person to Mehmed Giray and not his son, Bahadır; cf. n. 7 above. The last paragraph is corrupt and was reconstructed on the basis of Document 14; see notes c–d and e–f above.



Formerly we had sent our son, Djaleddin Sultan,<sup>27</sup> to be the guest of our brother Sigismund, the king and grand duke, as mark of our amity and brotherly friendship. Yet, God's will descended upon him and he left this world. In his place we will send another sultan [i.e., prince], [our] son or a son of [our] son, to be the guest of our brother Sigismund, the king and grand duke. On hearing this, our enemies [should] tremble with fear, and our friends rejoice.

And I, Mehmed Giray Khan, wishing all the best to our brother, King Sigismund, have allowed the <gifts and> merchants from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to freely arrive,<sup>28</sup> without any anxiety, take salt in Kačybej, and, having paid the toll to the amins,<sup>29</sup> bring it to Kiev, Luc'k, and other towns, guarded by our men so that—while taking salt in Kačybej—they do not suffer any harm from our unruly subjects and cossacks.<sup>30</sup> And if the merchants suffer any harm, we should compensate it to our brother. Merchants from the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania—either rich or poor—may freely come with their merchandise to the Horde [i.e., the Crimean Khanate] or to Caffa, conduct their trade and freely depart, having paid the toll according to the ancient custom.

We will always fulfill whatever is written above in our present letter, we will not depart from it, and we will send our sons along with our troops against his [i.e., Sigismund's] Muscovian enemy; and we will take away from him [i.e., the Muscovian duke] the towns, estates, lands, and waters that were acquired by the father<sup>31</sup> of the Muscovian [duke], and by himself, from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and restore them to our brother Sigismund, the king and the grand duke of Lithuania; and we shall face jointly any of his enemies.

And if any of our subjects, or the subjects of our son Bahadır Sultan, or Alp Giray Sultan, raid the land of our brother, the great king, we will capture them and send to our brother, the great king; and if they escape themselves, we will confiscate their properties and arrest their wives, and send them to the great king.

And I, Mehmed Giray Khan—to begin with—along with my son Bahadır Sultan, Alp Giray Sultan, Hemmet Giray Sultan,<sup>32</sup> all the sultans [i.e., princes],

<sup>27</sup> On Djaleddin Sultan and his death in Vilnius, see Document 12, n. 25.

<sup>28</sup> The text is obviously corrupt: instead of the phrase that appears in the earlier document: “in desire to reciprocate the kindness, gifts, and friendship of our brother [...] we [allow] the merchants...” (*xotjačy brata našeho [...] dobrotam y vpomyntkom, y tuju pryjazn protyv čynyty, kupcom...*; cf. Document 14), here it reads: “wishing all the best to our brother, [I] have allowed the gifts and merchants...” (*xotjačy brata našoho [...] vseho dobroho, pomyntkov y kupcov pryzvolyl...*). In result we obtain a somewhat comical statement that the khan allows the king to bring him gifts.

<sup>29</sup> Tur. *amin* or *emin*, i.e., “intendant;” for the correct reading of this Turkish term, corrupt in the Ruthenian text, cf. Document 19.

<sup>30</sup> The Turkic word *kazak* (hence the later Slavic *kozak*, i.e., “cossack”) applied to free vagabonds; cf. Chapter 6 in Part II.

<sup>31</sup> Here Ivan III is correctly referred to as the father, and not brother of Vasiliј III; cf. n. 25 above.

<sup>32</sup> Hemmet Giray was the nephew of Mehmed Giray. His father, Ahmed Giray, was Mehmed Giray's galga since 1515, but his relations with the khan soon deteriorated

ulans, beys, and mirzas, have firmly and sincerely sworn to our brother, the great king and grand duke Sigismund, before his Council,<sup>33</sup> and given him my present letter with the golden seal.

I, Bahadır Sultan, have sworn with the soul of my father, Mehmed Giray Khan, and with my soul, and with the soul of my brother, Alp Giray Sultan, and with the soul of my other brother, Hemmet Giray,<sup>34</sup> and having written a copy of the present letter of agreement [*lysta dokončanno*], I have given it with the seal of my ring [i.e., signet seal] to Pan Olbracht Gasztold.<sup>35</sup>

And when your Easter feast arrives, I will send my brother, Maqsud Giray, to Kiev, and whichever of his lords our father, His Royal Majesty, sends to meet us, we will deliver [Maqsud Giray] to the hands of this lord.

Written in the town of my father, the great king, in Čerkasy.

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and in 1519 he was killed by the latter's son, Alp Giray (cf. Document 9, n. 4 and Document 17, n. 11). Not by accident, Ahmed is not mentioned either in the present document, or in the royal document issued in 1516 (Document 17). Hemmet Giray, though loyal to his father, maintained somewhat better relations with his uncle and cousins, especially Alp Giray, along with whom he raided the Lithuanian lands in 1518. After the father's death in 1519 he found refuge in the Ottoman territories and declined Mehmed Giray's offers of reconciliation. Like his father, he also maintained good relations with Muscovy but declined the invitation to settle in Meščera (i.e., the Khanate of Kasimov) under Vasilij III's suzerainty; cf. Syročekovskij, "Muxammed-Geraj i ego vassaly," pp. 56–57; *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 2, pp. 504 and 619–626, and index, columns 31–32; Xoroškevič, *Rus' i Krym*, pp. 106, 173, 214, 249, 284–286.

<sup>33</sup> It should rather read "before his envoys" as in Document 14, or perhaps "before our Council" as the khan took his oath in the Crimea and not in Vilnius or Cracow.

<sup>34</sup> On Hemmet Giray, the cousin of Bahadır Giray, see n. 32 above.

<sup>35</sup> On Olbracht Gasztold, then the palatine of Polack, see Document 17, n. 21. In the spring of 1517, Gasztold was sent to Čerkasy to meet Bahadır Giray, deliver him the annual gifts due to the khan, and escort to Vilnius a hostage promised in return by the Crimean side; see Kazimierz Pułaski, "Machmet-Girej, chan Tatarów perekopskich i stosunki jego z Polską (1515–1523)," in: *idem, Szkice i poszukiwania historyczne. Serya druga* (St. Petersburg, 1898): 281–350, esp. p. 307 and Banionis, *LDK pasiuntinybių tarnyba*, p. 196. Yet, from the report of the Muscovian envoy to the Crimea, Vasilij Šadrin, recorded after his return to Moscow on 29 February 1518, we learn that in spite of Bahadır's efforts, his mother Nurum Sultan, supported by the pro-Muscovian party, refused to send one of her younger sons to Lithuania. Bahadır's reproaches to his father of his being a henpecked husband (*kakoj ty car', koli tebja žonka ne slušaet*; "what kind of a khan are you, if your wife does not obey you!?" ) remained futile. As Bahadır arrived at Čerkasy without the promised hostage, Gasztold refused to deliver the gifts and gave him only a minor present in his own name (*Bagatyr' carevič' poexal po kaznu bez careviča [...] i Olbrext Bagatyrju kazny ne dal, tolko ego počtil pominkom ot sebja*); see *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 2, pp. 502–503. As Bahadır promised to send the hostage on the upcoming Easter (see below), the issue was postponed. In fact, the following year brought a Crimean rapprochement with Moscow and renewed Tatar raids against Lithuania. The clause regarding hostages to be sent to Lithuania was abolished altogether in 1520 (cf. Document 19).

DOCUMENT 19 (21 OCTOBER 1520)  
The donation *yarlıq cum şartname (dokončane)* sent by Khan  
Mehmed Giray to King Sigismund

The original document is missing.

Ruthenian copies:

A. RGADA, fond 389 = Litovskaja metrika, no. 7, pp. 779–785 [old foliation: 392a–395b].

A.\* 18th-century Latin script transcription: AGAD, Metryka Litewska, no. 193, pp. 461–464.

Polish 16th-century translation: Bibl. Kórn., ms. 222, pp. 118–122.<sup>1</sup>

Published in *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 6, pp. 101–103.

Докончание Магаметь Киреа, цара перекопського, присланныи до Господаря Его Милости до Торвна Шникеемъ Горностаевичомъ месеца април ѿ [5] день, инъдыкт ѿ [9]:

Божею милостью Магъмет Киреи цар, Деист-и Сипчокъ всимъ землямъ господарь, татарскимъ с предков своихъ господарь, слово мое то есть:

Правая рука, левая рука тмы тмами, сто и десять хто мает, с уланы, князи, и мурзами, всеа Ръси втчизны митрополитомъ, владыкамъ, чернѣцомъ, попомъ, и княземъ, паномъ, бояромъ, мещаномъ, и всимъ посполитымъ людемъ:

Праве то ведаите, з давна цари, с предковъ дади наши, великии Ачъжи Киреи цар, дид нашъ, потный кон его, в Литовскомъ Великомъ Кнажени великому князю Витольту, и великому Казимеру королю в гостиное приехалъ; коли они тамъ поехали великую чест видевши, города и места, которые дали, и волости со всеми выходы и данни, и землями, и водами, и записали есмо все, без жадного

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<sup>1</sup> The Polish translation, entitled *Machmetgireia cara pakta*, is confusingly dated: “on the 9th day of the month of August of the year 926 after the departure of His Majesty, Prophet Muhammad, from this world [*sic*; it should refer to the Hegira and not Muhammad’s death], of the year 1522 since the birth of Lord Christ” (*po roku ześcia z tego świata Machometa Proroka 926, dnia 9 miesiąca augusta; od narodzenia Pana Chrystusa roku 1522*). As the Muslim year 926 A.H. lasted from 23 December 1519 till 11 December 1520, the Christian year number (1522 A.D.) is apparently wrong. Besides, as the Polish translation is identical with the Ruthenian copy (though it contains several mistakes), it should be dated like the latter one, i.e., on 21 October, and not 9 August 1520. The mistaken day number (9th) apparently originates from the fact that the original Tatar document was issued on 9 Zilkade 926 A.H. (cf. n. 41 below).

встанку, дади наши, цари, и втець нашъ, цар, каким лицомъ первыи их, предков моихъ, естъ листы. Богъ створител коли нас помиловал, на втца своего столъцы zostали есмо царемъ, ачколвекъ есмо стали, на тыи есмо листы смотревши вамъ, великому королю Жикгимонту, брату нашему, штобы братство и приязнь промежи нас твердо стала, нашего великого посла, шириневского князя Довлетекова сына, Ълиар мурзъ, и под нимъ вхмистра нашего, князя Абрагима, золотомъ сее докончане под золотую печатю, сее доконъчане послали есмо.

Как первыи короли и великии князи литовскии Великое Княжене держали Литовское, и тепер брату нашему, королю Жикгимонту, и его детемъ и внучатомъ, в здорови и въ щастьи держали бы: киевский поветъ со всеми доходы и данъми, и з землями, и з водами; Володимер со всемъ поветомъ и з данми, и з землями, и водами; Смоленскъ, Полтескъ, Витебскъ, Звинигород, из землями и водами; вт Киева поченъ Днепромъ втца моего верху<sup>a</sup> и до вустъа; и Снепород, Глинескъ, со всеми землями и водами, и данми; Чалбашъ и Путивль со всеми волостъми и выходы, и землями, и водами, и данми; Бирин, Синеч, Хотень, Лусичы, Хотимешл, и Начинъ, из водами и землями, и данъми; Чернигов со всеми выходы и волостъми, и данми, и землями, и водами; Северский Новгородокъ, Рылескъ, Тръбъческъ, со всеми землями и водами, и выходы, и данми; Еголдаевъ повет Сараева сына, вес его повет со всеми его землями и водами, и данъми; Радогощъ, Милелюбъ, со всеми ихъ выходы и данми, и землями, Мужач, Скала; Стародзбъ, Бранескъ, из землями и водами, и со всеми их данъми и выходы; Мценескъ, Любятескъ, Тула-город, из землями и водами, и данми, и выходы; Берестей, Ратно, Козелескъ, Пронескъ, Валакуня, Спашъ, Дзвеч, и[з] землями и водами, и з данъми, и со всеми доходы; Дашовъ городъ, Балакълыи, Корел город, Чудновъ, Автешков-городищо<в>, Дзшин, Немиров; туровский вес повет, Мышенъ город, Ѳедоров городъ ракун стур<sup>b</sup> зъ землями и водами, и со всеми выходы и данми; Псков, Великии Новгород, Резан-Переяславль, люди въ головахъ, и земли, и воды, и дани, и доходы, што и течеть, што и канеть, Великому Княженю Литовскому на правдъ есмо дали.

Ещо слово наше то ест: я, Магъметъ Кирей цар, и сын мои Богатыр солтанъ в головах дити мои царевичи, и брата мои, еще вланы, и князи, и мурзы, и со всеми двораны, и со всеми подъдаными, такъ есмо врадили, твердъ присегъ и правдъ вчинили, с тобою братомъ моим милый брат и приятел, с тобою будъчи приятелю приятел бы был, неприятелю неприятель. И дѣти бы наши и внучата наши, и твои, брата нашего дѣти и внучата, против кожного бы нашего неприятела, и твоего неприятела бы неприязнь доводили.

<sup>a</sup> Apparently it should read: *вм самого верху*.

<sup>b</sup> Apparently it should read: *рекомо встров* as in Document 14.

Еще и за Александра корола, брата вашего старшого, а и за вас, брата нашего Жикгимонта корола, московский князь што города и села поселъ, бою милостью мы быхмо взявши вамъ отдали. И первей сего панове литовский под своими печатми лист свои до нас прислали толмачомъ Легушомъ, бою милостью тыи города коли взявши, вамъ маемъ дати, с тыхъ городов выходы и доходы с нами на пол были бы.

З двухъ сторонъ, которыи отъ одного до другого приидътъ послы, и мы и вы, брат нашъ, болшей двѣ месецеи бы не держали, з добрымъ отпускали бы.

И еще нашего непри[а]тела, Ши-Ахъматѣ цара, твердо бы его держали, поки на него Богъ смерть пришлетъ, с панства бы есте его не пустили.

А каждого годъ што намъ, брат нашъ, поминъка шлете патнацѣть тисачъ золотыхъ, на потомъ на одинъ рокъ—з вас после свѣта Великодна семь недель на вашо свѣто Пентикостѣ—з вас, брата нашего просимъ, на тотъ бысте рокъ тотъ впоминокъ присылали.

На московского вашего неприятѣла коли вамъ будетъ войска нашего надобе, к намъ пришлите. Мы вамъ люди не будемъ боронити, коли имъ грошей на страву пришлете.

Отецъ вашъ Казимер, великий король, и дѣди ваши, короли великий Улбрахтъ король и Александер король, и ты братъ нашъ, великий король Жикгимонтъ, великий царъ отецъ мой Менъли Кгирей, и я самъ, и брата мои, еще князи, влани, и мурзы, и дворяне, и вси подданныи мои передъ симъ землю вашу што воевали и вамъ шкоды чинили, то бысте, брат нашъ, впустили, и съ сердца своего лихоту выкинули, и ее бысте к намъ не держали; а мы по тому жъ к вамъ, братъ нашему, и съ своего сердца всю лихоту выкинули.

И еще первей сего на знамя братства, и правды, приазни, сына своего Джалалдин солтана к вамъ послалъ; и вы есте его не прынали, надъ нимъ божѣ воля стала, Богъ такъ зчинилъ. И мы царъ, братъ вашъ, вы Жикгимонтъ король, братъ нашъ, сынъ мой Богатыр солтанъ—здо[ро]вы быхмо вси три были, и про того сына нашего, Джалалдин солтанъ, в томъ ведаите, в насъ в сердца лихоты нѣтъ.

И которыи люди ваши Днепромъ маю по соль ездити, пенязми пошлну нехай давши аминамъ, то естъ мытникомъ нашимъ, здорови приехали, безъ всякое зачепъки и шкоды нехай зъ вашу землю едѣтъ. А што са дотычетъ купъцовъ вашихъ, брата нашего, Литовского Великого Кнеженъ, и Короны Польское, и Немець, нехай зъ нашу землю едѣтъ безъ всякое боазни, и к намъ приехавши, нехай са кривды не боать; здоровы бы приехали, и не боа са заса во здорови зъ вашу землю здоровы бы поехали. Передъ тымъ давали мыта на встатного семь денегъ,<sup>c</sup> а теперъ нехай будетъ на нихъ мыта отъ ста денегъ три

<sup>c</sup> Apparently it should read: *отъ ста денегъ семь денегъ*.

денъги. Тое давши, нехай бы са не бокали черес то жадное пошлыны, и кривды ѡт нас и ѡт наших врадников.

Еще бы наши купъцы, коли ѡ вашу землю поидѣть, там бы ѡ вашей земли, брата нашего, им никоторое кривды и шкѡды не было, бы здоровы ѡт нас поехали, и ѡпѣть к нам, ѡ нашѡ бы землю здорово бы приехали. И ѡ томъ вас, брата нашего, просимъ, на тыхъ бы купъцов наших, которыи бѣдѣть ѡ вашу землю ходити, на них бы ваши врадники пол мыта брали. Нехай бы вашимъ щастемъ, брата нашего, и нашимъ щастьемъ ѡбогии люди с ѡбу сторонъ са ѡмножили и вспомагали, и за нас бы Бога молили.

Еще а, Магъметъ Кирей цар, и сын мой Богатыр солтъанъ ѡ головахъ, и вси дети мои и брата мои царевичы, вланы, кнези, и мурзы, и вси дворане мои, и вси подданыи, которого есте посла до нас, брат нашъ, прислали, пана Шникиа Горностаевича, <и которого> и которого вашего, брата нашего, доброго хочеть, и нашего, нашъ добрыи слуга, панъ Авкустин Карибалдис, кавалириа Спиринъдора перед нами, есмо присагли на нашѡ книгѡ Къринъ [sic], и на то и правдѡ нашу дали: тобѡ, брату нашему, королю Жыкгимонъту, приѣтелю твоему приѣтель быти, а неприѣтелю неприѣтель, и твоему неприѣтелю неприѣзны быхъмо довели.

Еще вашему панъству всему, и городомъ вашимъ, и местомъ, и волостемъ, и селамъ, и всеи земли, и всимъ людемъ вашимъ, брата нашего, ѡт нас и ѡт нашихъ людей всихъ шкѡды бы не<sup>d</sup> было, какъ Короне Полскои, такъ Великому Кназьству Литовскому.

Тымъ ѡбеюмъ вашимъ панъствам, Короне Полскои и Великому Кназьству Литовскому, хто бы имъ былъ прыѣтель, тот намъ прыѣтель, хто тымъ ѡбеюмъ панствамъ неприѣтель, тот намъ неприѣтель.

И штож<sup>e</sup> в сем нашимъ доконча[н]ю все выписано, на чомъ есмо присегаи и правдѡ тебе, брату нашему дали, на томъ хочемъ твердо держати и стоати. И тепере присегаемъ ѡт Бога подлугъ веры наше, и ста и двадцати тисѡчъ и чотырох тисѡчаи пророков, и нашего Его Милости правого пророка Магъмет Масмоѡа:<sup>f</sup> воллаги биллаги ѡ толълаги. На томъ докончанъи с правдою твердо стоимъ, то вѣдаючи вѣрьте.

И золотомъ докончане и[з] золотою печатю послали есмо, в лета нашего пророка Магъмета деветъ сот лѣтъ и кѣ [20]<sup>g</sup> и ш [6] лѣтъ, щастливыи мес[е]цемъ нашимъ зылхода день ѡ [9]. Писанъ ѡ Паранъ-кирмени лета божего тисѡча пѡтсот кѣ [20] годъ ѡк[табра] кѣ [25]<sup>h</sup> день, индикт ѡ [9].

<sup>d</sup> Mistakenly written *ле*.

<sup>e</sup> Mistakenly written *и ж што*.

<sup>f</sup> In should read *Масмоѡа* or better *Мустаѡа*.

<sup>g</sup> In A\* it reads mistakenly as 13.

<sup>h</sup> In three consecutive occurrences the Cyrillic letter *кѣ* denoting 20 is written differently by the copyist.

## Translation:

*The letter of agreement of Mehmed Giray, the khan of Perekop [i.e., the Crimean khan], brought to His Majesty, the hospodar,<sup>2</sup> to Toruń<sup>3</sup> through Anikij Hornostaj,<sup>4</sup> on the 5th of the month of April, during the 9th indiction.<sup>5</sup>*

*By the grace of God, Mehmed Giray Khan, the lord of all the lands of the Kipchak Steppe [Desht-i Kipchak] and the hereditary lord of the Tatars, this is my word:*

*To those having [i.e., commanding over] tens of thousands [tümens], [thousands,<sup>6</sup>] hundreds, and tens of the right and the left hand, the ulans, beys [Ruth. knjazi], and mirzas, and to the metropolitans, [Orthodox] bishops, monks, [Orthodox] priests, and the princes, lords, boyars, townsmen, and all common people of whole Ruthenia:*

*You should truly know that the ancient khans, our ancestral uncles, [and] the great Hadji Giray Khan, our grandfather, when his horse was growing sweaty [beneath him],<sup>7</sup> he would come seeking hospitality [i.e., refuge] to Vytautas, the grand duke of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and to the great king Casimir; when they went there, experiencing great reverence, [in return] they gave the castles, towns, and estates along with all incomes and levies, lands, and waters, that we have all recorded, without any omission, on the basis of the extant ancient letters of my ancestors, the khans—our uncles, and the khan—our father. When God, the Creator, extended his favor to us and we ascended the throne of our father and became the khan, as we became [the khan] we have inspected these [ancient] letters and we have sent to you, the great king Sigismund, our brother, our great envoy, the son of the Shirin [qaraçı] bey Devletek,<sup>8</sup>*

<sup>2</sup> The grand duke of Lithuania was titled *hospodar*.

<sup>3</sup> Toruń (Germ. Thorn) in Royal Prussia; in the years 1519–1521 Poland was at war with the Teutonic Order.

<sup>4</sup> Anikij (Onikiej) Hornostaj, courtier, then steward (*ključnyk*) of Vilnius from 1533, marshal from 1547, and *starosta* of Rečyca from 1555; sent in embassies to the Crimea in 1520, 1522, 1534, and 1541; see his biography by Aleksander Markiewicz in *PSB*, vol. 9, p. 628 and Banionis, *LDK pasiuntinybių tarnyba*, pp. 105–110, 196–199; on his embassy in 1534, see *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 16, pt. 1 (Wrocław etc., 1960), pp. 593–597 and pt. 2, pp. 183–185; on his embassy in 1541, see Documents 29–31.

<sup>5</sup> The ninth indiction lasted from 1 September 1520 till 31 August 1521.

<sup>6</sup> Apparently left out by the copyist.

<sup>7</sup> Written in singular; it should rather read: “when their horses were growing sweaty [beneath them], they would come...”

<sup>8</sup> Devletek, son of Eminek and leader of the Shirin clan between ca. 1504 and 1507; he succeeded in this post his older brother Barash and was followed by his cousin Agish; see Syroechkovskij, “Muxammed-Geraj i ego vassaly,” pp. 31–32 and Manz, “The Clans of the Crimean Khanate,” p. 308; on the Shirins, see also Document 5, n. 9 and Document 9, n. 16.

Evliya Mirza,<sup>9</sup> and under his command our chamberlain [Ruth. *oxmystr*],<sup>10</sup> Ibrahim Bey, [and through them] the present golden letter of agreement [dokončane] under the golden seal, so that the brotherhood and friendship between us may remain firm.

As the ancient kings and grand Lithuanian dukes used to hold the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, also now may our brother, King Sigismund, and his children and grandchildren, hold in good health and prosperity:

- the district [povet] of Kiev along with all revenues, levies, lands, and waters;
- Volodymyr with its whole district along with levies, lands, and waters;
- Smolensk, Polack, Vicebsk, and Zvynyorod<sup>11</sup> along with lands and waters;
- starting from Kiev along with the Dnieper down-stream from the top<sup>12</sup> to its mouth;
- Sneporod and Hlyns'k along with all lands, waters, and levies;<sup>13</sup>
- Žolvaž<sup>14</sup> and Putyvl' along with all estates, incomes, lands, waters, and levies;
- Byryn, Synec, Xoten', Losyčy, Xotmyśl, and Nycjany along with waters, lands, and levies;<sup>15</sup>
- Černihiv along with all incomes, estates, levies, lands, and waters;

<sup>9</sup> On Evliya, the son of Devletek, see *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 2, index, column 4. He was appointed the envoy to Poland-Lithuania already in 1518, but his mission was cancelled after the khan's decision to conclude a treaty with Vasilij III; see *ibidem*, pp. 607 and 613. In the spring of 1521, Mehmed Giray declined an Otoman invitation to attack Poland, listing several excuses in his letter to Sultan Suleyman. Apart from the arguments that the Polish king had paid him a tribute and kept his archenemy, Sheikh Ahmed, in detainment, the khan also mentioned that Evliya Mirza, a member of the Shirin clan, was kept as a hostage (Tur. *rehin*) by the king, hence a breaking of the peace might result in his execution and upset the Shirins, who would rebel against the khan; see *Le khanat de Crimée*, pp. 110–117. Somewhat ironically, soon after his return Evliya participated in a Shirin conspiracy aiming to replace Mehmed Giray with his younger brother, Sa'adet; see a letter by three Shirin leaders declaring obedience to the latter, then residing in Istanbul, published in *ibidem*, pp. 106–110; Evliya's seal preserved on this document was deciphered by Victor Ostapchuk in his review from the said edition; see *idem*, "The Publication of Documents on the Crimean Khanate in the Topkapı Sarayı: The Documentary Legacy of Crimean-Ottoman Relations," p. 269. In 1531, Evliya was killed on the order of Sa'adet Giray after another Shirin conspiracy; see Syroečkovskij, "Muxammed-Geraj i ego vassaly," p. 59.

<sup>10</sup> The term *oxmystr* ("chamberlain") apparently refers to the Crimean post of *tet*; on the term *tet*, referring to the first retinue member of a khan's envoy, cf. Document 20, n. 27.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Document 8, n. 5.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. n. a to the Ruthenian text.

<sup>13</sup> On Sneporod and Hlyns'k, cf. Document 8, notes 8–9.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Document 8, n. 10.

<sup>15</sup> On these estates in the region of Putyvl' and on the rivers Sula and Vorskla, cf. Document 8, notes 11–16.



- Novhorod-Sivers'kyj, Ryl'sk,<sup>16</sup> and Trubčevsk<sup>17</sup> along with all lands, waters, incomes, and levies;
- the district of Jagoldaj, son of Saraj:<sup>18</sup> his whole district along with all its lands, waters, and levies;
- Radogošč' and Myloljub along with all their incomes, levies, and lands, Mužec and Oskol;<sup>19</sup>
- Starodub and Brjansk along with lands, waters, and all their levies and incomes;
- Mcensk, Ljubutsk, and the town of Tula along with lands, waters, levies, and incomes;<sup>20</sup>
- Berestej, Retan', Kozel'sk, Pronsk, Volkonsk, Spažsk, and Donec along with lands, waters, levies, and all revenues;<sup>21</sup>
- the castle of Dašov, Balykly, the castle of Karaul, Čornyj [Horod],<sup>22</sup> the ruined castle [Ruth. horodyščo] of Uteškov,<sup>23</sup> Tušyn, Nemyrov, the district of Turov [i.e., Uhrom?],<sup>24</sup> Myšen, and an island referred to as the castle of Fedorov<sup>25</sup> along with lands, waters, all incomes and levies;
- Pskov, Velikij Novgorod, and Perejaslavl' Rjazan'skij—to begin with [their] people, and [their] lands, waters, levies, revenues, [everything] that flows or streams—we have truly given [all the above localities] to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

<sup>16</sup> On Ryl'sk, see Document 8, n. 17.

<sup>17</sup> A medieval town on the river Desna, today in Russia; in the 14th century annexed to Lithuania, in 1503 annexed to Muscovy; see *Słownik geograficzny*, vol. 12, p. 514.

<sup>18</sup> On this estate, extending between the upper Sejm and the upper Donec rivers, and its former owner, see Document 8, n. 18.

<sup>19</sup> Myloljub, Mužec and Oskol (here erroneously registered as Skala) belonged to the *tümen* of Jagoldaj (cf. Document 8, notes 18–19) while the town of Radogošč' was situated further to the northwest. As the latter did not figure in the earlier *yarliqs* and was registered for the first time in 1513 (see Document 12), apparently by error the scribe entered its name in the wrong place, i.e., between the *tümen* of Jagoldaj and Myloljub.

<sup>20</sup> On Mcensk, Ljubutsk, and Tula, see Document 8, notes 20–21.

<sup>21</sup> On these localities and estates, see Document 8, notes 22–26.

<sup>22</sup> Erroneously registered as Čudnov; for a less corrupt version of this fragment, cf. Document 14. On the above four settlements, situated on the lower Boh and lower Dniester, see Document 8, notes 28–31.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Document 12, n. 22.

<sup>24</sup> Turov is apparently a misspelled recording of Uhrom as this entry corresponds with “the *tümen* of Uhrom” registered in Document 14.

<sup>25</sup> For Fedorov, cf. n. b to the Ruthenian text. The last four settlements along with the district of Turov (or rather Uhrom) could not be identified, but they were apparently situated in lower Podolia, between the Boh and Dniester rivers; Nemyrov appears in the earlier documents as Nemyr (apart from Document 18 where it is also referred to as Nemyrov), and Myšen as Mušač, Mušal, Mušen, and Mumyš; cf. Document 8, n. 32, Document 12, n. 23, and Document 18, n. 23.

And this is also our word:

I, Mehmed Giray Khan, and my son Bahadır Sultan<sup>26</sup>—to begin with, [and] my [other] children, the sultans [i.e., princes], and my brothers, and also the ulans, beys, mirzas, along with all courtiers and subjects, we have collectively decided, firmly sworn and engaged to be dear brothers and friends along with you, my brother, to be a friend to [the other's] friend and an enemy to [the other's] enemy. And may our children and grandchildren, along with the children and grandchildren of yours, our brother, [jointly] prove their enmity towards any of our or your enemies.

And as the duke [knjaz'] of Muscovy captured a number of towns and villages under [the reign of] King Alexander, your elder brother, and also under your [reign], our brother, King Sigismund, we could take them [back], with the grace of God, and restore to you. Previously the Lithuanian lords sent their letter [provided] with their seals through the interpreter [named] Leguś,<sup>27</sup> [proposing that] if with the grace of God we take the aforementioned towns and restore to you, the incomes and revenues from these towns will be shared with us half-and-half.

When envoys come from hither and other side, neither we nor you, our brother, should detain them longer than two months but should let them go [while treating] well.

And you should firmly detain our enemy, Sheikh Ahmed Khan, until God sends him death; you should not let him depart from your state.

As regards the gift of 15,000 florins [zlotys] that you, our brother, send us each year, we ask you, our brother, that henceforth you send this gift in one rate, namely seven weeks after your Easter feast, on your feast of Pentecost.<sup>28</sup>

When you need our troops against your Muscovian enemy, you should send [a request] to us. We will not refuse you our men provided that you send them money for food supplies.

As regards the raids and damage, committed heretofore against your land and yourself by the great khan, my father Mengli Giray, and myself, and my brothers, and also the beys, ulans, mirzas, courtiers, and all my subjects [during the reigns of]<sup>29</sup> your father, the great king Casimir, and your uncles,<sup>30</sup> the great kings: King [John] Albert and King Alexander, and you, our brother, the great king Sigismund, you, our brother, should forgive them, release the harm from your heart and do not hold it against us; and we will do likewise in respect to you, our brother, and will release all harm from our heart.

<sup>26</sup> On the qalga Bahadır Sultan, see Document 17, n. 11 and Document 18.

<sup>27</sup> Leguś, interpreter, sent in Lithuanian embassies to the Great Horde in 1500 and to the Crimea in 1509 and 1515 (his return is recorded in May 1516); see Banionis, *LDK pasiuntinybių tarnyba*, pp. 108, 185, 193, 195, 252. Apparently he was sent by the Lithuanian councilors in the fall of 1515, when Sigismund was still in Poland.

<sup>28</sup> In the Polish translation referred to as *Świątki*, i.e., *Zielone Świątki*.

<sup>29</sup> This fragment is corrupt; for its correct reading, cf. Document 14.

<sup>30</sup> *Sic*; it should read "brothers."

And formerly I sent you my son, Djalaleddin Sultan,<sup>31</sup> as mark of brotherhood, sincerity, and friendship; but you did not receive him,<sup>32</sup> God's will descended upon him, God let it happen. May all three of us: we, your brother, the khan, you, King Sigismund, our brother, and my son, Bahadır Sultan, stay healthy; and you should know that we do not hold in our heart any grudge because of this son of ours, Djalaleddin Sultan.

Your subjects, who travel for salt along the Dnieper, should pay tax in cash to the amins,<sup>33</sup> that is our toll officers, and having arrived safe and sound, should go [back] to your land without any harassment or harm. And as regards the merchants of yours, our brother, from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Polish Crown, and Germany,<sup>34</sup> may they travel to our land without any fear, and having come to us, they should not fear any injury; may they come and go back to your land safe and sound, without any fear. Heretofore they have paid toll in the amount of seven percent;<sup>35</sup> and now let them pay the toll of three percent. Having paid this, they should not fear any additional tax or any injury coming from us or our officials.

And our merchants, who travel to your land, should not suffer any injury or harm in your land, our brother, they should go and return to our land safe and sound. And we ask you, our brother, to let your officials collect [only] a half of the toll from our merchants, who will travel to your land. May the poor subjects from both sides multiply and benefit from the prosperity of yours, our brother, and ours, and may they pray to God for us.

And I, Mehmed Giray Khan, and my son Bahadır Sultan—to begin with, and all my children and brothers, the sultans, and the ulans, beys, and mirzas, and all my courtiers and subjects, in the presence of Pan Anikij Hornostaj, the envoy whom you, our brother, had sent to us, and Pan Augustino de Garibaldis, cavalier of Spirindora,<sup>36</sup> our good servant, who wishes you, our brother, and us well, we have sworn by our book, the Koran, and we have engaged to

<sup>31</sup> Djalaleddin Sultan, sent in 1512 to Lithuania as an honorary hostage by his grandfather Mengli Giray, died in 1513 in Vilnius; cf. Document 12, n. 25.

<sup>32</sup> When Djalaleddin arrived at Vilnius, King Sigismund was in Poland. He welcomed the young prince and his retinue in his letters sent from Poznań to Vilnius in February 1513; see *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 2, pp. 159–160. The king never received Djalaleddin as the prince died soon after.

<sup>33</sup> Tur. *amin* or *emin*, i.e., “intendant.”

<sup>34</sup> The term *Nemec* (“[from] Germany”) might refer to Royal Prussia or any German lands, whose inhabitants arrived in the Crimea from the direction of Poland-Lithuania; see n. 135 in Part I and Chapter 6 in Part II; cf. also Document 12, n. 28.

<sup>35</sup> Lit. “seven coins out of a hundred coins;” on the basis of Document 20, preserved in both the Tatar and Ruthenian versions, we can identify “coins” (Ruth. *dengi*) with aspers (Tat. *aqçe*), and “toll” (Ruth. *myto*) with the Tatar *tamğa*.

<sup>36</sup> On Augustino de Garibaldis, a Genovese from Caffa in the khan's service, see Document 16, n. 18. Frequently acting as the khan's envoy, in February 1514 he brought to Vilnius the *yarlıq* of Mengli Giray (Document 12). He also composed the Italian version of the khan's instrument issued in November 1514 (Document 16). I have not been able to establish the meaning of the term *Spirindora* encountered in the Cyrillic text; cf. also Document 20, n. 30.

be a friend of your friend, our brother, King Sigismund, and an enemy of your enemy, so that we should prove [our] enmity towards your enemy.

And no harm should be done by us or our subjects to your entire state, your towns, settlements, estates, villages, the whole land and all the people of yours, our brother, both to the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

As regards these two states of yours, the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, whoever is a friend to them, will be a friend to us, and whoever in an enemy to these two states, will be an enemy to us [as well].

And whatever is written in our present letter of agreement, whatever we have sworn and pledged to you, our brother, we want to firmly keep and adhere to. And now we swear by God, according to our faith, by 124,000 prophets,<sup>37</sup> and by our righteous prophet Muhammad Mustafa:<sup>38</sup> by God, with God, and through God!<sup>39</sup> We firmly keep this sworn letter of agreement, thus you should know and trust.

And we have sent the golden letter of agreement with the golden seal, in the year 926 of our prophet Muhammad, on the 9th day of our prosperous month of Zilkade.

Written in Ferahkerman,<sup>40</sup> anno Domini 1520, on the 25th day of October,<sup>41</sup> during the 9th indiction.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> According to a Muslim tradition (*hadith*), recorded in the collection of Ahmad bin Hanbal, Allah sent 124,000 prophets to the earth, including Prophet Muhammad; cf. Document 13, n. 3.

<sup>38</sup> Mustafa (lit. "the Chosen") is the second name of Prophet Muhammad.

<sup>39</sup> The Arabic formula *vallahi billahi tallahi* is correctly rendered (in Tatar pronunciation) in the Cyrillic text; in the Polish translation it reads: *wallahy we billahi we tellahi*.

<sup>40</sup> I.e., Perekop, also known as Or qal'esi or Or qapu; see Jankowski, *Historical-Etymological Dictionary*, pp. 748–750.

<sup>41</sup> The dating is confusing as 9 Zilkade 926 A.H. corresponded with 21 October, and not 25 October 1520; it seems more likely that the Crimean chancery clerk correctly recorded the date of the Muslim calendar; besides, in the Khwarezmian Turkic document, also dated 9 Zilkade 926 A.H., this day is referred to as a Sunday, and 21 October was indeed a Sunday; cf. Document 20, n. 50. The same difference between the Muslim and the Christian dates can be found in the Ruthenian version of Document 20.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. n. 5 above; the indiction number was apparently entered by the Ruthenian translator or the Lithuanian chancery clerk who copied the present document.

DOCUMENT 20 (21 OCTOBER 1520)  
The *şartname* sent by Khan Mehmed Giray to King Sigismund  
[Facs. II]

Original document in Khwarezmian Turkic (with Crimean Tatar elements),<sup>1</sup> issued on yellowish paper: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 65, t. 2, no. 577. 151.5 × 34 cm. (3 sheets glued together)  
upper invocation (gold): *nesih* script  
lower invocation (gold): *nesih* script  
the golden *nişan* of Mehmed Giray (6.5 × 6.5 cm.) is impressed at the top text (black with gold insertions): *nesih* script  
the black oval seal of Mehmed Giray (2.3 cm. in diameter) is impressed at the bottom

Published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, pp. 2–5.

16th-century copy in Ruthenian:

A.<sup>2</sup> RGADA, fond 389 = Litovskaja metrika, no. 7, pp. 785–790 [old foliation: 395b–397b].

A.\* 18th-century Latin script transcription: AGAD, Metryka Litewska, no. 193, pp. 465–467.

Polish 17th-century translation from the Turkic original by Samuel Otwinowski: a) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 65, t. 2, no. 578 (copied by Antoni Crutta from the Turkic document's reverse side); b) Bibl. Ossol., ms. 3555, fol. 329a–332a; c) Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 171–174 (alternative pagination: 155–158).

**Hüve'l-mu'izu'l-mu'in**

**Bismillahi`r-rahmani`r-rahimi**

**Bi'l-quvveti`l-ehadiye ve`l-mu`cizati`l-muhammediye**

[1] Ulu Ordanung ulu hanı Deşt-i Qıpçaq barça Moğul padişahı Muhammed Gërey Han sözü

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<sup>1</sup> In the handwritten catalogue by Zygmunt Abrahamowicz the language is described as the Crimean dialect, but it should rather be described as Khwarezmian Turkic (the literary language used in the Golden Horde), though influenced by Crimean Tatar. I would like to warmly thank Henryk Jankowski for his assistance in reading and interpreting the present as well as other documents.

<sup>2</sup> In order to enable the reader to compare the texts in Turkic and Ruthenian, the text of this copy is appended below.

**Bismillahi`r-rahmani`r-rahimi! La ilaha illa`llah Muhammadun rasul`llah!**

**As-sultanu`l-a`zam al-haquanu`l-ekrem /<sup>a</sup> Mehmed Gërey Han bin Mengli Gërey Han `azze nasruhu**

- [2] Ong qol song qolnug tümen ming yüz on biylegen  
 [3] oğlanlar biyler mirzalarığa barça İleh yurtunug knyaz  
 [4] arspışkub başlığ taqı Ladıjlav pişkubi knyaz Matyasğa  
 [5] taqı Premislenüñ knyaz püşkub potqanselerge taqı Kirakuv voyvodası dizdarı pan Qrıstof ulu qaniselerge taqı ulu hazineci  
 [6] pan Niqolayğa taqı Qamanice İlav voyvodası ulu marşalğa taqı Pozna voyvodasığa taqı Sudomir voyvodası pan Filyer ulu hedmanga  
 [7] taqı Lublin voyvoda pan Tosunckige taqı bulardan başqa İleh yurtunug ulu püşkublarına ve qaloniqlarına  
 [8] ve pilebanlarığa ve papaslarığa ve meşcanlarığa ve bayarınlarığa ve barça Ulu Kengeş panlarığa ve içki daşqısığa  
 [9] ve köp qara elge barça tüzünce bilsingler kim men özüm **Mehmed Gërey Han** taqı oğlum **Bahadır Gërey Sultan**  
 [10] biz kördük bizim keçkenlerimiznüg dostlığını hem qarındaşlığını hem barışıklığını ulu **Toqtamış Han**  
 [11] birle ulu **Hacı Gërey Han babam** başlab ulu **Körel Ladıjlav Yağal** birle İlehnüñ andan song Libqanung  
 [12] ulu **Davud** biyi birle andan song **Kazimir Körel** İlehnüñ Libqanung ulu biyi birle bular birle bizim ulu han atalarımız  
 [13] ağalarımız dost qarındaş erdi hem barışıklıqları çın erdi her dostğa dost her düşmanga düşman  
 [14] erdiler hem nökerleri artub hem memleketleri ma`mur bolub dostları söyünüb düşmanları  
 [15] soqur bolub erdi imdi biz de ol burunğılarımız barışğan yosunca arı çın köngülden **Mehmed Gërey Han**  
 [16] taqı oğlum **Bahadır Gërey** taqı barça oğlanlarım sultanlar taqı barça oğlanlar biyler mirzalar  
 [17] taqı barça içki daşqı nökerlerimiz barımız birge turub bu şartnamemüzni alıb barğan ulu elçimiz Şirin Devletek Biy  
 [18] qaracımıznug oğlu Evliya Mirza tėti orda biy inamlu nökerim İbrahim Biy taqı siz qarındaşımnug elçingiz pan  
 [19] Anikiy Qornastay taqı bizim sizing yahşılığımız tiler Ağustin Ğaribaldiz qavalyer Aspiründur bularnug közüñce  
 [20] bizim Quranımızdan beng ant şart qıldıq kim siz **Jigmund Körel** qarındaşım birle dost qarındaş bolğaymuz dostuna  
 [21] dost düşmanına düşman bolğaymuz biri birimizge neçük kim evvelkilerimiz erdiler bulay bolğan song bizim aramuzğa  
 [22] hiç bir düşman kirib bolmas dır taqı siz qarındaşımda bizim düşmanımız Şeyh Ahmed Hannı yanında nökerlerini beng tutub

<sup>a</sup> Here begins the inscription in the middle frame of the *nişan*.

- [23] ölüm yetkince memleketinizden<sup>b</sup> çıkarmagaysız taqı bizim aramızda qatnaşa turğan elçilerimizni bizde sizde eki
- [24] aydan artuq turğuzmay yahşılıq birle terk yiberelik aramızda kişilerimiz terk barışub kelişeler ol
- [25] yahşdır taqı bizge aytğan yıl sayu yiberir on beş ming bölek filorini İleh Libqa bu eki yurtdan siz
- [26] qarındaşımdan tilek etermüz imdiden song bir bolcalda yibergeysiz sizing qızıl yumurtqa bayramınızdan yeti hafta
- [27] song Pentekošte bayramınızda yibergeysiz taqı İleh yurtunguz üçün bizden bir şartname tilete yiberibsiz
- [28] biz de bu altun birle yazğan altun nişanlı şartnamemüzni ulu elçimiz Evliya Mirza tėti İbrahim Biy birle sizing elçingiz
- [29] pan Anikiy Qornastay birle İleh yurtunguz üçün sizge yiberdik İleh yurtu Lipqa yurtu ekiside bizge birdir her kim İleh
- [30] yurtunung Lublin İlav Qamanic Podolya Mejibuj İhimelnik Latıçev Zemqon<sup>c</sup> Buçaçı Bels Soqal Premisle ve Qolma
- [31] İsqala taqı bulardan başqa kermenlerinizge salalarınızga barça sizge sanlu elingizge memleketinizge kim düşman bolsa bizge de
- [32] düşmandır her kim İleh yurtu birle Lipqa yurtuna bu eki yurtqa düşmanlıq sağinsa biz alarğa düşmanmuz taqı İleh yurtundan
- [33] bizim elimizden sizing elingizge sizing elingizden bizim elimizge bazar- gan barışub kelişkey küc basınc körmegeyler
- [34] yüz aqçada üç aqca tamğa berib andan başqa tamğa tartınaq bermegey- ler aman kelib esen-aman kêtkeyler eger
- [35] bizim oğullarımız sultanlardan taqı oğlanlar biylerden mirzalardan qazaqlarımızdan barça bizge
- [36] sanlu kişilerimizden küc basınc qılıb malların alsalar alıb berib tölegey- miz bizim bazarganlerimizge da sizing
- [37] elingizde memleketinizde küc basınc bolsa siz de bir eksüksüz tölegey- siz imdi bu şartnamemizde yazılğan barça
- [38] sözlerimiz üstüne çnliq birle beng turar üçün men özüm Mehmed Gërey Han oğlum Bahadır Gërey Sultan
- [39] başlıq barça oğlanlarım sultanlar taqı barça oğlanlar biyler mirzalar ve içki daşqı barça nökerlerim sizge
- [40] beng ant şart etermüz **Tengrining** adı üstüne taqı dinimizden taqı yüz ming yigirmi dört ming peygamberden
- [41] taqı bizim peygamberimiz **Muhammad Mustafa** hazretinden kim vallahi ve billahi ve tallahi sizning birle arı cın köngülden dost qarındaşımuz
- [42] bu şartname içinde yazılğan barça elingizge memleketinizge şehirlerinizge kermenlerinizge salalarınızga barça sizge
- [43] sanlu elingizge kününgüzge barça kişilerinizge bizden oğlanlarımdan oğlanlar biylerden mirzalardan

<sup>b</sup> Strange orthography (مملکتکزدان).

<sup>c</sup> Corrupt; in A. written correctly as Zenkov (Зенков).

- [44] içki daşqı nöker eşimden qazaqlarımızdan barça bizge sanlu kişilerimizden  
yamanlıq bolmağay bu şartname sözimizden  
[45] özge türlü bolmağaymuz bu şartnamemüznüñ çınlığı üçün altunlı  
şartname altun nişan basub  
[46] yiberdik tarih-i toquz yüz yigirmi altıda mübarek Zi`l-qa`de aynung  
toquzuncı yekşenbe kün şehr-i mu`azzam Ferahkermende bitildi

**Mehmed Gërey Han bin Mengli Gërey Han<sup>d</sup>**

Translation:

*He, the Exalter, the Helper!*

*In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful!  
By the strength of oneness [of God] and the miracles of Muhammad!*

*The great khan of the Great Horde, the padishah of the Kipchak Steppe and all  
the Mongols, Muhammed<sup>3</sup> Giray Khan: my word:*

[nişan] [outer frame] *In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful!  
There is no god but God! Muhammad is the Prophet of God! The greatest sul-  
tan and the most noble khaqan, [middle frame] Mehmed Giray Khan, son of  
Mengli Giray Khan, may his victory be glorious!<sup>4</sup>*

*To those commanding over tens of thousands [tümens], thousands, hundreds,  
and tens of the right wing and the left wing, the ulans, beys, and mirzas, and  
[to] all [the inhabitants] of the Polish country to begin with the Reverend  
Archbishop;<sup>5</sup> also to the bishop of Włocławek, the Reverend Maciej;<sup>6</sup> also to  
the bishop of Przemyśl, the Reverend Bishop Vice-chancellor;<sup>7</sup> also to the pala-*

<sup>d</sup> Text of the seal.

<sup>3</sup> An Arabicized form of the name Mehmed.

<sup>4</sup> In the inner frame there is the black trident-shaped emblem of the Girays (*taraq tamğa*); for the reading of this *nişan*, cf. Mirkasym Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, p. 153.

<sup>5</sup> Jan Łaski, Crown chancellor (1503–1510), archbishop of Gniezno and primate of Poland since 1510; see his biography by Włodzimierz Dworzaczek in *PSB*, vol. 18 (Wrocław etc., 1973), pp. 229–237.

<sup>6</sup> Maciej Drzewicki, Crown chancellor (1511–1515), bishop of Włocławek (1513–1531), then archbishop of Gniezno; see his biography by Władysław Pocięcha in *PSB*, vol. 5, pp. 409–412.

<sup>7</sup> Piotr Tomicki, Crown vice-chancellor (*podkanclerzy*) since 1515, bishop of Przemyśl (1514–1520), then of Poznań (1520–1525), and Cracow (1525–1535); see his biography by Anna Odrzywolska-Kidawa, *Biskup Piotr Tomicki (1464–1535): kariera polityczna i kościelna* (Warsaw, 2004).



tine and warden<sup>8</sup> of Cracow, Pan<sup>9</sup> Krzysztof, the grand chancellor;<sup>10</sup> also to the grand treasurer,<sup>11</sup> Pan Mikołaj;<sup>12</sup> also to the palatine [sic] of Kamieniec and Lwów, the grand marshal;<sup>13</sup> also to the palatine of Poznań;<sup>14</sup> also to the palatine of Sandomierz, Pan Firlej, the grand hetman;<sup>15</sup> also to the palatine of Lublin, Pan Tęczyński;<sup>16</sup> and apart from those [mentioned above] to the great bishops, canons,<sup>17</sup> vicars,<sup>18</sup> priests, townsmen,<sup>19</sup> knights,<sup>20</sup> all lords of the Great Council, those in the inner [i.e., courtiers] and outer service, and to all common people:

They should all duly know that I, Mehmed Giray Khan, also my son, Bahadır Giray Sultan,<sup>21</sup> we have seen the friendship and brotherhood of our predecessors, beginning from the great Tokhtamish Khan and my father,<sup>22</sup> the great Hadji Giray Khan, with the great King Vladislaus Jagiełło of Poland, and then

<sup>8</sup> Tur. *dizdar*; it should be rendered here as Pol. *starosta*.

<sup>9</sup> The Polish title *pan* is difficult to translate hence it is kept as in the original; unlike the English “sir,” it applied not only to the nobles; on the other hand, the modern equivalent “mister” sounds anachronistic.

<sup>10</sup> Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, Crown chancellor and *starosta* of Cracow since 1515, palatine of Cracow (1515–1527), and then castellan of Cracow since 1527; see his biography by Jerzy Kiezkowski, *Kanclerz Krzysztof Szydłowiecki. Z dziejów kultury i sztuki zygmontowskich czasów*, 2 vols. (Poznań, 1912).

<sup>11</sup> Tur. *ulu hazineci*, i.e., “the great treasurer;” the term corresponds with the Polish title of *podskarbi wielki*.

<sup>12</sup> Mikołaj Szydłowiecki, Crown grand treasurer (*podskarbi wielki*) since 1515; his short biography is contained in the biography of his brother by Jerzy Kiezkowski (cf. n. 10 above).

<sup>13</sup> This entry apparently refers to Stanisław Chodecki, the *starosta* of Kamieniec Podolski (1494–1510) and of Lwów (1501–1529), the Crown grand marshal since 1505; yet, as his brother, Otto Chodecki, was the palatine of Kamieniec (1509–1515) and then of Ruthenia, i.e., the province centered in Lwów (1515–1527), perhaps the entry confuses the two brothers or refers to both of them; see their biographies by Władysław Pociecha in *PSB*, vol. 3, pp. 350–351 and 352–354; cf. *Urzednicy województwa podolskiego XV–XVIII wieku (powiaty czerwonołódzki, kamieniecki, latyczowski). Spisy*. Edited by K. Przyboś (Cracow, 1994), pp. 110, 121, and 169.

<sup>14</sup> Mikołaj Lubrański, palatine of Poznań since 1511; see his biography by Janusz Bieniak in *PSB*, vol. 18, pp. 84–85.

<sup>15</sup> Mikołaj Firlej, head of numerous embassies to Constantinople (1488–1489, 1499–1500, 1502), palatine of Lublin since 1507 and of Sandomierz since 1514, Crown grand hetman since 1515, castellan of Cracow since 1520; see his biography by Władysław Pociecha in *PSB*, vol. 7, pp. 8–10.

<sup>16</sup> Andrzej Tęczyński, palatine of Lublin (1515–1520) and of Cracow (1527–1533), then castellan of Cracow (1533–1536); cf. *Urzednicy centralni i nadworni Polski XIX–XVIII wieku. Spisy*. Edited by A. Gąsiorowski (Kórnik, 1992), p. 209.

<sup>17</sup> Pol. *kanonik* is rendered in the Turkish text as *qalonıq*.

<sup>18</sup> Pol. *pleban* is rendered in the Turkish text as *pileban*.

<sup>19</sup> Pol. *mieszczanin* (*mieszczan* in the genitive plural) is rendered in the Turkish text as *meşcan*.

<sup>20</sup> Ruth. *bojaryn* is rendered in the Turkish text as *bayarın*.

<sup>21</sup> On Bahadır Sultan, the oldest son of Mehmed Giray and his qalga since 1519, see Document 17, n. 11.

<sup>22</sup> *Sic*, in fact Hadji Giray was the grandfather of Mehmed Giray.

the great Vytautas,<sup>23</sup> the ruler [bey] of Lithuania, and thereafter with the great ruler of Poland and Lithuania, King Casimir, with whom the great khans, our ancestors and elder brothers, had achieved friendship, brotherhood and true peace, so that they had been friends to [their common] friends and enemies to [their common] enemies. And [in result] their servants multiplied and their kingdoms flourished, their friends rejoiced and their enemies weakened [lit. went blind].<sup>24</sup>

Now, we too, recalling the peace made by our ancestors, truly and with all our hearts: Mehmed Giray Khan, also my son Bahadır Giray, also all my sons, the princes [sultans], also all the ulans, beys, and mirzas, also all our servants [nökers] in the inner [i.e., court] and outer service, we got together and our present şartname was [issued and] taken by our great envoy Evliya Mirza,<sup>25</sup> the son of our Shirin qaraçı Devletek Bey,<sup>26</sup> [along with] his tet,<sup>27</sup> an army bey and my trusted servant [nöker], Ibrahim Bey;<sup>28</sup> also the envoy of yours, our brother, Pan Anikij Hornostaj;<sup>29</sup> also Augustino de Garibaldis, cavalier of Spirindora,<sup>30</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Correctly rendered in A. as Vytovt (Vytovt is the Ruthenian form of the Lithuanian name Vytautas); in the Arabic script original mistakenly rendered as Davud (داود).

<sup>24</sup> This Tatar idiomatic expression can also be found in the Ruthenian translations of this and other documents; cf. Document 12, n. 27.

<sup>25</sup> On Evliya, the son of Devletek and the envoy to Poland-Lithuania in 1521, see Document 19, n. 9.

<sup>26</sup> On Devletek, the leader of the Shirin clan between ca. 1504 and 1507, see Document 19, n. 8.

<sup>27</sup> The term *tet* or *têt* (تت) apparently derives from the term *tetik* ("vigilant") that initially referred to a khan's extraordinary envoy; for instance, Khan Berke's envoy of 1262 was referred to by a contemporary Ruthenian chronicler as *titjak* or *titjam*; cf. Grigor'ev, *Sbornik xanskix jarlykov russkim mitropolitam*, pp. 183–184. In the Crimean Khanate, the term referred to the first retinue member of a khan's envoy; cf. *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, p. 936 (numerous occurrences recorded in the index). Spelled as *tet'* (*memö*), it is also encountered in sixteenth-century Russian documents referring to Crimean embassies. The function of *tet* was then probably entrusted to the khan's courtiers and young members of the Crimean nobility. For instance, in the Crimean embassies to Moscow the function of *tet* was assigned in 1508 to certain Abdul, son of Avel Sheikh (*Abdyl Avel'six-zoda*), in 1519 to certain Ahmed-pasha, son of Khalil (*Axmet paša Xolilev syn*), and in 1531 to certain Ityak Tarkhan (*Itjak Tarxan*); cf. Malinovskij, "Istoričeskoe sobranie," pp. 395, 407, 419. The first one's father was a prominent Crimean diplomat, who headed the embassies to Moscow in 1516 and 1531 (cf. Xoroškevič, *Rus' i Krym*, p. 181 and Malinovskij, "Istoričeskoe sobranie," pp. 417–419), while the third one's nickname (*tarhan*) referred to his immunity from state obligations and thus confirmed his privileged status.

<sup>28</sup> In Document 19 and the contemporary Ruthenian translation of the present document (see Appendix), Ibrahim Bey is referred to as the khan's chamberlain (*naš oxmystr*); the last term apparently refers to his post of *tet* (cf. n. 27 above).

<sup>29</sup> On Anikij Hornostaj, see Document 19, n. 4.

<sup>30</sup> On Augustino de Garibaldis, a Genovese from Caffa in the khan's service, see Document 16, n. 18; his title of the cavalier of Spirindora or Spirundora (*qaval-yer Aspiründur*; قوال یار اسپروندور) also appears in the Ruthenian translation of this

who wishes our and your common good; in their sight we swore an eternal<sup>31</sup> oath by our Koran and engaged that we should be friends and brothers with you, King Sigismund, my brother, and we should be friends to [our common] friends, and enemies to [our common] enemies, being one with another as were our ancestors, so that afterwards no enemy should interfere between us.

Also you, my brother, should eternally detain our enemy, Sheikh Ahmed Khan along with his retainers [nökers], and should not let him go from your kingdom until he is reached by death.

Also we should not detain—either with us, or with you—longer than two months our envoys circulating between us, but we should send them back while treating well; it is beneficial if our men [acting] between us may leave, go, and return.

Also we ask you, our brother, that hereafter you send us the promised annual gift [bölek]<sup>32</sup> of 15,000 florins from the two countries, Poland and Lithuania, on the appointed term: you should send it by your feast of Pentecost, seven weeks after your feast of red eggs [i.e., Easter].

Also, as you have sent asking us for a *şartname* for your country [yurt] of Poland, we have sent you our present *şartname* for your country of Poland, written with gold and provided with a golden seal [nişan], through our great envoy, Evliya Mirza, his tet Ibrahim Bey, and your envoy, Pan Anikij Hornostaj. For us, these two countries of Lithuania and Poland are [like] one. Whoever is an enemy to Lublin, L'viv,<sup>33</sup> Kamjanec' [of] Podolia,<sup>34</sup> Medżybiż,<sup>35</sup> Xmil'nyk,<sup>36</sup> Letyčiv,<sup>37</sup> Zin'kiv,<sup>38</sup> Bučač,<sup>39</sup> Belz,<sup>40</sup> Sokal',<sup>41</sup> Przemyśl,<sup>42</sup> Chełm,<sup>43</sup> Skala,<sup>44</sup> and your other towns and villages<sup>45</sup> of Poland, and all your numerous people and

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document (кавалериа Спириндора) as well as in Document 19 (кавалериа Спиринѡдора); cf. appendix and Document 19, n. 36.

<sup>31</sup> For the translation of the term *beng* as "eternal" or "eternally," cf. Vásáry, "A contract of the Crimean khan," p. 291, n. 9.

<sup>32</sup> On the term *bölek*, see Kurat, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivindeki Altın Ordu, Kırım ve Türkistan hanlarına ait yarlık ve bitikler*, pp. 51 and 53 (rendered in the author's modern Turkish translation as *hediye*), and Ananiasz Zajączkowski, "Dypłomatyka Złotej Hordy i Krymu w XV w. (Nowe materiały z archiwum tureckiego)," *Przegląd Historyczny* 37 (1948): 212–217, esp. p. 215.

<sup>33</sup> Pol. Lwów; today in the Ukraine.

<sup>34</sup> Pol. Kamieniec Podolski, the center of the province of Podolia (Pol. Podole, Ukr. Podillja), today in the Ukraine.

<sup>35</sup> Pol. Międzybóž, today in the Ukraine, in Podolia.

<sup>36</sup> Pol. Chmielnik, today in the Ukraine, in Podolia.

<sup>37</sup> Pol. Latyczów, today in the Ukraine, in Podolia.

<sup>38</sup> Pol. Zinków, today in the Ukraine, in Podolia.

<sup>39</sup> Pol. Buczac, today in the Ukraine.

<sup>40</sup> Pol. Belz, today in the Ukraine.

<sup>41</sup> Pol. Sokal, today in the Ukraine.

<sup>42</sup> Ukr. Peremyśl', today in Poland, but belonging to medieval Red Ruthenia.

<sup>43</sup> Ukr. Xolm, today in Poland, but belonging to medieval Red Ruthenia.

<sup>44</sup> Pol. Skala, today in the Ukraine, in Podolia.

<sup>45</sup> The Tatar term *sala* derives from the Ruthenian *selo* (*sela* in plural). Perhaps the initial pronunciation of this word in Tatar was *sela* rather than *sala* as might suggest

dominions, will be our enemy as well; [and] whoever contemplates enmity against these two countries, Poland and Lithuania, we will be his enemies.

Also, merchants from Poland should [freely] go and return from our country to your country, and from your country to our country, and should not experience violence or oppression. They should pay three aspers [aqça] per hundred aspers as the stamp fee [tamğa], and they should not pay any other stamp or weighting fees. They should come safely and go sound and safe. If anybody from among our sons, the princes [sultans], or from among the ulans, beys, mirzas, our cossacks, and our numerous men commits violence or oppression and captures their [i.e., the merchants'] goods, we should seize them and restore, and compensate [the victims]. Likewise, if violence and oppression touches our merchants in your country and kingdom, you should entirely compensate them.

Now, in order to keep eternally and truly all our words written in our present şartname, I personally, Mehmed Giray Khan, [along with]—to begin with my son Bahadır Giray Sultan—all my sons, the princes [sultans], also all the ulans, beys, and mirzas, also all my servants [nökers] in the inner [i.e., court] and outer service, we swear to you an eternal oath by the name of God, by our religion, by 124,000 prophets,<sup>46</sup> and by our prophet, His Excellency Muhammad Mustafa,<sup>47</sup> that—by God, with God, and through God!—truly and with all our hearts we should be friends and brothers with you, and no evil should befall on your entire country, kingdom, all cities, towns, and villages listed in this şartname, or on your numerous people<sup>48</sup> and all your men from us, our sons, ulans, beys, mirzas, those in the inner and outer service, our cossacks, and all our numerous men. We should not behave in a manner that differs from our words [contained] in this şartname.

For the sake of authentication of our present şartname, we have stamped the golden şartname with the golden nişan, and we have sent it.

Written in the great city of Ferahkerman,<sup>49</sup> at the date of the 9th day of the blessed month of Zilkade in [the year] 926, on Sunday.<sup>50</sup>

[seal] Mehmed Giray Khan, son of Mengli Giray Khan<sup>51</sup>

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the palatalized orthography encountered in the present document (the Arabic letters sin and kef instead of the expected sad and gayn: سالار تکرکا and not صالار تکرغا).

<sup>46</sup> According to a Muslim tradition (*hadith*), recorded in the collection of Ahmad bin Hanbal, Allah sent 124,000 prophets to the earth, including Prophet Muhammad; cf. Document 13, n. 3.

<sup>47</sup> Mustafa (lit. “the Chosen”) is the second name of Prophet Muhammad.

<sup>48</sup> The possessive dative *elingizge küningüzge* derives from *el kün*, i.e., “people.”

<sup>49</sup> I.e., Perekop, also known as Or qal’esi or Or qapu; see Jankowski, *Historical-Etymological Dictionary*, pp. 748–750.

<sup>50</sup> *Yekşenbe*, i.e., the first day of the week according to the Persian calendar.

<sup>51</sup> In the middle of the seal there is the trident-shaped emblem of the Girays (*taraq tamğa*).

## APPENDIX: the text of the Ruthenian copy (A.).

Доконъчанъе на Корънъ Польскъю:

Богъ такий милостивый, жалостивый, который милуетъ свою хлопъю!

Бога единого мощю, Мягъметъ Пророка назкою, што Богъ Емъ ласкъ свою далъ, божею милостю Магъметъ Кирей Цар, Дест-и Кипъчакъ всимъ земламъ татарскимъ господарь, с предковъ своихъ господарь, слово мое то есть:

Правая рѣка, левая рѣка тмы, тмами [*sic*], сто и десеть хто маеть, со вланы, князи, и мурзами всеи земли Короны Полское, в головахъ князю арцыбискупъ; владыславскому бискупъ, князю Матисъ; пре-мыскому бискупъ подканцлерему; пану Крыштоуъ, воеводе краковскому, каштелану [*sic*] и великому канцлеръ; великому подскарбему, пану Миколаю; каменецкому воеводе [*sic*] и лвовскому, маршалку великому; познанскому воеводе; пану Өирлею, воеводе судомирскому, великому гетману; воеводе любельскому, пану Точинскому; кроме тыхъ Короны Полское великимъ бискупомъ, кановникомъ, плебаномъ, попомъ, мещаном, бояромъ, и всимъ кроме того навышимъ Паномъ Радомъ, и дворянам, и всимъ посполитымъ людемъ:

Справне то ведаите: Я самъ, Магъмет Кирей Цар, и сынъ мой Богатыр Солтъан, мы есмо видели нашихъ предковъ, которыхъ Богъ съ сего света сослал, тыхъ нашихъ предковъ братство, и приазнь, и мир. Великий цар Токътомыш, великий цар Ҫдыч Кирей, почонъ ѱт великого корола Владислава <и до> Якгела, и почонъ ѱт великого княза Витовъта, и ко [*sic*] Казимера великого корола, предъки наши и дади наши, великий цари с нимъ в братстве и приазни были, и мир держали правдою, какъ Короне Полской, такъ Великому Князству Литовскому, каждому прыятелю ихъ прыатели были, каждому непрыатедю непрыателемъ были, слугъ поболшоло их и земля поширела, прыатели бы радовалиса, непрыатели слепы были.

И мы згленувши правды и миръ предковъ нашихъ, с правого<sup>a</sup> сердца самъ Магъмет Кирей Цар, и сынъ мой Богатыр Солтъанъ, вси дити мои и брата мои цареве, вси вланы, князи, и мурзы, и еще вси дворане мои, и вси мои подъданыи, вси поспол стали есмо, сее докончане, который понес нашъ великий посолъ, великого карачеа сынъ Довлетеков Ширеневский Улиар Мурза, под нимъ князь Абрагимъ, нашъ ѱхъмистръ и верный слуга, еще ваш посолъ, панъ Ҫникей Горностаевичъ, и к тому наш верный слуга, пан Авъкгустин Кгалибардись, кавалерия Спириндора, который же вашего и вашего [*sic*<sup>b</sup>]

<sup>a</sup> Written correctly at the bottom of p. 786; on p. 787 entered mistakenly as *c права*.

<sup>b</sup> In A\* corrected: *naszoho y waszoho*.

доброего хочеть, перед нами, и на нашої книзе Куряне присагнѣли есмо и правду сполнили, што с тобою, братомъ нашимъ, Жикгимонтомъ королемъ, брат и прѣтел бы был, прѣтеля бы прѣтель был, неприателя непрѣтель, ѡдин к ѡдному таковы быхмо были, какъ наши предки были. Коли такъ будетъ, межи нас ни ѡдин нас [sic] неприатель не вѣвоидеть.

И вы, брат нашъ, нашего непрѣтеля Ши Ахъмата Цара и слугъ его в себе бы держали твердо дотуль, поки на него Бог смерть зошлеть.

И которыи межи нас и вас послы ездѣть, вы бы, брат нашъ, и мы тыхъ по[с]лов болшеи двухъ месецеи не держали, со всимъ добрымъ бы их ѡтпускали. И коли такъ будѣтъ ваши и наши слуги скоро ездити, то добро.

А што намъ есте прирекли, брат нашъ, давати впомянка в каждыи годъ по петнацѣть тисачъ золотыхъ с обоюхъ панствъ вашихъ, какъ с Короны Полское полѡсмъ тысячи, а з Великого Кнежанъя Литовского полѡсмъ тисачей, ѡ тое вас, брата нашего просимъ, абы есте тот впомянокъ до нас прислали по вашимъ свате Великодни ѡ семи неделѣхъ, на рок вашего свѣта Пѣнтикостеа.

Прислали есте до нас просачи докончанѣ на ѡтчызнѣ свою, Корону Полскую; и мы золотомъ писали и под печатю золотою посломъ нашимъ великимъ, Ёлиѣр Мурзою, и княземъ Ёбрагимомъ, ѡхмистромъ нашимъ, и твоимъ посломъ, паномъ Ёникиемъ Горностаевичомъ, написавши тое докончанѣ, к тебе, брату нашему, есмо послали. И то ведаи, брат наш, намъ есть ѡбои панства твои за ѡдно, какъ Корона Полскаѣ, такъ Великое Кнежене Литовское. Короны Полское города: Люблинъ, Львовъ, Каменецъ Подолье [sic], Межибоже, Хмелникъ, Летичов, Зеньков, Бучачъ, Белзь, Сокаль, Перемысль, Холмъ, Скалакъ, еще крома иныи города, села, места, и всимъ подѣданнымъ вашимъ, хто на тое панство, Корону Полскую неприател, тот намъ неприателемъ, как на Корону Полскую, такъ на Великое Кнежанѣ Литовское.

Еще бы Короны Полское купъцы не боѣса к намъ ездили, а наши купъцы не боѣса з Корону Полскую ехати, ни ѡт насъ бы вашимъ купъцомъ кривды не было, и ѡт вас бы нашимъ купъцомъ такъже кривды не было. И коли с Короны Полское к нашої земли купъцы приидѣтъ, мыта на нихъ мають взѣти ѡт ста денегъ три денѣги, а через то жадное бы са кривды не боѣли, здорово бѣ приехали, и заса в свою землю здорово бы са вернули, безо всакоѣ шкѡды. А естли бы ѡт нашихъ детеи, або ѡт князеи, вланов, мурзъ, або ѡт казаков нашихъ тымъ купъцовъ [sic] кривда бы была, и хто бы их пограбил, мы в нихъ взавши заса имъ вернемъ. И наши купъцы коли з вашу землю поедѣтъ и хто бы их пограбил, и вы бы, брат нашъ, казали по тому ж, ѡт тыхъ купъцовъ [sic] ѡтнемъши, купъцомъ нашимъ вернути.

И што в семъ докончани нашемъ написано, на всихъ нашихъ словахъ правдою твердою [м]аемъ стоати. ІѦ, Магметъ Киреи Цар, и сынъ мои Богатыр Солтъан в головахъ, и еще вси дети мои и брата

мои царевици, и вси [в]ланы, князи, и мурзы, и дворане, и вси мои подданыи, твердо правдѣ и присагу есмо чинили на божемъ имени, и подлугъ веры нашего сто тисачъ, и двадцать тисачъ, и чотыри тисачи пророковъ, еще нашъ правый пророкъ Его Милость, Магъмет Мастаѳа: волялаги, биллаги, всталълаги, з вашимъ, правымъ серцомъ брата нашего, братъ и приатель есмо, што в семъ докончани нашомъ выписано все, и вашей земли, на все на ваше панство, местомъ вашимъ, городомъ вашим, селомъ вашимъ, и всимъ подданымъ вашимъ, и всимъ людямъ вашимъ, ѿ нас и ѿ детей моих, и ѿ вланов, и ѿ князей, и мурзь, и дворан, и всихъ моихъ подъданных, и ѿ козаков нашихъ, и ѿто всихъ людей наших лихота бы не была. И в сих докончанъ инакъ бы мы не были, и в слове маемъ ѿ своимъ стояти.

И сее докончане для правды золотомъ написано, и под печатью золотую послали есмо.

Лета Магмета пророка деветсот двадцат шостый год, месеца зилкадеи ѿ [9] день, вк[табра] кѣ [25] день,<sup>52</sup> индикт ѿ [9].<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> The dating is confusing as 9 Zilkade 926 A.H. corresponded with 21 October 1520. The same difference between the Muslim and the Christian dates can be found in the previous document; cf. Document 19, n. 41.

<sup>53</sup> The indiction number, missing in the original, was apparently entered by the Ruthenian translator or the Lithuanian chancery clerk who copied the present document; the ninth indiction lasted from 1 September 1520 till 31 August 1521.

DOCUMENT 21 (FEBRUARY–MARCH 1522)  
The oath by Evliya (Ovlijar), the Crimean envoy sent  
to King Sigismund

Ruthenian copies:

A. RGADA, fond 389 = Litovskaja metrika, no. 7, pp. 844–845 [old foliation: 425b–426a].

A.\* 18th-century Latin transcription: AGAD, Metryka Litewska, no. 193, p. 494.

Какъ боудѡчы Господарю Его Милости оу Городне на великом соимѣ, индыкт десатыи, посолъ великий Магъметъ Киреа, цара перекопского, Ввлиар моурза прысагу вчынилъ Господарю Его Милости дяшою царевою тымъ вбычаемъ:

Іа, Ввлиар мурза, прысагаю душею господара моего, волного цара Магъметъ Киреевою на аль-Куранъ, на бересать,<sup>a</sup> через Бога вышнего има, и черезъ Махамета пророка нашего, и через сто и двадцать и чотыри тисачи, и через триста и тринадцать пророковъ нашихъ, брату господара моего, королю полскому и великому князю литовскому, его милости Жикгимонъту, на томъ, ижъ господарь нашъ, великий цар Магъметъ Киреи маеть Королю Его Милости то все держати справедливе и полнити во вѣсем подлѣгъ того листа, который а листь прысажный вт господара моего Королю Его Милости прынес.

И во всемъ господарь мой, волный цар маеть Королю Его Милости добра хотети и приати, и ничого на Господара Его Милости и на вбои панѣства его милости: Коронз Полскую и Великое Князьство Литовское, лихого не мает мыслити, и сыновъ своихъ и людеи своихъ внати, и не дати вбоюмъ панѣствамъ его милости шъкоды чинити. И приятелю Короля<sup>b</sup> Его Милости маеть быти приятелемъ, а неприятелю неприятелемъ.

И естли то господарь мой спольнить, Боже ему помози, а естли то не сполнить, Боже ему не помози, и нехай будетъ втдаленъ вт ласки божое и закону Махомета пророка нашего, и тыхъ всихъ вышей писаныхъ пророковъ нашихъ, и нехай будетъ такъ неавный поганинъ, и нехай бы жадный его сынъ, и по немъ будѣчи, на томъ царстве, на которомъ онъ царѣть, не царевали,<sup>c</sup> але какъ Богъ правдивый и справедливый, нехай ихъ кинетъ съ стольца втцовскаго, а неприятеле ихъ нехай Богъ на томъ стольцы пановати вчинитъ на вечъный часы.

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<sup>a</sup> Perhaps it should read: *берекатъ*, i.e., “the divine blessings” in Arabic and Turkish.

<sup>b</sup> Written mistakenly: *королю*.

<sup>c</sup> Written mistakenly: *на цевевали*.



## Translation:

Evliya Mirza,<sup>1</sup> the great envoy of Mehmed Giray, the khan of Perekop [i.e., the Crimean khan], to His Majesty, the hospodar,<sup>2</sup> present at the great Diet in Hrodna during the 10th indiction,<sup>3</sup> swore the oath with the khan's soul to His Majesty, the hospodar, in the following manner:

I, Evliya Mirza, swear with the soul of my lord, the free<sup>4</sup> khan Mehmed Giray, by the Koran, the divine blessings,<sup>5</sup> the name of the highest God, our prophet Muhammad, and our 124,000 and 313 prophets<sup>6</sup> to the brother of my lord, His Majesty Sigismund, the king of Poland and the grand duke of Lithuania, that our lord, the great khan Mehmed Giray, should justly keep and entirely fulfill towards His Royal Majesty everything that is contained in the oath-letter [*lyst prysjażnyj*] that I have brought from my lord to His Royal Majesty.

And in all aspects my lord, the free khan, should wish well and be friendly towards His Royal Majesty, and should have no bad intentions against His Majesty, the hospodar and the two states of His Majesty: the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and he should restrain his sons and his men and not let them commit any damage to the two states of His Majesty. And he should be a friend of His Royal Majesty's friend, and an enemy of his enemy.

And if my lord fulfills this, may God assist him; and if he does not fulfill it, may God deny him assistance, and may he be separated from the divine grace and from the law of our prophet Muhammad, and from all our above written prophets, and may he be like a false-hearted heathen, and may none of his sons and descendants reign in the kingdom in which he reigns, but—as God is true and just—may He remove them from the ancestral throne, and may God make their enemies rule on that throne forever.

<sup>1</sup> On Evliya Mirza, the son of Devletek and a member of the Shirin clan, see Document 19, n. 9.

<sup>2</sup> The grand duke of Lithuania was titled *hospodar*.

<sup>3</sup> The tenth indiction lasted from 1 September 1521 till 31 August 1522 and the Diet in Hrodna was held in February and March 1522; see Antoni Gašiorowski, "Itineraria dwu ostatnich Jagiellonów," p. 263.

<sup>4</sup> On the expression *volnyj car* ("free khan"), reflecting the ancient Mongol-Tatar notion of sovereignty, cf. Document 10, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> The obscure word *beresat* has been tentatively read as *berekat*; cf. n. a above.

<sup>6</sup> According to a Muslim tradition (*hadith*), recorded in the collection of Ahmad bin Hanbal, Allah sent to the earth 124,000 prophets (*anbiya'*, pl. of *nabi*), out of whom 315 were also messengers (*rusul*, pl. of *rasul*), committed with bringing new sets of laws; see *Musnadu 'l-Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal* (164–241 H.), vol. 36, p. 619. A similar *hadith* is recorded in the collection of Ibn Hibban, rearranged by the medieval Muslim scholar Ali bin Balban, though it mentions slightly different numbers of 120,000 prophets and 313 messengers (among the latter, the first one was Adam, the penultimate Jesus, and the last Muhammad); see al-Amir 'Ala'addin 'Ali bin Balban al-Farsi, *al-Ihsan fi taqribi sahih Ibn Hibban*, vol. 2 (Beirut, 1988 A.D./1408 A.H.), p. 77. A reference to 124,000 prophets can be found already in Mengli Giray's oath registered in a document from 1478; cf. Document 13, n. 3.

DOCUMENT 22 (1527)

The oath-*yarlyq* (*jarlyk prysjažnyj*) sent by Khan Sa'adet Giray  
to King Sigismund

The original document is missing.

Ruthenian copies:

A. RGADA, fond 389 = Litovskaja metrika, no. 7, pp. 1187–1193 [old foliation: 598b–601b].

A.\* 18th-century Latin transcription: AGAD, Metryka Litewska, no. 193, pp. 714–718.

Тыи ҃арлыки прынесены до Кракова жъ:

Великое Урды великого цара Садеть Киреа слово нашо то есть:

Ладскому, литовъскому, рускомъ, прѣскомъ, жомоитъскомъ, и инъ-  
шихъ многихъ паньствъ господарю, брату моему королю Жыкгимонътъ  
многокротъ поклонъ.

Пры томъ слово нашо то есть, штожъ утъ предка моего, Хачъ Киреа  
цара с твоими предки межы собою в брастве и въ прыязни были, а  
потомъ тежъ мои предокъ, Магъметъ Киреи Царъ с тобою тежъ [в]  
братстве и в прыязни уыходилъса, завъжъды межы ними поминъки  
и поклоны черезъ свои великии послы посылавал, а для того тежъ  
кroleвство, люди и паньство завъжъды вовъ покои бывало. А первей  
сего предки, утъцы мои: Менъ Кгиреи Царъ, братъ твои, по тому жъ  
великии король Казимир, утець твои, межы моими предками и межы  
твоими тежъ предками, штоколвекъ было колко прысагъ межы нами,  
и тежъ некакo хотели<sup>a</sup> были тыи прысаги свои рѣшыти. И тогъды  
прысаги рѣшившы, зъ завольскимъ царемъ изъ Ахъметъ царемъ, и  
изъ его детьми, из Саидахмет царемъ, и тежъ з Мортъзою, в братьс-  
тва и прыязни зашли; а з моими предки съ стародавъна въ братстве  
и в прыязни были, а потомъ тежъ утърекъшы са утъ тыхъ братствовъ  
и утъ прыязни, и с ними братства и в прыязни зашли. А потомъ  
сколко годовъ бывъшы тое паньство заволское згинѣло, и встанокъ  
Богъ ласку свою вчинил и все паньство предкѣ моему поддал. Потомъ  
кназь Иванъ московский, вашихъ и нашихъ предковъ холопъ, и тежъ  
непрыятель нашъ и вашъ, с поколеньа смеръдии сынъ есть, з нами  
в братстве и в прыязни быти неподобенъ был, а тежъ хотя был  
смердъ, словъ своему, прысазе своеи досыть чынил, с предкомъ моимъ,  
с царемъ прыателемъ бѣдъчы, добрыхъ своихъ поминъковъ николи

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<sup>a</sup> Written with a redundant subscribed letter л.

не вѣмешъкивал. Ино дла тое прычыны его людемъ и паньствомъ неприязни не чынивалъ и воиска землю его не пѣскивал. А въ ваше паньство какъ почали завѣжды ходити и воевати на кожъдый год, а з дръгое стороны московскый князь Иванъ прышодшы, некоторые города твои побрал и до сихъ часовъ в себе маеть; а то все дла того, што внѣ завѣжды с предки моими в прыязни был.

А вы тежъ и теперъ з московскимъ в неприязни живете, а инши люди ваше паньство воевали; то все дла того, што межы нами удиноства нетъ и вы мене, брата своего какъ бы за ништо видачы, ижъбы в перекопскомъ паньстве жадного чловека не встало, ани овнѣдаменѣтъ нетъ, какъ бы за малого господара маючы, томъ паньству. И которые мѣрзвы вѣтъ нашего паньства з наше службы в Нагаех ходатъ втекъшы, и ты минаючы мене, с которымъ еси здавѣна и с предки моими в прыязни был, а з нагайскими хочешъ в прыязни быти. Чы не лепей было тебе со мѣною, братомъ своимъ, в прыязни зайти, а неприятеля нашего московского с одное стороны ꙗ быхъ воевал, а дла того бы межы нами братствомъ и прыязнѣ шырила са?

Ино тепер мало больши двѣ годовъ в нашемъ паньстве какъ вархолотъ стал был, и теперъ, хвала миломъ Богу, братъ мой меньшии, Исламъ Солтанъ мене, брата своего старшого, цара правдѣ взнавѣшы, и тежъ к томъ са взнал, ижъ с порадою лихихъ людей ходил, и теперъ внѣ мне, братъ своимъ старшомъ въ томъ виненъ са дал, и мовилъ мне: “ꙗ в томъ вбмылил са, рач ты мне, братъ мой, тое вѣтѣпѣстити.” Ино межы нами в старшихъ князь Немешъ, и инѣшыи князи, вланы, и мѣрзы, и Бахтиар Муръза, за нимъ мене просили и еднали. А Исламъ Солтанъ, братъ мой, прышол до мене, бережѣкъ на шыю взложывѣшы, и мовилъ: “воленъ ты хотя ввори або вживи, виненъ есьми перед тобою.” И ꙗ тежъ помысливѣшы и бачачы то, ижъ маю в себе неприятелей, и хотачы его в послѣзе своей на кожъдого неприятеля послати, и дрѣвѣцо и саблю мою въ крови неприятельской втопити, тотъ гневъ мой, и к тому тежъ видачы, ижъ внѣ не свое воли то вчынил, все есми емъ вѣтѣпѣстил. И ꙗ дла тое его покори, вѣтѣнавѣшы кгалкгеиство в Сад Киреа, емъ есми дал, и люди вси, што к томъ прыслѣхаютъ, емъ жъ есми подалъ, и в Перекопе водле себе есьми его посадил. А тому Сад Кирею далъ есми свои города, которые на Днепре маю.

Ино тепер, хвала миломъ Богу, в той есьмо надеи воиско свое ему давѣшы, прыятелю прыязнѣ, а неприятелю неприязнѣ вкажетъ, бо которые князи, вланы, и мѣрзвы в паньстве нашемъ в росторжѣе были, ты[и] вжо вси в одиностѣе с нами стали. А теперъ есьмо дла тыхъ прычынъ тое надеи, ижъ кожъдомъ неприятелю нашемъ неприязни вкажемъ и доведемъ. И теперъ, какъ здавѣна в братстве и прыязни добре были, а такежъ со мѣною с царемъ, з братомъ своимъ, естѣли хочешъ быти за удинъ, моего и твоего неприятеля московского, люди и паньство его, з великимъ своимъ воискомъ хочъ самъ поити воевати. А естѣли быхъ самъ не пошол, ꙗ Исламъ Солтана и инѣшыхъ братей своихъ меньшихъ з воискомъ своимъ великимъ пошлю, паньство московского завѣжды воевати, а то бы нашої прысазе

и братства доброе знама прыязни было. А з дрягое стороны ты бы, братъ нашъ, того неприятеля своего своими людьми воевал; а который города твои тотъ холопъ забрал, то есьмо надеи ѡт милого Бога, иж и звыш тых городовъ в него ѡтѣберешъ. Естъли со мѣною с одного в братстве и прыязни жыти бѣдешъ, прыятелю своемъ прыязнь, а неприятелю своемъ неприязни доведешъ, а коли бѣдешъ ѡдинъ сам жыти, то ты ведаешъ, колько шкод собе бѣдешъ мети.

Ино ꙗ, брат вашъ, какъ есьми на мѣстыцы ѡтѣца своего сел, и как то слышыть межы братства, твоа милость, брат мои, николи не хотел еси прислати до мене, брата своего, здоровѣа моего навежаючи, и тежъ поклонъ и впоминокъ свои мне даючи. Какъ жо ꙗ и теперъ по тебе, брате своемъ, тое надеи, ижъ не толко теперешннии впоминъки, але и прошлых годовъ, которых еси намъ дати не хотел, того са надеваю, бо тых часовъ, какъ есьми мел вархолтъ в своєї земли, ино есьми дла того вельми ѡдолжалъ.

А братъскаа речъ то естъ, естъли братъ его в чомъ бѣдетъ мети впад, тогѣды маеть его людьми або скарѣбомъ подмочы, а в томъ братъ за брата маеть сердечнѣю прыязнь знайти. Мы завжды ѡтъ вас, брата нашего корола, тое надеи были, ино вы, брат нашъ, здоровѣа нашего навежаючи николи еси до нас не прислал, а которого ꙗ холопа своего Асенъкѣ до тебе, брата своего послал есьми был, здоровѣе мое тебе поведаячи, а твоего здорова навежаючи, ино и то еси в себе задержал.

Ино люди твои прышодшы, города мои поднепрѣьскіи поламали, не ведаю з вашим ведомом, не ведаю сами ѡт собою, и естъли люди твои собою то вчынили, ꙗ посылал послаца своего до тебе з жалобою, абы ты мне дал ведати, дла чого тыи мои города казал поламати, мне л шкодѣ чыначы, чы л пакъ не хотачы того видети, ижъбы Нагаицы на тых городех сели и на мене воевали? Ты того послаца задержалъ, мне ѡ томъ не дал знати, естъли бы мне в том шкодѣ або прыязнь дла Нагайцовъ чынил. А коли бы вы мне дали то знати, ижъ дла Нагайцовъ тыи города казал поламати, мне в том прыязячи, ꙗ бых за то братство и прыязнь с тобою прынал. И ты, братъ нашъ, не хотачы мети давѣное прыязни со мѣною, мовил еси, ажъбы вжо с мене тебе ни прыязни, ани неприязни не было, и на поведаныи речы домънимал еси, штобы вжо в моемъ паньстве ни ѡдного чловека не было. ꙗ то послысавшы, войско мое, хотя малыи люди, подал есьми царевичомъ, Азлюбѣц Солтанѣ а Ъсламъ Солтанѣ, послал есьми в паньство твое ладское. И казал есьми воевати дла того, штобы ты, братъ нашъ, тое ведал, ижъ еще в мене естъ люди.

А на потом тежъ Казимир корол з отцомъ моимъ самъ прысагу рѣшыл, и тежъ и зъ Саид Ахметъ Царемъ, а з Мортѣзою Царемъ в братъстве и прыязни были. А ты, братъ нашъ, з Нагаицы хотачы с одного быти, мене, брата своего за нишѣто собе видачы, и тежъ хотачы заволского цара Шыгахмата выпѣстити, намъ неприязнь чыначы, нагайскомъ послѣ на има Смендицѣрѣ в рѣки подавши, неприятелем нашимъ Нагайцомъ хотачы его царемъ ѡсадити, и мы тое вслысавшы, мовили есьмо: “ѡтъ правды корол намъ неприятелемъ.” Ино

мы дла того ъ дръгое послали з войскомъ своимъ великимъ брата своего меньшого Сапъ Кирей Солътана, панъство твое воевати.

И какъ есьми, братъ твои, прышол на мѣстьцо и царъство ѡтца своего, ꙗ ѡтъ тебе ни доброго слова, ани поминъковъ теж есьми не виделъ. Ино мы ѡтъ предковъ нашихъ ведаемъ, ижъ вы въ братъствѣ и прыязни мешкали. А какъ есьми сел на столцы ѡтца своего, ничего есьми ѡтъ тебе, брата своего, доброго не видел, толко есьми то видел, што люди твои города мои поламали. И ꙗ до тебе, брата своего, посылалъ слъгу своего доведываючы са, дла чого ты мне тотъ жал вчынил. И ты того слъгу моего задержжал, какъ бы мене вжо ни за што собе маючы, и тежъ штобы вжо в панъстве моемъ люди не было, и штобы вжо прыязнь ани непрыязнь ѡтъ насъ тебе не мела быти. И з непрыатели нашими Нагаицы хотел еси быти за ѡдинъ, а нашое прыязни, которзю ѡтъ давъныхъ летъ с нами мелъ, вжо еси былъ запаматал и прысагу свою рѣшыл. А дла того межы нами таковыи вархолтъ повъстал, и с тое тежъ прычины панъства твои есьми воевал.

Ино вед, што было то было, а тое вжо минълося, а теперъ вжо живемо в братъствѣ и въ прыязни великой, какъ жо и ты, братъ нашъ, прислал до насъ слъгу своего Михаила, штобыхмо с тобою, братомъ нашимъ, ѡ твердой прыязни мешъкали, а штобыхмо прыпателю прыпателемъ, а непрыпателю непрыпателемъ были. И мовилъ намъ Михаило: “господаръ нашъ королъ з вами, з братомъ своимъ хочачы в прыязни быти, штобы панъство вов покои было.” А над<sup>б</sup> Чанъ Кгирей мърззино место на погощенье дла лепъшое правды, штобыхъ прислалъ великого посла. ꙗ, братъ вашъ, справедливымъ сердцемъ своимъ, штобы томъ панъствѣ покои былъ и межы нами братство и прыязнь ѡтъ сихъ часовъ поболшала, к томъ еси великъю прыязнь и пилность прыложилъ, и промежъкъ инъшихъ князеи никого есьми такового не ѡбралъ, нижли сестренца своего Макул мърззъ. Просилъ есьми в зата своего, княза Бахтиара видачы то, ижъ есьми никимъ инъшимъ такого дела не могъ ѡправити. И Бахтыар мързза того тежъ жадаючы, штобы межы нами братство и прыязнь была, того мне сына своего далъ. И мы тежъ передъ слъгою твоимъ Михайломъ прызавъшы его к собе, сыномъ своимъ есьмо его вчынили и посломъ великимъ наредили, и к немъ есьмо дръмого посла прыставили, Магъметъ Харъза, Асанъчу Харъзова сына.

Ино царевичы, братья моа, с князи, вланы: Давлетъ вланъ, Мортъза вланъ, Ѡбдѣла вланъ, и карачеи наши: в головахъ князь Мемешъ, а князь Асенекъ, а князь Маемутъ, а князь Ѡсманъ, и вси князи вставшы, ѡ томъ мене просили тымъ ѡбычаемъ: «братъ вашъ королъ которое слово до насъ всказал, естъли бы въ своемъ слове и прысазе стоял, и тебе господарю нашомъ Садъ Кгирею Царю тии

<sup>б</sup> The letter *ð* is uplifted but perhaps in the original this entry read: *на Дчанъ Кгирей мърззино место*.

поминъки посылал, какъ братъ твоему старъшомъ Магъметъ Кирею Царю завъжъды посылавал в браствѣ и въ прыказни бѣдѣчы; и тобе тежъ кроме тых поминъков, естъли бы еси ѡ што жедал, нехай бы ѡнъ в томъ не вымовлялся, а штобы братство и прыказнь справедливою верно держалъ; и какъ ѡтѣцъ твоємъ и старъшомъ братъ, Магъметъ Кирею Царю, которы поминъки сылывали, почонъшы ѡтъ кагалкгеи солтана, почонъшы ѡтъ великого, и до малого, царевичомъ, и кназемъ, мързамъ, и инъшымъ кназемъ, вланом, и земаномъ, и двораномъ, и инъшым вернымъ слугамъ, которы завъжъды пры тобе в реистре стоать, всих тых доходы естъли бы хотел дати.»

Ѥ вжо на томъ прысагу вчынилъ. И ты бы до мене, брата своего, ѡ томъ ничего не мешъкаючы дал ведати, естъли бы л хотел на томъ зостати. И с тыми поминъки штобы еси посла моего, Чынъ Киреи мързъз, прыставивъшы к немъ своего великого посла, ѡтвердивъшы прысагами до мене ѡтѣпѣстил, абы тии мои послы, которы до тебе с прысагами пойдѣт, с Дъчын Гиреи мърззою и с твоимъ посломъ в Києве са поткали; и нехай бы тии мои послы до тебе пошли, а твои послы до мене прышодшы, братство и прыказнь твердѣю межы нами вчынили.

А мне говорыли кнази, вланы, и мърззы, естъли ты, братъ мои со мѣною ѡ прыказни бѣдешъ жыти, ѡни поспол со мѣною на томъ прысагънули, ижъ мають ѡтъ того часу со мѣною на московского завъжъды воевати, и саблею своею непрыказъни доводити, и всакомъ непрыпателю твоємъ быти непрыпателемъ, а прыпателю прыпателемъ.

И содиновичъшыся, есьмо со вѣсею радою нашою подлугъ своих книгъ прысагу вчинили: воллага вельбиллага. И ѡказѣючы тое братство и прыказнь нашу, которѣю хочемъ вчинити, и посла нашего великого на то нарадили, и прысагънули, и послали есьмо до тебе, брата нашего, сии наши листы великии прысажъными тым посломъ, нашимъ добрымъ а верънымъ слѣгою, Белечыковымъ сыномъ Ѥнъкърою, а Дчанака писара. И што тотъ слѣга мои бѣдетъ ѡтъ мене тобе, братъ моему слово мовити, ты бы, братъ мои тому верыл, бо мои слова бѣдетъ тобе говорыти. Бо какъ Богъ ѡдинъ естъ на небе, нехай бы межы нами такъже ѡдно слово и прысага твердаа была.

А ты бы, братъ мои прыказнь и прысагу твердо держал, такъ какъ и ѡ, а словъ своему паномъ бы еси был. А штобы тотъ мои листъ писаръ мои Дчанака перед тобою братомъ моимъ чолъ.

Тотъ мои црълыкъ прысажъными под перестенъною печатѣю послал есьми. Писонъ в Перекопе сен ѡтъ Магъметова нароженъа девеност<sup>с</sup> летъ и лѣг [33] летоу.

<sup>с</sup> An obvious mistake; it should read *деветсот* ("nine hundred") and not *девеност* ("ninety").

Translation:

*These yarliqs have been brought to Cracow:*<sup>1</sup>

*This is our word, [the word] of the great khan of the Great Horde, Sa'adet Giray:*

*[Let] multiple salutations [be pronounced] to my brother, King Sigismund, the lord of Poland, Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Samogitia, and many other states.*

*Our pronouncement is as following: since [the time of] our ancestor, Hadji Giray Khan, [our ancestors] had remained in mutual brotherhood and friendship with your ancestors, and thereafter also my ancestor,<sup>2</sup> Mehmed Giray Khan, maintained brotherhood and friendship with you, and [they] used to send mutual gifts and salutations through their great envoys; for that reason [your] kingdom, people and state used to remain in peace. And yet formerly, [in the time of] my ancestor<s> and father<s>: Mengli Giray Khan, your brother, and also your father, the great king Casimir, no matter how many oaths had been sworn between my ancestors and your ancestors, they somehow chose to violate their oaths. And then, having violated the oaths they commenced brotherhood and friendship with Ahmed Khan,<sup>3</sup> the Trans-Volgine khan, and with his children, Seyyid Ahmed Khan and Murtaza;<sup>4</sup> while they had remained in brotherhood and friendship with my ancestors since the ancient times, thereafter they renounced this brotherhood and friendship, and commenced brotherhood and friendship with those [mentioned above]. And thereafter, some years ago, the Trans-Volgine state perished, and God extended his favor and finally submitted this whole state to my ancestor. Thereafter, the Muscovian duke Ivan,<sup>5</sup> the slave [Ruth. xolop] of your [ancestors] and our ancestors, and also our and*

<sup>1</sup> The heading refers to the present and the following document (Document 23).

<sup>2</sup> Mehmed Giray was Sa'adet Giray's older brother as they were both the sons of Mengli Giray.

<sup>3</sup> On Ahmed (r. 1459–1481), the son of Küchük Muhammed and the khan of the Great Horde (referred to as Trans-Volgine in the Slavic sources), see Document 10, n. 7.

<sup>4</sup> After the death of Ahmed Khan in 1481, his state was divided among his sons, who competed for the supreme rule; see M. Safargaliev, *Raspad Zolotoj ordy*, p. 269. Initially two older brothers, Murtaza and Seyyid Ahmed, ruled jointly; see the letter of Murtaza, dated in 1484, announcing their joint rule to King Casimir (*pervej Oxmat car odyń car byl, a nyne dva cary esmo, z bratom moyym Sid-Axmatom*), published in Pułaski, *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyznq*, p. 210. In the 1490s the supreme rule passed to their younger brother, Sheikh Ahmed (cf. Document 9, n. 27). At first, Murtaza and Seyyid Ahmed unwillingly accepted his rule, but then abandoned him in 1501, on the eve of the collapse of the Great Horde; see Xoroškevič, *Rus' i Krym*, p. 155. Seyyid Ahmed should not be confused with another Seyyid Ahmed, the grandson of Tokhtamish, who had been detained in Kaunas since 1454 and died in Lithuanian captivity; on the latter see Document 6, n. 4.

<sup>5</sup> I.e., Ivan III (r. 1462–1505).

your enemy, the son of a serf [Ruth. smerd] by descent, unworthy to remain in brotherhood and friendship with us, notwithstanding his being a serf, fulfilled his word and oath, and while being a friend of my ancestor, the khan, he never delayed [the delivery of] his fitting gifts. For this reason he [i.e., my ancestor] did not display hostility towards his people and states, and did not let his troops raid his land. And as they began to constantly invade and raid your state every year, the Muscovian duke Ivan entered from another direction and captured some of your towns that he still keeps until now; and all this resulted from the fact that he had always remained in friendship with my ancestors.

And also now, you live in hostility with the Muscovian [duke], and other men [i.e., enemies] have raided your state [as well]; all this results from the fact that there is no unity between us and you regard me, your brother, as a nobody, as if there remained nobody in the Crimean state [Ruth. v perekopskom pan'stve], and as if this state had no foundation, being reigned by a petty ruler. And as regards the mirzas, who have gone to the Nogays, having escaped from our state and service, you want to keep friendship with the Nogays, while neglecting me, with whom and whose ancestors you have remained in friendship since the ancient times. Would not it be better if you commence friendship with me, your brother, so that I would raid our Muscovian enemy from one direction, [and you from another,] and in result brotherhood and friendship would spread between us?

Currently there has been a turmoil in our state for just over two years, but now, thanks to dear God, my younger brother,<sup>6</sup> Islam Giray, has acknowledged my right, [the right] of his elder brother, the khan, and he has acknowledged that he had followed the advice of wicked men. And now he has admitted his fault in this respect towards me, his elder brother, and told me: "I was mistaken; would you, my brother, condescend to forgive me?" And also Memesh Bey,<sup>7</sup> being the elder among us [i.e., our counselors], and other beys [Ruth. knjazi], ulans, and mirzas, and Bakhtiyar Mirza,<sup>8</sup> have requested and solicited

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<sup>6</sup> In fact, Islam Giray was Sa'adet's nephew and the son of the late khan, Mehmed Giray.

<sup>7</sup> Memesh (or Mamish), son of Mamaq and leader (*qaraçı* bey) of the Shirin clan between 1523 and 1528, who succeeded in this post Ağış; he married Mehmed Giray's daughter; in 1524–1526 he supported the pretender to the throne, Islam Giray, and was temporarily deprived of his post; in 1528 he rebelled again and was killed on the khan's order; see Syroečkovskij, "Muxammed-Geraj i ego vassaly," p. 59; Xoroškevič, *Rus' i Krym*, pp. 95–96; Manz, "The Clans of the Crimean Khanate," pp. 303 and 308.

<sup>8</sup> Bakhtiyar Mirza, son of Devletek (see Document 19, n. 8), husband of Sa'adet Giray's sister (see below) and the future leader of the Shirin clan between 1528 and 1531; already in the early 1520s he played a prominent political role; in 1524–1526, when Memesh sided with Islam Giray, he remained loyal to the khan and was appointed a *qaraçı* bey, but only temporarily; after the execution of Memesh in 1528 he finally became the *qaraçı* bey, but he instigated another conspiracy and was killed on Sa'adet Giray's order in 1531; see Syroečkovskij, "Muxammed-Geraj i ego vassaly," p. 59; Manz, "The Clans of the Crimean Khanate," pp. 303–305 and 308; for his seal, preserved on a document held in the Topkapı Palace, see Ostapchuk, "The Publication



me in his favor. And my brother, Islam Sultan, has come to me, having placed a wooden bar on his neck, and said: "you can kill [me] or bring [back] to life, as I have wronged you." In consideration that I have [other] enemies [as well] and seeing that he had not committed this [wrong] of his own will, I [have quelled] my anger and forgiven him all [his faults] in desire to send him in my service against any of my enemies and to plunge my [spear] shaft and my saber in my enemies' blood. And because of his submission, I have given him the post of the *qalga* along with all men attached to this [post], having taken it away from Sahib Giray,<sup>9</sup> and I have seated him beside me [to rule] in the Crimea [Ruth. v Perekope]. And to the aforementioned Sahib Giray<sup>10</sup> I have given [in recompense] a number of towns that I possessed on the Dnieper.

And now, thanks to dear God, we have given him [i.e., Islam Giray] troops in the hope that he demonstrates friendship to [our] friend, and enmity to [our] enemy, as all the beys, ulans, and mirzas, who were scattered in our state, are already united with us [again]. And therefore we hope that we will demonstrate and prove enmity towards any of our enemies. And now, as [our ancestors] had remained in brotherhood and friendship from the ancient times, if you want to unite likewise with me, the khan and your brother, I want to set out in person, along with my large army, to raid the people and state of my and your Muscovian enemy. And if I do not set out in person, I will send Islam Sultan and my other younger brothers, along with my great army, to raid constantly the state of the Muscovian [duke], and that would be a good sign of our oath, brotherhood, and friendship. And you, our brother, would raid this enemy of yours along with your men [i.e., troops] from another direction; and as regards your towns that this slave [Ruth. xolop] took away, we set our hope on dear God that you will recapture from him even more than these towns. If you live in unity, brotherhood, and friendship with me, you will [be able to] demonstrate friendship to your friend and enmity to your enemy, but if you live alone, you know [well] how much damage you will suffer.

And as I, your brother, have ascended the seat of my father, Your Majesty, my brother, have never wished to send [embassy] to me, your brother, asking about my health and delivering salutations and gifts, as it is customary among brothers. And now I expect from you, my brother, not merely the present gifts, but also the gifts due for the previous years that you have not wished to give

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of Documents on the Crimean Khanate in the Topkapı Sarayı: The Documentary Legacy of Crimean-Ottoman Relations," p. 269.

<sup>9</sup> Rendered corruptly as *Sad Kirej*; apparently the scribe, who copied this document, mistook the uplifted Cyrillic letter "p" (п) for "d" (д). Sahib Giray, the former khan of Kazan (1521–1524) and the future khan of the Crimea (1532–1551), was granted the post of *qalga* in 1525 in return for his assistance to Sa'adet Giray against Islam Giray. The conditions of reconciliation between Sa'adet and Islam, agreed upon in 1526, provided that the post of *qalga* would be given to Islam. As a compensation, Sahib Giray was granted several forts and pasturages on the lower Dnieper (apart from Očakiv, granted to Islam Giray); cf. Hajvoronskyj, *Poveliteli dvux materikov*, vol. 1, pp. 171–173.

<sup>10</sup> Again corruptly rendered as *Sad Kirej*.

us; I expect this, since in the time of the turmoil in my land I have incurred large debts.

And such is the brotherly duty: if his brother falls into any trouble, then he [i.e., the other brother] should help with his men [i.e., troops] and treasure, and hence he should demonstrate his cordial brotherly friendship. We have always counted in this respect on you, the king and our brother, but you, our brother, have never sent [embassy] to us, asking about our health; and even when we sent to you, our brother, our slave [Ruth. xolop] Asenke,<sup>11</sup> announcing you my health and asking about your health, you detained him.

And as your men arrived and destroyed my towns on the Dnieper,<sup>12</sup> I do not know whether with your knowledge or on their own, I sent to you my envoy with a complaint, [to enquire] whether your men did it on their own, and so that you let me know why you had ordered to destroy these towns of mine: either in order to harm me, or in order to prevent the Nogays from settling in these towns and attacking me? [Yet,] you detained this envoy without letting me know, whether you had acted in order to harm me, or to aid me against the Nogays. And had you let me know that you had ordered to destroy these towns because of the Nogays, thus acting in my favor, for this reason I would have become your brother and friend. But you, our brother, without any desire to keep the ancient friendship with me, seemed [lit. were saying] not to care any more whether I would be friendly or hostile to you, and you assumed from [the received] messages that no man remained in my state. On hearing this, I gave my troops—though not numerous—to the sultans [i.e., princes] Özbek Sultan<sup>13</sup> and Islam Sultan, and sent them to your Polish state. And I ordered to raid it so that you, our brother, know that I still have men [i.e., troops].<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Asenke or Asenka, perhaps a diminutive from Asan (<Hasan) or Esen; cf. Jankowski, *Historical-Etymological Dictionary*, pp. 1147–1148.

<sup>12</sup> On Islamkerman, the castle built by Mengli Giray around 1504 on the left shore of the Dnieper, at the river crossing named Tavan' (< Tat. *toğan keçidi*), cf. Document 9, n. 31. Following the unsuccessful expedition of Mehmed Giray against Astrakhan and his death at the hands of the Nogays in 1523, the Lithuanian troops led by the *starosta* of Čerkasy, Ostafij Daškovyč, destroyed Islamkerman and took along its captured artillery to Čerkasy; see RGADA, f. 389, no. 7, pp. 905 and 910. Along with Islamkerman, some other minor Tatar settlements were destroyed as well, but the gossip about taking Očakiv proved false; cf. Čerkas, "Ordyn's'ka polityka Velykoho Knjazivstva Lytovs'koho," p. 229.

<sup>13</sup> Rendered corruptly as *Azljubec Soltan*; Özbek Sultan was a son of Mehmed Giray and a younger brother of Islam Giray. In a document from 1524 he is referred to as a qalga (see Malinovskij, "Istoričeskoe sobranie," pp. 412 and 414) and that explains the fact that in the present document he is listed before his older brother. He held the post of qalga twice: in the years 1523–1525 and again in 1532, under Islam Giray; cf. *Le khanat de Crimée*, pp. 327 and 360 (his first term is omitted there as the authors mistakenly assumed that in the first years of Sa'adet Giray's reign the post of qalga was held by Devlet Giray, born in 1512).

<sup>14</sup> The khan refers to the Tatar raid effected against the Polish southeastern provinces in the summer of 1524.

And moreover, King Casimir had violated the oath [concluded] with my father and had remained in brotherhood and friendship with Seyyid Ahmed Khan and Murtaza Khan. And as you, our brother, in desire to unite with the Nogays while regarding me, your brother, as a nobody, wished to set free the Trans-Volgine khan, Sheikh Ahmed,<sup>15</sup> hence demonstrating enmity to us, and delivered him to the hands of the Nogay envoy named Isfendiyar with the aim to make him the khan of the Nogays, [being] our enemies, on hearing this we said [to ourselves]: "the king is indeed our enemy." For this reason we sent another time our younger brother, Sahib Giray Sultan,<sup>16</sup> along with our great army, to raid your state.

Ever since I, your brother, have assumed the place and reign of my father, I have not seen any kind word or gifts from you. We know from our ancestors that you had remained in brotherhood and friendship. Yet, when I ascended the throne of my father, I did not experience anything good from you, my brother, but I saw only that your men destroyed my towns. So I sent my servant to you, my brother, in order to learn why you had done this harm to me. And you detained this servant of mine as if regarding me as a nobody, as if there were no men left in my state, and as if not caring any more whether we would be friendly or hostile to you. And you wanted to unite with our enemies, the Nogays, while already forgetting our friendship that you had had with us from the ancient years, and violating your oath. For that reason such a turmoil occurred between us and for that reason I was raiding your states.

Yet, you should know that what has happened has happened and it is already gone, and now we finally live in brotherhood and great amity, as you, our brother, have sent us your servant Myxajlo<sup>17</sup> so that we may live in firm friendship with you, our brother, and so that we should be a friend of [the other's] friend and an enemy of [the other's] enemy. And Myxajlo said to us: "our lord, the king, wants to keep friendship with you, his brother, so that [his] state may remain in peace." And [he asked] that I send a great envoy to replace Djan Giray Mirza<sup>18</sup> to be hosted [in Lithuania] as a security for the oath to

<sup>15</sup> On Sheikh Ahmed, the last khan of the Great Horde, who spent over 20 years in the Lithuanian captivity and was set free in 1527 to regain the throne in Astrakhan, see Document 9, n. 27.

<sup>16</sup> Here the name of Sahib Giray is rendered more correctly as *Sap Kirej*; cf. notes 9–10 above. The khan apparently refers to a huge raid effected by the Tatar troops, who were defeated by the Lithuanians near Čerkasy in February 1527. In fact, Sheikh Ahmed was released from Lithuanian custody only after that raid, although the negotiations with the Nogay envoys had begun much earlier; see Čerkas, "Ordyn'ska polityka Velykoho Knjazivstva Lytovs'koho," p. 230.

<sup>17</sup> Myxajlo Hryhorevyč, the royal courtier sent to the Crimea from Danzig (Gdańsk) in June 1526; see Banionis, *LDK pasiuntinybių tarnyba*, p. 197. On the contents of royal proposals, cf. *Opisanie dokumentov i bumag, xranjaščixsja v Moskovskom Arhive Ministerstva Justicii. Kniga 21: Knigi Litovskoj Metriki* (Moscow, 1915), pp. 127–128.

<sup>18</sup> Djan Giray Mirza, referred to in the Ruthenian and Russian sources as *Dčan/Čan Kgirej* (cf. n. b above), *Čyn Kgirej*, *Dčyn Girej* and *Jan Girej*, was a member of the Shirin clan and the son of Bakhtiyar Mirza; see *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*, vol. 2, p. 636; Manz, "The Clans of the Crimean Khanate," p. 308. He probably should

be firmer. [And] I, your brother, have committed great affection and diligence with all my heart so that this state remain in peace and the brotherhood and friendship between us increase from this point, and I could not select anybody more fitting from among the other beys than my nephew [lit. my sister's son], Ma'qul Mirza.<sup>19</sup> [So] I asked my brother-in-law, Bakhtiyar Bey, [to let him go,] as I saw that I could not fulfill such a task by [sending] anyone else. And Bakhtiyar Mirza,<sup>20</sup> who also wished that brotherhood and friendship remain between us, gave me this son of his. Having called him [i.e., Ma'qul Mirza] to us, we have made him our son and appointed great envoy in the presence of your servant Myxajlo, and we have added another envoy to [assist] him, [namely] Mehmed Haruz, the son of Asancha<sup>21</sup> Haruz.

And the sultans [i.e., princes], my brothers, along with the beys and ulans: Devlet Ulan, Murtaza Ulan, Abdullah Ulan,<sup>22</sup> and our qaraçı beys, to begin with Memesh Bey,<sup>23</sup> and Asenek Bey,<sup>24</sup> and Mahmud Bey,<sup>25</sup> and Osman Bey,<sup>26</sup> and all the beys have come out with the following demand: "whatever your brother, the king, promised us, if he is to keep his word and oath, he should

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be identified with a son of Bakhtiyar, who arrived in Lithuania late in the year 1521 and was probably detained as an honorary hostage until 1527; see Kazimierz Pułaski, "Machmet-Girej," p. 338. In 1532, King Sigismund recalled his sojourn in his letter to the Lithuanian Council, adding that it had not prevented his domains from Tatar raids; see *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 15 (1528–1538). Užrašymų knyga 15*, p. 178.

<sup>19</sup> Ma'qul Mirza was another son of Bakhtiyar Mirza and the brother of Djan Giray Mirza; he was finally sent to Poland-Lithuania more than three years later and arrived early in the year 1531. Shortly after his arrival, Sa'adet Giray executed several Shirin leaders including Ma'qul's father (cf. n. 8 above) and notified Sigismund that he no longer regarded Ma'qul as his envoy. In 1532, after Islam Giray ascended the throne, Ma'qul was released on the new khan's request and sent to the Crimea along with a Lithuanian envoy, Andrej Mackevyč; see Čerkas, "Ukrajina v polityčnomu protystojanni Velykoho knjazivstva Lytovs'koho z Moskovs'koju deržavoju i Krymom u 20–x—30–x rr. XVI st.," p. 22, n. 73; cf. *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 15*, pp. 178, 251, 255, 280–281.

<sup>20</sup> In the document, Bakhtiyar is alternatively referred to as bey (Ruth. *knjaz*) and *mirza* (*murza*).

<sup>21</sup> Perhaps a diminutive from Hasan.

<sup>22</sup> Devlet Ulan and Abdullah Ulan might have been identical with the envoys sent to Poland-Lithuania in 1514; cf. Document 15, n. 16. All the three *ulans*, Abdullah, Devlet, and Murtaza, figured among the dignitaries who swore an oath to keep peace with Muscovy in 1524; see Malinovskij, "Istoričeskoe sobranie," p. 414.

<sup>23</sup> On Memesh, the leader of the Shirin clan, see n. 7 above.

<sup>24</sup> Asenek or Isenek, a brother of Devlet Bakhti, who replaced the latter as the *qaraçı* of the Barin clan in 1526; cf. Syroëčkovskij, "Muxammed-Geraj i ego vassaly," p. 59.

<sup>25</sup> Perhaps a leader of the Qıpchaq clan, identical with his namesake mentioned already in 1507; cf. Syroëčkovskij, "Muxammed-Geraj i ego vassaly," p. 35 and Document 9, n. 40. Yet, on the list of the Crimean dignitaries from 1524 the leader of the Qıpchaqs was referred to as Ismail Bey (*Kipčak Ismail kniaz*); see Malinovskij, "Istoričeskoe sobranie," p. 415.

<sup>26</sup> Perhaps a leader of the Arghın clan? Yet, on the list of the Crimean dignitaries from 1524 the leader of the Arghins is referred to as Ali Shukur Bey (*Argin Ali Šukur knjaz*); see Malinovskij, "Istoričeskoe sobranie," p. 415.

send you, our lord Sa'adet Giray Khan, the same gifts that he had always sent your elder brother, Mehmed Giray Khan, while he had remained in brotherhood and friendship [with him]; and if you ask for anything apart from these gifts, he should not make any excuses in this respect and he should sincerely keep the brotherhood and just friendship; and as he used to send gifts to your father and your elder brother, Mehmed Giray Khan, he should likewise agree to give the respective incomes to the *qalga* sultan—to begin with, and the [other] sultans [i.e., princes], starting from the oldest to the youngest, the beys, mirzas, other beys, ulans, and to the landlords, courtiers, and other loyal servants, who are always present with you [and whose names are] in the register."

I have already sworn by the above written [conditions]. And you should let me, your brother, know, without any delay, whether you wish to keep it [as well]. And you should send back to me my envoy, Djan Giray Mirza, along with the gifts, adding to him your great envoy and having confirmed [the peace] with [your] oaths, so that my envoys, who go to you with [my] oaths, meet Djan Giray Mirza and your envoy in Kiev; and may my envoys go [further] to you, and your envoys come to me, bringing brotherhood and firm friendship between us.

And the beys, ulans, and mirzas told me and swore along with me that if you, my brother, live in friendship with me, they should raid the Muscovian [duke] always from now on and prove their enmity with their sabers, and they should be enemies to any of your enemies and friends to any of your friends.

And in unity, along with our council we have sworn by our [holy] books: by God and with God!<sup>27</sup> And in display of our brotherhood and friendship that we want to bring about, we have appointed our great envoy, we have sworn, and we have sent you our present great oath-letters through this envoy, our good and loyal servant, Yankura<sup>28</sup> son of Belechik, and [through] our scribe Djanaka. And whatever words this servant of mine passes to you, my brother, you, my brother, should trust, as these will be my words. Just as there is one God in heaven, so let there be one word and firm oath between us.

And you, my brother, should firmly keep the friendship and oath as I do, and you should be the master of your word. And my scribe Djanaka should read my present letter in front of you, my brother.

I have sent my present oath-yarlıq [Ruth. *jarlyk prysjažnyj*] under the signet seal. Written in Perekop, 933<sup>29</sup> years after the birth<sup>30</sup> of Muhammad.

<sup>27</sup> The Arabic formula *vallahi ve billahi* is rendered (in Tatar pronunciation) in the Cyrillic text as *vollaha vel'biljaha*.

<sup>28</sup> Perhaps identical with Yanchura (Jančura), the Crimean envoy sent to Moscow in 1515; cf. Xoroškevič, *Rus' i Krym*, p. 201. On the personal name Yan-čura (<Gan Čora), see Jankowski, *Historical-Etymological Dictionary*, p. 499.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. n. c above; the Muslim year 933 A.H. lasted from 8 October 1526 till 26 September 1527.

<sup>30</sup> An obvious mistake or superfluous interpretation by a Ruthenian translator, since the Muslim calendar begins with the emigration (Hegira) and not the birth of Prophet Muhammad.

DOCUMENT 23 (1527)

The oath-letter (*lyst prysjažnyj*) sent by the qalga, Islam Giray,  
to King Sigismund

The original document is missing.

Ruthenian copies:

A. RGADA, fond 389 = Litovskaja metrika, no. 7, pp. 1193–1195 [old foliation: 601b–602b].

A.\* 18th-century Latin transcription: AGAD, Metryka Litewska, no. 193, pp. 718–719.

Великое Wr̃ды великого цара Садеть Кирева брата Слагаль K̃гево слово:

Wть сына вашеє милости, wть Исламъ солтана, wтъцѣ нашому Жикгимонътъ королю полскомъ, великомъ князю литовскому, рѣскому, прѣскому, жомойтъскому, и иных многих панствѣ господарю, многокротъ поклонѣ.

Слово мое то естъ, што wтъ предка нашего Хас Киреа цара, а предокъ вашъ Казимиръ король, wдного господара дети, а дла тое прычины добре в братстве и въ прыязни бѣдѣчы, а потомъ з нашими предки, Менъкгиреємъ царем а с царемъ Магъметъ Киреємъ, в братстве и в прыязни были, завѣжъды с прысажъными листы черезъ великии послы поклоны и впоминъки хожывали. А теперъ тых часов межы нами ни добрыи поминъки, ани добрыи поклоны не ходать. Чы дла тое прычины, што мы тых часовъ межы собою в незгоде были, али пакъ дла тое прычины не видети<sup>a</sup> мене, сына своего, собе за сына и за прыятеля? Ино ведже, ласкою божъею в семъ моемъ паньстве такожъ есьми господара сынъ, прыятелю нашомъ могу прыязни довести, а неприятелю нашомъ неприязни войском своимъ чысте могу довести.

А тепер с царемъ Садеть K̃гиреємъ, братомъ моимъ старъшымъ, wтъца нашего паньство и люди вси в одно слово содиночыли сѧ, и коли бѣдеть братъ мои старъшии и ѧ тежъ здорови, можемъ чысте каждому неприятелю нашомъ wтъказъ и wтъпоръ вчинити, а то дла тое прычины ижъ хочемъ, штобы ваши паньства, королевѣство, вовъ покои были. Непрыятелю вашему московскому хотачы неприятелемъ быти, во вѣсемъ нашомъ паньстве князи шырыновѣскии, и барыновѣскии, и инъшы князи, вланы, и мѣрѣзы, вси з вами в братстве быти цара впросили. И ѧ тежъ, сынъ вашеє милости бѣдѣчы и хотачы дела твои справовати, какъ то сынъ твои, брата твоего Садет

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<sup>a</sup> Perhaps it should read *видели*.

Киреа цара, и тежъ моего брата старшого, добре есьми впросил, тебе братомъ а прыпателемъ быти.

И маеть своего сестренъца до вас послати, Макълъ мързъз. И на томъ есьмо вси положили, ижъ братъ мой старъшый его нарадил великимъ посломъ, и с прысажными листы маеть его до тебе, брата нашего, послати. А которые князи: въ головах князь Мемешъ, и инъшый князи, вланы, вси перед вашимъ слзгою Михайломъ, на томъ вси прысагънзли водле своих книгъ: валлага велбилага, иж хотимъ непрыпателю вашомъ московскому саблами нашими непрыязни доводитьи, а з вами в братъстве и прыязни хотимъ быти. И ѿ тежъ по томъ перед слзгою вашимъ Михайломъ, и которые тежъ пры мне князи: шыриневъский старъшый Аидешъке мурза, и инъшый князи, вланы, и мърззы, и слуги мои дворный, на томъ есьмо вси прысагънули подле своих книгъ: валлага велбилага. Бо то наша прысага естъ великаа, какъ ѿдинъ Богъ на небе, такъ и слово нашо ѿдно.

Ино теперъ непрыпатела вашего московского панъство ѿ, сынъ вашъ, вземъшы все войско съ собою, със приказаньемъ цара, брата моего старшого, хочъ воевати, колко намъ Богъ поможетъ. А теперъ ѿт двѣ годов много есми велми стравил и долъжонъ стал. И што еси перед тымъ сынъ своемъ Богатыръ солтанъ, братъ моемъ старшомъ небощкы, которые впоминъки давал, ино теперъ ѿ томъ ваше милости, ѿтъца нашего ждаемъ, абы еси ласку свою мне вчинил, и пожаловал на тотъ долгъ, тое мне бы еси дал. А в нашемъ панъстве которое дело бѣдешъ мети, то все нехай на мне лежить, штобы вжо панъство ваше вов покои было. И вы в томъ имете мне веры, а завъжъды пословъ и гонъцовъ межы себе посылати не вмешъкиваимо, жебы дело ваше не ѿмешкано было.

И теперъ перед великимъ посломъ, перед Макул мърззою, послал есьми своего гонъца, веръного слзгу, дворанина своего Буидали мързъз, с тажкимъ поклономъ а з легъкимъ впоминъкомъ. И што ѿнъ бѣдетъ вашей милости словомъ своимъ мовити и жедати, тому верте, ижъ то мои слова естъ. А тежъ и дела своего не вмешъкивайте, через своего великого посла поклоны и поминъки нарадивъшы пошлите. А твоеи милости ѿтъцѣ моемъ, королю, князи мои и слзги мои веръный вси на непрыпатела твоего саблами своими хотать слзжыти. А твоа милость рачъ имъ в томъ ласку свою вчинити и пожаловати, што их доходод [sic] имъ прыидетьсѣ, штобы то было не вменъшно.

А штобы з нашими послы великими в Кieve потъкалисѣ, а тотъ мои листъ прысажны под перестенъною печатью послалъ есьми.

Писанъ в Перекопе.

Translation:

*The word of Islam Giray,<sup>1</sup> the brother of Sa'adet Giray, the great khan of the Great Horde:*

<sup>1</sup> The name of Islam Giray is rendered corruptly as *Slahal' Kgev*.

[Let] multiple salutations [be pronounced] to our father Sigismund, the king of Poland, the grand duke of Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Samogitia, and the lord of many other states, from the son of Your Majesty, Islam Sultan.

My pronouncement is as following: as our ancestor, Hadji Giray Khan, and your ancestor, King Casimir, were [like] the children of one ruler, for that reason they rightly remained in brotherhood and friendship, and thereafter, since [their times], [you] have remained in brotherhood and friendship with our ancestors, Mengli Giray Khan and Mehmed Giray Khan, and salutations and gifts have always circulated along with oath-letters [sent] through great envoys. Yet, in the present time, neither proper gifts nor kind salutations circulate between us. Is it because we have recently been in disagreement that you have not regarded me, your son, as your son and friend? Yet, by the grace of God I am also a son of the ruler in my state, hence I can prove friendship to our friend or—along with my troops—I can really prove enmity to our enemy.

And now, along with my elder brother,<sup>2</sup> Sa'adet Giray Khan, we have united the state and all people of our father, and if [only] we—my elder brother and I—stay healthy, we can really repulse and resist any of our enemies, because we want your domains, the kingdom, to remain in peace. Those [dwelling] in our entire state, who wish to be enemies to your Muscovian enemy: the Shirin and Barin beys, and other beys, ulans, and mirzas, have jointly asked the khan to remain in brotherhood with you. And also I, who am the son of Your Majesty and wish to conduct your affairs, as [would be fitting] your son, have persistently asked your brother, Sa'adet Giray Khan, [who is] also my elder brother, to be your brother and friend.

And he [i.e., Sa'adet Giray] should send you his nephew [lit. his sister's son], Ma'qul Mirza.<sup>3</sup> And we have all proposed that my elder brother should appoint him great envoy and send to you, our brother, along with oath-letters. And the beys—to begin with Memesh Bey,<sup>4</sup> and other beys, and ulans, have altogether sworn in front of your servant Myxajlo<sup>5</sup> by our [holy] books—by God and with God!<sup>6</sup>—that we want to prove [our] enmity towards your Muscovian enemy with our sabers, and to remain in brotherhood and friendship with you. Also I, along with the beys who are with me: Aydishke Mirza,<sup>7</sup> who is the senior among the Shirins, and other beys, ulans, mirzas, and my courtiers, have accordingly sworn altogether in front of your servant Myxajlo by our [holy] books: by God

<sup>2</sup> In fact, Sa'adet Giray was the uncle of Islam Giray as he was the brother of Islam's father, Mehmed Giray.

<sup>3</sup> On Ma'qul Mirza, the son of Bakhtiyar Mirza from the Shirin clan, cf. see Document 22, n. 19.

<sup>4</sup> On Memesh Bey, the leader (*qaraçı bey*) of the Shirin clan, see Document 22, n. 7.

<sup>5</sup> On Myxajlo Hryhorevyč, the royal courtier and envoy, see Document 22, n. 17.

<sup>6</sup> The Arabic formula *vallahi ve billahi* (in Turkish pronunciation) is rendered in the Cyrillic text as *vallaha velbiljaha*.

<sup>7</sup> Aydishke, son of Mamaq and brother of Memesh; also known as the envoy to Moscow in 1516 and member of the Shirin conspiracy against Mehmed Giray in 1523; see *Le khanat de Crimée*, pp. 107-109, 319, 427; Manz, "The Clans of the Crimean Khanate," p. 308.



and with God!<sup>8</sup> Our oath is great, as there is one God in heaven, so our word is one.

And now I, your son, having taken along all the troops on the order of the khan, my elder brother, intend to raid the state of your Muscovian enemy, if only God helps us. Yet for the past two years I have spent a lot on food supplies and incurred debts. And now I ask Your Majesty, our father, to display me your generosity and give me the same gifts that you used to give previously to your son Bahadır Sultan,<sup>9</sup> my late elder brother, [in order] to [pay off] this debt. And if you need any affair to be settled in our state, leave it entirely to me so that your state may remain in peace. And you should trust me in this matter, and we should never neglect sending envoys and couriers between us, so that your affairs be not neglected either.

And now, before the great envoy, Ma'qul Mirza, I have sent my courier and loyal servant, my courtier Buydalı Mirza,<sup>10</sup> along with a heavy salutation and light gift.<sup>11</sup> And whatever he tells Your Majesty or asks for in his word, you should trust it, as these will be my words. And you should also send salutations and gifts, having prepared them, through your great envoy, without delay. And all my beys and loyal servants wish to serve Your Majesty, my father, the king, with their sabers, against your enemy. And Your Majesty might condescend to display your generosity and grant them their due revenue so that it not be diminished.

And I have sent my present oath-letter under the signet seal, so that [my courier] meets our great envoys in Kiev.

Written in Perekop.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. n. 6 above.

<sup>9</sup> On Bahadır Sultan, the oldest son and qalga of Mehmed Giray, killed along with his father during the Astrakhan campaign in 1523, see Document 17, n. 11.

<sup>10</sup> Buydalı Mirza must have been identical with the Crimean envoy sent in 1535 to Moscow and killed in a skirmish while traveling through Russia; see Juzefovič, *Put' posla*, p. 33. In the Russian sources, like in the present document, he is referred to merely by the term "courier" (Rus. *gonec*), which is perhaps the translation of the Turkish term *çapqun*.

<sup>11</sup> On the traditional Turkic formula originating from the chancery of the Golden Horde: *ağır selam ve yingil bölek* ("a heavy salutation and light gift"), see Kurat, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivindeki Altın Ordu, Kırım ve Türkistan hanlarına ait yarlık ve bitikler*, p. 51, and Zajączkowski, "Dyplomatyka Złotej Hordy i Krymu w XV w.," p. 215.

DOCUMENT 24 (OCTOBER–NOVEMBER 1532)<sup>1</sup>

The donation *yarlıq* cum *şartname* issued by Mehmed Giray and corroborated by his son, Bahadır Giray, sent anew by Islam Giray

The original document is missing.

Ruthenian copies:

A. RGADA, fond 389 = Litovskaja metrika, no. 15, fol. 171a–173a [old foliation: 136a–138a].

Published in *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 15 (1528–1538). Užrašymų knyga 15*, pp. 191–193.

A.\* 18th-century Latin transcription: AGAD, Metryka Litewska, no. 200, pp. 869–873.

Тое поселство до Корола Его Милости прислал Анѣдреи Мацковичъ в листе своимъ, а за тымъ панъ воевода его милость виленський того жъ поседства копею в листе своемъ прислал, которое жъ выше в тых книгахъ ест записано:

Починаю, Боже, во има Твое сватое, што щастье даетъ и жалветъ тых, хто братство в правде держить, свое слово полнить без хитрости, справедливымъ сердцемъ!

Деда моего, цара Менъ Кгиреево слово, и втца моего, цара Магмет Киреево слово, Богатырь солтаново слово, брата моего, Алпъ Кирей солтаново слово:

Правое рѣки и левое великого злѣса темъникомъ, и тисечникомъ, и сотникомъ, [и десѣтникомъ,<sup>a</sup> и вланомъ, кназемъ, по тому ж теж рѣскимъ кназемъ и паномъ, городом, местамъ и волостемъ, и митрополитамъ, и владыкамъ, чорнотъцомъ и белцомъ, боаромъ и мещаномъ, и всемъ посполствѣ, ижъбы вамъ было ведомо:

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<sup>1</sup> The letter of agreement, brought by the envoy Andrej Mackevyč from the new khan Islam Giray, is in fact an almost literal copy of the document issued in 1517 by Bahadır Giray (cf. Document 18). It is possible that Mackevyč was provided with its draft by Olbracht Gasztold, the Lithuanian chancellor, who in the king's absence prepared an embassy from Vilnius to the Crimea. As Gasztold had received Bahadır's *yarlıq* and oath in Čerkasy in 1517, he might have retained its copy and given to Mackevyč as a model. Borys Čerkas convincingly explains the fact that Islam Giray, instead of issuing a document in his own name, sent a copy, bearing the name of his late brother, by the khan's haste to secure a Polish-Lithuanian protection in the face of a possible Ottoman intervention; see *idem*, "Ordyn's'ka polityka Velykoho Knjazivstva Lytov's'koho," p. 240.

<sup>a</sup> Apparently omitted by error; cf. Document 18.

Чынимъ давню симъ нашимъ листомъ, штожъ здавна предки наши цари, и царь нашъ Магъметъ Кирей царь, коли мели кони потные, тогды прыежчали до великого княза Витовта, и до корола и великого княза Витовта,<sup>b</sup> и до литовского панства в гостиное прыежчалъ, и видали великую честь; вни подлѣгъ давнего обычаа руское земли, зъ города, и зъ мѣсты, и зъ волостями, со тѣмами, и зъ землями, и зъ водами, и зъ даньми, и зъ выходы записали, ничего не вѣмѣншываючы, вгленувшы в тии давныи<sup>c</sup> ерѣлыки, которые ж писаны и даны от предков наших царев. А от тых часовъ, какъ нас Богъ пожаловал, на столцы есмы нашоу сели, и мы в[г]ленувшы в давныа прысажныа листы предков наших, и мы есмы по томъ и нашъ листъ дали, какъ же отецъ нашъ, Минъ Кгирей царь Козмиръ, королю и великому князю далъ. И мы теж от тых часовъ изъ Жыкгимонътомъ, королемъ и великимъ княземъ, в братстве и въ прыазни бѣдѣчы, поновляючы давных речей, в тое ж слово листъ нашъ под золотою печатю дали братъ нашоу Жыкгимонътъ, королю и великому князю, и его детемъ, и его потомкомъ, держати вов покои: Киевъ со тмою, и зъ землями, и зъ водами, зъ даньми, и зъ выходы; Великий Лѣчскъ со тмою, и зъ землями, и зъ водами, и зъ даньми, и зъ выходы; Смоленскъ<sup>d</sup> со тмою, и зъ землями, и зъ водами, зъ даньми, и зъ выходы; Полоцко, Витебско, со тмою, и зъ землями, и зъ водами, и зъ даньми, и зъ выходы; Подоле со тмою, и зъ землями, и зъ водами; Браславль со тмою, и зъ выходы; Соколче со тмою, и зъ землями, и зъ выходы, и зъ водами; Звиньгород изъ землями, и зъ водами, зъ даньми, и зъ выходы; Качыбиевъ, Маакъ и зъ землями, и зъ водами; а такъже почонъшы по Днепръ от Киева и до вѣстыа днебѣрського; Снепород, Глинскъ з людми; Жолваж, Путивль и зъ землями, и зъ водами; Синецъ, Хотень, Лосичы, Хотмышь, Ницаны и зъ землями, и зъ водами, зъ данью, и зъ выходы; Кѣрско со тмою; Сараева сына Егалтаева со тмою; Радогockъ, Милолюбъ со всими землями, зъ водами, зъ даньми и выходы; Мѣжеч, Стародѣбъ, Ускol, Бранаскую изъ землями, и зъ водами, зъ даньми и выходы; Мѣченекъ, Любѣцъ, Тѣлаи-городъ изъ землями, и зъ водами, зъ даньми, и зъ выходы; Берестей, Ратно. Козелско, Пронско, Волкона, Спашъ, Донецъ, со всими землями и выходы, зъ даньми и водами; Дашокъ угород,<sup>e</sup> Балкыи, Кѣралъ, Чорон город, Утешков-городнищo, Тѣшынъ, Немиров, Ухромъ со тмою, Оедорково аркуде устрое,<sup>f</sup> со всими землями и водами, зъ данью, и зъ выходы; Пѣсковъ, Великий Новгород, Резанский Переясловъ, з людми, со тмами, зъ лесы, зъ выходы, што потечетъ<sup>g</sup> и вѣканеть, то есмы дали къ литовскому панству.

<sup>b</sup> An obvious mistake; it should read *Казимера* as in Document 18.

<sup>c</sup> Mistakenly written *данъныи*.

<sup>d</sup> Mistakenly written *Клолнескъ*.

<sup>e</sup> It should read *Дашов город*.

<sup>f</sup> This entry is obviously corrupt; perhaps it should read *Оедорково рекомо устров* (cf. Document 14: *Оедоровъ-городокъ рекомо устров*).

<sup>g</sup> Mistakenly written *потеческъ*.

А на томъ есмо порады мели из своими сынъми, и з солтанъми, и з вланы,<sup>h</sup> и з князми, и зъ мурзами, твердью прысагу вчынили посполв вси, штожъ мы с королем и великимъ княземъ Жыкгимонтомъ в верной прыезни на веки, в братстве быти ажъ до его вночот, и до наших тежъ внуковъ: его прыетелю прыателемъ быти, а непрыетелю его непрыателемъ быти, а напротивъку кождого его непрыетела за вдинъ быти.

А которые города и волости, земли и воды московский за брата его, корола и великого князя Влекъсанъдра забрал за себе, и коли Богъ поможет тые города под ним достати, города и волости, и земли, и воды, ꙗ, Магъмет Кирей царъ, из сыномъ своимъ Богатырь солтанъ, а з Ал солтаномъ, з божею помочю з москъовских рѣкъ вынавшы, и заса королю и великомъ князю Жыкгимонъту въ рѣки подати; а тежъ на его непрыетела, на московского, ꙗ, Магъмет Кирей царъ, из детми своими, и з людми, и з войском своимъ королю и великомъ князю Жыкгимонъту маю помочъ[он] быти ныне и напотом. Тежъ [на] инших неприатели [коли] прышълет до нас, войска жадаючи, мы маемъ дати личноу на помочъ, колко имъ бѣдетъ надобе.

А которые лихия дела были стали са за втца вашего Казимира, корола и великого князя, и за брата вашего Влбрахта, и за Влекъсанъдра, и за вас панъству втчызне вашои, лецкои земли и Великомъ Кназьствѣ Литовскомъ втъ мене, цара Магъмет Кирея, и вт дети мои, и вланов, князей, и вт слѣгъ, што вашимъ землямъ шкоды великии чынили, ты, братъ нашъ, тое имъ [бы] втпѣстил, и тьи лихия дела их из середца своего выложыл. А которое дело намъ вт вас са стало,<sup>i</sup> и нашимъ детемъ, и нашимъ людемъ за втца вашего Казимира корола, и брата вашего Влбрахта, и за Влекъсанъдра, и за вас, Жыкгимонъта корола, [не] хотимъ пометати, и [з] своего сердца хотимъ то выложит.

А што первей сего для милого братства и для верное прыязни посълали есьмо до тебе, до брата нашего Жыкгимонта корола, и до великого князя, сына нашего Чалондынъ<sup>j</sup> солтана на змешканъа, ино божа вола над нимъ стала са, Богъ его изъ сего света собрал. И мы на его месце хотимъ иншого солтана дати на змешканъе братъ нашомъ Жыкгимонту, [королю] и великомъ князю, внука своего. Ино тое слышачы, [непрыатели] бѣдѣть са боати, а прыатели бѣдѣть са радовати.

А на то ꙗ, Магъмет Кирей царъ, хотачы брату своему, Жыкгимонту королю, за его добрыи впоминъки прыезнь свою заса втдати, а прызволили есьмо купъцомъ з литовского панъства, ничего не выстерегаа, в Качыбиеве сол братъ, а мыто заплативши,<sup>k</sup> до Киева и

<sup>h</sup> Mistakenly written *и вланы*.

<sup>i</sup> Mistakenly written *стала*.

<sup>j</sup> An obvious copyist's mistake; it should read *Чалолдынъ* or *Чалалдынъ*.

<sup>k</sup> Mistakenly written *заплатити*.

до Великого Лвѣцка, и до инѣших городов везти за наших людей сторожоу, штобы им в Качыбиеве и в поли ничего бы лихого не стало са ут инѣших<sup>1</sup> козаковъ, и ут инѣших. А естъли бы котораа са шкода кѣпѣцемъ стала, мы тое брату нашоу хотимъ платити. А тежъ и инѣшимъ кѣпѣцомъ Корѣны Полское и Великого Князьства Литовского, богатымъ и вбогимъ, волно прѣхати из своими кѣплами до Врды и до Кааы, и поторговавшы волно утѣхати, заплатившы мыто водлугъ давного обычаа.

По томъ, какъ в верхъ писаномъ<sup>m</sup> сес нашоу листе, хотимъ полнити, а не выстѣпити. А мы своих детей з великимъ войскомъ нашимъ маемъ послати на непрятеля вашего москвовского, и тии города и волости, земли и воды, штожъ московского утецъ, и он самъ рѣкою своею Литовского Князьства взал, изъ его рѣкъ взявшы, братъ нашоу Жыкгимонѣтъ, королю и великомъ князю утдати, противъку каждого непрятеля з нимъ за одинъ быти.

А естли бы з наших людей которые, або сына моего, Богатырь солтаново, або Ал солтаново поехавъшы брата нашего королевѣ землю воевати, мы их самых поймавшы, маемъ королю послати, а дома и жоны хотимъ на грабежъ взати. А естъли бы сами головами повѣтекали, мы их жоны и дети хотимъ на то место послати.

А ꙗ, Магъмет Кирей царъ, из сыномъ своимъ Богатырь солтаномъ, а з дрягимъ сыномъ Алпъ солтаномъ, и з братаничомъ своимъ Смет солтаномъ, со всими солтаны и зланы, и мѣрзы, твердѣю присагу есью <присагу> вчынили братъ нашоу, королю, великомъ князю Жыкгимонѣту, перед его посломъ, и листъ нашъ сес дали, под золотымъ<и> нишаномъ а под алоу тамбоу.

А ꙗ, Богатырь солтанъ, присагънул еси утца моего царевую душею, и своею душею, и брата моего Алповую душею.

Translation:

*This embassy [document addressed] to His Royal Majesty has been sent in the letter by Andrej Mackevyč,<sup>2</sup> and thereafter his majesty, the lord palatine of*

<sup>1</sup> Apparently it should read *наших*.

<sup>m</sup> It should rather read *писано въ*.

<sup>2</sup> Andrej Mackevyč, a scribe (Ruth. *d'jak*) and member of the embassy to Moscow in 1529, was sent in 1532 initially to Sa'adet Giray. Yet, hearing about the latter's abdication and departure to Istanbul, he returned from Kiev to Vilnius. In his letter sent from Cracow, King Sigismund ordered Olbracht Gasztold, the Lithuanian chancellor and palatine of Vilnius (cf. Document 17, n. 21), to send Mackevyč again to the new khan, Islam Giray. The envoy was instructed to bring gifts to the new khan, remind him of the previous royal support against his uncle, and propose an exchange of new treaty documents; see *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 15 (1528–1538). Užrašymų knyga 15*, pp. 177, 183–185; Banionis, *LDK pasiuntinybių tarnyba*, pp. 71–72, 77, 81, 109–110, 171, 198, 218, 309; Čerkas, "Ordyns'ka polityka Velykoho Knjazivstva Lytovs'koho," pp. 237–240.

Vilnius,<sup>3</sup> has sent a copy of the same embassy [document] in his letter, which is entered above in the present books.<sup>4</sup>

*I commence in Your holy name, oh God, who gives and grants felicity to those who truly keep brotherhood and fulfill their word without any fraud and with an honest heart!*

*The word of my grandfather, Mengli Giray Khan, and the word of my father, Mehmed Giray Khan, [also] the word of [mine,] Bahadır Sultan, [and] the word of my brother, Alp Giray Sultan.<sup>5</sup>*

*To the commanders of tens of thousands [tümens], thousands, hundreds, [and tens]<sup>6</sup> of the great people [ulus] of the right and the left hand, the ulans and beys [Ruth. knjazem], and likewise to the Ruthenian princes and lords, castles, towns, and estates, metropolitans, [Orthodox] bishops, monks and laymen,<sup>7</sup> boyars and townsmen, and all the commoners, thus you should know:*

*We make known with our present letter that in the ancient times our ancestors, the khans, and also our khan, Mehmed Giray Khan, when their horses were growing sweaty [beneath them], then they would come seeking hospitality [i.e., refuge] to Grand Duke Vytautas, and to the king and grand duke Casimir,<sup>8</sup> in the Lithuanian state, and they experienced great reverence; and according to the ancient custom they wrote down [and granted to them] the Ruthenian lands along with towns, settlements, estates, tümens, lands, waters, levies, and incomes, not diminishing anything, having inspected the ancient yarliqs that had been written and given by our ancestors, the khans. Thereafter, when by the grace of God we ascended our throne, having inspected the ancient oath-letters of our ancestors, we also gave our letter, such as the letter that our father, Mengli Giray Khan had given to Casimir, the king and grand duke. And as since those times we have remained in brotherhood and friendship with the king and grand duke Sigismund, while renewing the ancient engagements we have given our letter, [composed] in the same words and [provided] with a*

<sup>3</sup> I.e., Olbracht Gasztold; Mackevyč must have sent two parallel reports from his concluded mission: one to Vilnius and another to Cracow; the king thus obtained a direct report from his envoy and a report from Gasztold, who had been previously empowered to send Mackevyč to the Crimea during the king's absence from Vilnius; cf. n. 2 above.

<sup>4</sup> This additional copy of the present document, reportedly recorded in the Lithuanian Register, has not been found; apparently it was left out when the original books (now lost) of the Register were copied in the late 16th century.

<sup>5</sup> The text is obviously anachronous; cf. n. 1 above; on Bahadır Giray and Alp Giray, see Document 17, notes 11–12.

<sup>6</sup> Apparently omitted by error; cf. Document 18.

<sup>7</sup> On the old Ruthenian term *belec*, see Document 1, n. 2; in the document from 1517 this term is erroneously rendered as *belyholovym* (cf. Document 18, n. 5), but here it is written correctly again.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. n. b above.

golden seal, to our brother Sigismund, the king and grand duke, his children, and his descendants, letting [them] hold in peace:

- Kiev with its *tümen* along with lands, waters, levies, and incomes;
- Great Luc'k with its *tümen* along with lands, waters, levies, and incomes;
- Smolensk with its *tümen* along with lands, waters, levies, and incomes;
- Polack and Vicebsk with *tümen*<sup>9</sup> along with lands, waters, levies, and incomes;
- Podolia with its *tümen* along with lands and waters;
- Braclav with its *tümen* along with incomes;
- Sokolec<sup>10</sup> with its *tümen* along with lands, incomes, and waters;
- Zvynyorod<sup>11</sup> along with lands, waters, levies, and incomes;
- Kačybej and Majak along with lands and waters;<sup>12</sup>
- also starting from Kiev along with the Dnieper to its mouth;
- Sneporod and Hlyns'k along with [their] people;<sup>13</sup>
- Žolvaž<sup>14</sup> and Putyvl' along with lands and waters;
- Sinec, Xoten', Losyčy, Xotmyšl, and Nycjany along with lands, waters, levies, and incomes;<sup>15</sup>
- Kursk with its *tümen*;
- along with the *tümen* of Jagoldaj, son of Saraj;<sup>16</sup>
- Radogošč' and Myloljub along with all lands, waters, levies, and incomes;
- Mužeč, Starodub, Oskol, and Brjansk along with lands, waters, levies, and incomes;<sup>17</sup>
- Mcensk, Ljubutsk, and the town of Tula along with lands, waters, levies, and incomes;<sup>18</sup>
- Berestej, Retan', Kozel'sk, Pronsk, Volkonsk, Spažsk, and Donec along with all lands, incomes, levies, and waters;<sup>19</sup>

<sup>9</sup> It is not clear whether the author regarded Polack and Vicebsk as one or two separate *tümens*.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Document 8, n. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Document 8, n. 5.

<sup>12</sup> On Kačybej and Majak, cf. Document 8, notes 6–7.

<sup>13</sup> On Sneporod and Hlyns'k, cf. Document 8, notes 8–9.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Document 8, n. 10.

<sup>15</sup> On these estates in the region of Putyvl' and on the rivers Sula and Vorskla, cf. Document 8, notes 12–16.

<sup>16</sup> On this estate, extending between the upper Sejm and the upper Donec rivers, and its former owner, see Document 8, n. 18.

<sup>17</sup> Myloljub, Mužeč and Oskol belonged to the *tümen* of Jagoldaj (cf. Document 8, notes 18–19) while the town of Radogošč' was situated further to the northwest. As the latter did not figure in the earlier *yarliqs* and was registered for the first time in 1513–1514 (see Documents 12 and 14), apparently by error the scribe entered its name in the wrong place, i.e., between the *tümen* of Jagoldaj and Myloljub. Also Starodub is entered here erroneously between Mužeč and Oskol while in the earlier documents it is listed as a separate entry along with Brjansk.

<sup>18</sup> On Mcensk, Ljubutsk, and Tula, see Document 8, notes 20–21.

<sup>19</sup> On these localities and estates, see Document 8, notes 22–26.

- the castle of Dašov, Balykly, Karaul,<sup>20</sup> Čornyj Horod,<sup>21</sup> the ruined castle [Ruth. horodyščo] of Uteškov,<sup>22</sup> Tušyn, Nemyrov, Uhrom with its tümen,<sup>23</sup> and an island referred to as Fedorov<sup>24</sup> along with all lands, waters, levies, and incomes;<sup>25</sup>
- Pskov, Velikij Novgorod, and Perejaslavl' Rjazan'skij along with their people and tümens, with forests, incomes, and [everything] that flows or streams—we gave it [i.e., all the above localities] to the Lithuanian state.

And we have taken counsel in this matter along with our sons, the [other] sultans [i.e., princes], ulans, beys, and mirzas, and firmly sworn unanimously that we should remain for centuries in loyal friendship and brotherhood with the king and grand duke Sigismund, until [the times of] his grandchildren and our grandchildren as well; we should be friends of his friend and enemies of his enemy, and we should jointly face any of his enemies.

And whichever towns, estates, lands, and waters the Muscovian [duke] captured in the times of his brother, the king and grand duke Alexander, when God helps us to [re]take from his power these towns, estates, lands, and waters, I, Mehmed Giray Khan, with my son Bahadır Sultan, and with Alp Sultan, should take them—with God's help—from the Muscovian hands and restore to the hands of the king and grand duke Sigismund; and I, Mehmed Giray Khan, along with my children, people, and troops, should assist the king and grand duke Sigismund against his Muscovian enemy, at present and always. Also, [if] he sends [an envoy] to us asking for troops [against] other enemies, then we should give in assistance as many [troops] as they need.

And as regards the harm committed during [the reigns of] your father Casimir, the king and grand duke, your brother [John] Albert, and Alexander, and yours, towards your state and fatherland, Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, by myself, Mehmed Giray Khan, my children, the ulans, beys, and [my] servants, however great damages they were causing to your state, you, my brother, [should] forgive them and release this harm from your heart. And whatever harm we, our children, and our men have experienced from you during [the reigns of] your father, King Casimir, your brother [John] Albert, and Alexander, and you, King Sigismund, we do [not] want to remember it and we want to release it from our heart.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>20</sup> On these three settlements, situated on the lower Boh and lower Dniester, see Document 8, notes 31, 28, and 29. Dašov was in fact the ancient name of Očakiv (Tat. Djankerman; Tur. Özü qal'esi).

<sup>21</sup> On the location of Čornyj Horod, see Document 8, n. 30.

<sup>22</sup> On the entry Uteškov, cf. Document 12, n. 22.

<sup>23</sup> The *tümen* of Uhrom, which could not be localized, appears in Documents 14 and 20 (in the latter corrupt as “the *tümen* of Turov”); in Document 18 it was probably omitted by error.

<sup>24</sup> For Fedorov, cf. n. f above and Document 14.

<sup>25</sup> The last three settlements, Tušyn, Nemyrov (alias Nemyr), and Fedorov (alias Xodorov or Fedorkovo), as well as the *tümen* of Uhrom, could not be identified, but they were apparently situated in lower Podolia, between the Boh and Dniester rivers; cf. Document 8, n. 32, Document 12, n. 23, and Document 14.

<sup>26</sup> This fragment originally regarded merely the casualties experienced by the Tatars during their raids against Poland-Lithuania (see Document 18, notes e–f and 26).



Formerly, for the sake of kind brotherhood and loyal friendship, we had sent our son, Džalaleddin Sultan,<sup>27</sup> to reside with you, our brother King Sigismund, the grand duke; however, God's will descended upon him, God took him from this world. And in his place we want to give another sultan [i.e., prince], our grandson, to reside with our brother Sigismund, [the king] and grand duke. On hearing this, [our enemies] will tremble with fear, and [our] friends rejoice.

And in desire to reciprocate the fitting gifts of my brother, King Sigismund, with my friendship, I, Mehmed Giray Khan, have allowed the merchants from the Lithuanian state to take salt in Kačybej without any anxiety, and, having paid the toll, bring it to Kiev, Great Luc'k, and other towns, guarded by our men so that they do not experience any harm in Kačybej or in the field [i.e., steppe]<sup>28</sup> from our<sup>29</sup> cossacks<sup>30</sup> and others. And if the merchants suffer any harm, we want to compensate it to our brother. Also the other merchants from the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania—either rich or poor—may come with their merchandise to the Horde [i.e., the Crimean Khanate] and to Caffa, conduct their trade and depart [unmolested], having paid the toll according to the ancient custom.

We want to fulfill accordingly whatever is written above in our present letter, and not depart from it. And we should send our children along with our great troops against your Muscovian enemy, take away from his hands the towns, estates, lands, and waters that were captured by the father of the Muscovian [duke], and by himself, from the Lithuanian Duchy, and restore them to our brother Sigismund, the king and grand duke; and we should face any enemy jointly with him.

And if any of our subjects, or [the subjects] of my son Bahadır Sultan, or Alp Sultan, set out to raid the land of our brother, the king, we should capture them and send to the king, and we intend to confiscate their houses and arrest their wives. And if they escape themselves, we intend to send [you] their wives and children instead.

And I, Mehmed Giray Khan, along with my son, Bahadır Sultan, and another son, Alp Sultan, and my nephew, Hemmet Sultan,<sup>31</sup> all the sultans [i.e., princes], ulans, [beys],<sup>32</sup> and mirzas, have firmly sworn to our brother, the king and grand duke Sigismund, before his envoy, and given him our present letter under the golden nišan and under the red tamğa.

And I, Bahadır Sultan, have sworn with the soul of my father, the khan, and with my soul, and with the soul of my brother, Alp.

<sup>27</sup> On Džalaleddin Sultan and his death in Vilnius, see Document 12, n. 25.

<sup>28</sup> The Ruthenian term *pole* ("field") or *dykyja polja* ("wild fields;" cf. Pol. *dzikie pola*) referred to the barely inhabited steppe area extending to the north from the Black Sea.

<sup>29</sup> See n. 1 above.

<sup>30</sup> The Turkic word *kazak* (hence the later Slavic *kozak*, i.e., "cossack") applied to free vagabonds; cf. Chapter 6 in Part II.

<sup>31</sup> Erroneously rendered as Smet Sultan but correctly identified as the nephew (lit. the brother's son) of Mehmed Giray; on Hemmet Giray, see Document 18, n. 32.

<sup>32</sup> Apparently omitted by error; cf. Document 18.

DOCUMENT 25 (JANUARY 1535)  
The oath by Devey, the Crimean envoy, taken in Vilnius

Ruthenian copies:

A. RGADA, fond 389 = Litovskaja metrika, no. 15, fol. 226a–226b [old foliation: 181a–181a].

Published in *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 15 (1528–1538). Užrašymų knyga 15*, pp. 250–251.

A.\* 18th-century Latin script transcription: AGAD, Metryka Litewska, no. 200, pp. 990–991; also copied in a) Bibl. Czart., ms. 57 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), p. 273 (erroneously entered among the documents from 1540); b) Bibl. Czart., ms. 64 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 789–791 (along with a Latin translation).

Прысага посла цара Сагапъ Киреева Девей муры:

Іа, Девей мѣрза, прысегаю душею господара моего, волного цара Сагапъ Киреевою на ал-Къранъ, на бересат,<sup>a</sup> через Бога вышнего има, и через [М]ахамета пророка нашего, и через сто и двадцет и чотыры тисачы, и через триста и трынаццать пророковъ наших, братѣ господара моего, королю полскому и великомѣ князю литовскомѣ, его милости Жыкгимонту, на томѣ, ижѣ господарѣ нашѣ, великий царѣ Сагапъ Кирей маеѣ Королю Его Милости и сыну его милости, королю польскому и великому князю литовскомѣ, второмѣ Жыкгимонѣтѣ Авѣгустѣ, то все держати справедливе и польнѣти во вѣсемѣ водлугѣ того листа, который лист прысажныи ѡт господара моего Королю Его Милости прынесет посол его милости великий, панѣ Василен Тишѣкевичѣ.

И во вѣсемѣ господарѣ мой, волный царѣ маеѣ Королю Его Милости добра хотети и прыпати, ничего на Господара Его Милости, великого корола Жыкгимонта, и на ѡбои панства его милости: Коронѣ Полскую и Великое Кназьство Литовское, ничего<sup>b</sup> не маеѣ мыслѣти. И сыновѣ своих и людеи своих маеѣ вѣнати, и не дати ѡбоимѣ паньствамѣ его милости шкоды чынѣти. И прыпателю Корола Его Милости маеѣ быѣти прыпателемѣ, а непрыпателю непрыпателемѣ.

И естѣли то господарѣ мой сполнѣти, Боже емѣ помози, а естѣли того не сполнѣти, Боже ему не помози, и нехаѣи бѣдет ѡтѣдаленѣ ѡт ласки божи и законѣ Махамета пророка нашего, и тых всѣх выше писаных пророковъ наших, и нехаѣи бѣдетѣ ѣако неѣвѣнныѣ поганинѣ,

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<sup>a</sup> Perhaps it should read: *берекат*, i.e., “the divine blessings” in Arabic and Turkish; cf. Document 21, n. a.

<sup>b</sup> It should rather read *лихого*; cf. Document 21.

и нехай бы жадный его сынъ, и по немъ бѣдѣ, на томъ царьствѣ, на которомъ онъ царю есть,<sup>c</sup> не царевали, але якъ Богъ правдивый и справедливый, нехай их скинуть [съ]<sup>d</sup> столца ѡтцовского, а неприятелей их нехай Богъ на томъ столцы пановати вчынит на вечны часы.

Translation:

*The oath by Devey Mirza,<sup>1</sup> the envoy of Sahib Giray Khan:*

*I, Devey Mirza, swear with the soul of my lord, the free<sup>2</sup> khan Sahib Giray, by the Koran, the divine blessings,<sup>3</sup> the name of the highest God, our prophet Muhammad, and our 124,000 and 313 prophets<sup>4</sup> to the brother of my lord, His Majesty Sigismund, the king of Poland and the grand duke of Lithuania, that our lord, the great khan Sahib Giray, should justly keep and entirely fulfill*

<sup>c</sup> In should rather read *царюемъ*; cf. Document 21.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. Document 21.

<sup>1</sup> The audience of Devey Mirza is mentioned in Sigismund's letter to the khan, dated 10 January 1535, hence it probably took place on that date or shortly before; see *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 15*, p. 247. Devey Mirza, son of Hasan, was a prominent member of the Manghit (Mansur) clan, consisting of the Nogays who immigrated to the Crimea in the early 16th century. His grandfather, Timur, was the *beglerbeg* in the Great Horde and the father of Tevkel Bey (see Document 9, n. 14) as well as Mengli Giray's wife Nur Sultan. His older brother Baki, the ambitious Manghit leader, played a leading role in the Crimean politics in the early years of Sahib Giray's reign. In 1537, after Islam Giray again rebelled against his uncle, Baki along with Devey chased and killed the pretender. In 1539, the relations between the khan and Baki deteriorated and Baki's two brothers, Devey and Ak Bibi, spent almost one year in prison. After a temporary reconciliation, the failed Crimean campaign against Muscovy sealed Baki's fate and in 1541 he was executed along with Ak Bibi. Devey did not share his brothers' fate and in 1563 was appointed the *qaraçı* bey of the Manghit clan. In the 1560s he actively participated in the negotiations with Moscow, often reminding the tsar's envoys about his hereditary rights to the pasturelands on the Volga. Taken prisoner in the battle at Molodi (1572), he died in Muscovian captivity after 1576; see *Tarih-i Sahib Giray Han*, pp. 24, 52–54 (French translation: pp. 161, 191–193); Özalp Gökbilgin, *1532–1577 yılları arasında Kırım Hanlığı'nın siyasi durumu* (Ankara, 1973), pp. 19–24; Trepavlov, *Istorija Nogajskoj Ordı*, pp. 120–121, 360–361 and 655; Vinogradov, *Russko-krymskie otnošenija*, vol. 1, pp. 71, 81, 125–126, 177; vol. 2, pp. 42, 99, 124, 255, 321–322, 327. An original letter of Devey, addressed to King Sigismund Augustus, provided with his seal and dated 5 Safer 980 A.H. (17 June 1572), is preserved in AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 65, t. 12, no. 588. In this letter, Devey referred to the Tatar invasion of Muscovy of the previous year and demanded a prompt payment of the royal gifts.

<sup>2</sup> On the expression *volnyj car* ("free khan"), reflecting the ancient Mongol-Tatar notion of sovereignty, cf. Document 10, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> The obscure word *beresat* has been tentatively read as *berekat*; cf. n. a above and Document 21, notes a and 5.

<sup>4</sup> On the number of prophets and messengers as recorded in the Muslim tradition, cf. Document 21, n. 6.

towards His Royal Majesty and the son of His Majesty, Sigismund II Augustus, the king of Poland and the grand duke of Lithuania, everything that will be contained in the oath-letter [*lyst prysjażnyj*] that will be brought from my lord to His Royal Majesty by the great envoy of His Majesty, Pan Vasyl' Tyškevyč.<sup>5</sup>

And in all aspects my lord, the free khan, should wish well and be friendly towards His Royal Majesty, and should have no [bad]<sup>6</sup> intentions against His Majesty, the hospodar, the great king Sigismund, and the two states of His Majesty: the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. And he should restrain his sons and his men and not let them commit any damage to the two states of His Majesty. And he should be a friend of His Royal Majesty's friend, and an enemy of his enemy.

And if my lord fulfills this, may God assist him; and if he does not fulfill it, may God deny him assistance, and may he be separated from the divine grace and from the law of our prophet Muhammad, and from all our above written prophets, and may he be like a false-hearted heathen, and may none of his sons and descendants reign in the kingdom in which he reigns, but—as God is true and just—may He remove them from the ancestral throne, and may God make their enemies rule on that throne forever.

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<sup>5</sup> On Vasyl' Tyškevyč (Pol. Tyszkiewicz), see Document 26, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. n. b above.

DOCUMENT 26 (10 APRIL 1535)

The letter of agreement (*lyst dokončalnyj*) sent by King Sigismund  
to Khan Sahib Giray

The original document is missing.

Ruthenian copies:

A. RGADA, fond 389 = Litovskaja metrika, no. 15, fol. 209b–212a [old foliation: 174b–177a].

Published in *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 15 (1528–1538). Užrašymų knyga 15*, pp. 232–235.

A.\* 18th-century Latin script transcription: AGAD, Metryka Litewska, no. 200, pp. 952–959.

Поселство ѡт Корола Его Милости до Ърды через пана Васи́ла Тиш-кевича року ̑ѣѣлѣм [1535м]:

Во има всесилно́го Бога станьса!

Мы Жы́кгимонть, божью милостью корол полский, великий князь литовский, рꙋский, прꙋский, жо́моитский, ма́зовецкий, и иныхъ, починаемъ именемъ божимъ, который щасте роздаеть, и милость, братство ѡ правде держати, и слово свое правдивое сполнати без ѡбмыслѣ, с правого сердца.

К҃гды Богъ Створитель нас помиловал и, з воли а ласки божье, на ѡтца своего мѣсты zostali есьмо королемъ и великимъ княземъ, то естъ на Корѣне Полскои а на ѡтчызне нашої, Великомъ Князьстве Литовскомъ, и памѣтаючы есьмо на давнее захованье прыязни предковъ нашихъ, и ѡтца нашего Казимира, и брата Ълекъсандра, славное памѣти королеи и великихъ князеи ихъ милости, ѡ которомъ братстве и прыязни с цари крымскими были, мы по тому ж з братомъ нашимъ, царемъ Сагапъ Киреемъ, и съ сыномъ нашимъ, Ъсламъ Киреи солтаномъ ѡ верное братство и правдивую прыязнь зашли. И видевьшы старыи и нинеишы прысаги и dokončane листы нашы водлугъ предковъ нашихъ, и поновляючы ѡбычаю давнього, штобы ѡвѣно и зведомо было, ѡзнаймуемъ симъ нашимъ листомъ, хотячы з братомъ нашимъ, Сагапъ Киреемъ царемъ, и с Ъсламъ Киреи солтаномъ, сыномъ нашимъ, ѡ верномъ братстве твердо стоати и ѡ справедливои прыязни мешкати, ничего не вменъшываючы с тыхъ dokončaneи, ѡкъ са перед тымъ списывали и ѡ прыязни были предки нашы, великий князи литовский с цари крымскими, и водле первьвѣшихъ слов и dokončaneи дали есьмо и даемъ сес нашъ листь брату нашему, великому царю Сагапъ Кирею, и сыну нашомъ, Ъсламъ Киреи солтану, и детемъ ихъ, потомкомъ. И намовившы есьмо и порадивъшыся с Паны

Радами нашими дла твердеишее речы, абы са прыцазьнь межы нами множила и на долгиі часы трывала, братъ нашому Сагапъ Кирею царю и Ўсламъ Киреи солтану правдѣ наш<ом>у даемъ, и прысегаемъ на томъ, штожъ мы, Жыкгимонтъ, королъ польскіи, великий князь литовскіи, и сынъ нашъ, з божье ласки королъ полскіи, великий князь литовскіи, вторыи его милость Жыкгимонтъ Августъ, маемъ съ царем Сагапъ Киреемъ и з сыномъ нашимъ Ўсламъ Киреи солтаномъ правдиве в братстве къ<sup>а</sup> прыцазни быти на веки, и нашимъ детемъ и прадетемъ, и ихъ детемъ и прадетемъ, а их прыцателю прыцателемъ быти, а неприцателю неприцателемъ, во вѣсакомъ месте и на кождого неприцателя их с ними с одного стоати.

А которыи города и волости, и земъли, и воды неприцател нашъ московскіи в вотца нашего Казимира и брата Ўлекъсанъдра, великих королей, и в нас через прысагу свою несправедливе къ своеи рѣце побрал, ино царъ Сагап Киреи з братомъ своимъ Ўсламъ Киреи солтаномъ, вземъшы Бога на помоч, тыи вси города и волости, и землі, и воды мають в того неприцателя нашего московского заса побрати и намъ то все поутдавати. И тежъ на того неприцателя нашего московского, и на иныхъ всех наших неприцателей братъ нашъ, Сагапъ Киреи царъ, и Ўсламъ Киреи солтанъ, со вѣсею своею братьею, и з детми, князи, вланы, и мързы маеть намъ помагати ныне и напотомъ, завѣжъды ничымъ с прысаги и докончанья своего не выступзючы.

А которыи злыи вчынъки были за отца нашего, корола Казимира и великого князя, и за брати наше, Ўлбрахта корола и Ўлекъсанъдра, и за насъ панству нашему Корвѣ Полскои и отчизне нашей Великому Князству Литовскому, от Магъмет Киреа цара, и брати и дѣтей его, и отъ всех вланов, князей, и слѣгъ ихъ, которыи шкоды в тотъ час тымъ вбоимъ паньствамъ са нашимъ стали, мы то все имъ отпуцаемъ, и тых злыхъ вчынъковъ их на мысли нашей не хочемъ держати. А которыи злыи вчынъки от людиѣ наших за отца нашего Казимира и брата Ўлекъсандра, королей их милости, и за нашу счастное панованье тои в рде Крымской бѣдѣ са стали, ино брат нашъ Сагапъ Киреи царъ, и Ўсламъ Киреи солтанъ того на мысли своей не мают держати, и тыи вси вчынъки мают съ сердца своего выпустити, штожъ слышавшы неприцатели бы наши страшыли са, а прыцатели радовали са.

К тому тежъ мают всакии купъцы наши з Великому Князства Литовского и с Корвѣ Полское доброволне, ни от кого не выстерегаючыся, в Качыбиеве сол брати и, мыта подле давнього обычаа заплативъшы, до Киева и до Ляцъка, и до иныхъ городов наших сол провадити за сторожою людиѣ цара Сагапъ Киреевых. А естъли бы имъ в Качыбиеве котораа са шкода стала, або в соли, кроме козаков, кѣпъцомъ нашимъ, ино царъ Сагапъ Киреи

<sup>a</sup> Apparently it should read *и с*.

тѣи вси шкоды маеть намъ заплатити. Такежъ всимъ купцомъ паньства нашего, Коряны Польское и Великого Князьства Литовьского, богатымъ и голтайнымъ, с торговълею своею доброволне прыити до Перекопа и до Кааы, и тежъ сторговавъшы доброволно бы пошъли, заплативъшы мыта.

Такъ, ѿко вышеи описано в семъ нашомъ листе, а завъжъды то царъ Сагапъ Киреи маеть намъ сполнати, и с того николи не выступати. И маеть царъ Сагапъ Киреи братью и сыновъ своихъ з войскомъ своимъ на непрыятела нашего мосъковского посылати, и тыхъ городов и волостей, и земель, и вод, которые дед и утець теперешънего непрыятела нашего мосъковъского ѿт Князьства Литовьского побрал, доставати. И чога з божею помощю достанеть, то маеть заса намъ ѿтдавати. И тежъ на кождого непрыятела нашего с нами с одного стоати.

А в наши ѿбои паньства, ѿко Коряны Полскую, такъ и Великое Князьство Литовское, не мають войска своего, великого ани малого, самъ царъ Сагапъ Киреи, и братъ его Ъсламъ Киреи, и брата и дети ихъ царевичы, и князи, вланы, и мързы посылати, и того маютъ стеречи и боронити, абы жадное шкоды тымъ паньствамъ нашимъ ѿт нихъ и людеи ихъ не было. А естъли бы безъ ведомости цара Сагапъ Киревы и брата его Ъсламъ Киреевы которые люди малыи прокрали са з паньство нашо, и пошодшы звоевали бы которые земли паньствъ нашихъ, ѿко Коряны Полское, такъ и Великого Князьства Литовьского, ино братъ нашъ, царъ Сагапъ Киреи маеть ихъ самихъ головами поймавъшы к намъ послать, а дома ихъ розграбити. А пакъ ли бы ѿни сами головами ѿшли, и ѿнъ жоны и дети ихъ маеть до насъ послати. А што ѿзъмутъ людеи и статковъ, то маеть изыскавъшы назадъ вернути и вси шкоды ѿправити. Естъли жъ бы царъ Сагапъ Киреи и братъ его Ъсламъ Киреи солтанъ не хотели къ тому пилности вчинити и ѿт таковыхъ злыхъ ѡчынъковъ людеи своихъ повстегънути, а которые бы люди ихъ, абы царевичы, князи, вланы, и мурзы, хотя малыи абы великии люди з паньство нашо ѡвошъли и шкодъ намъ и земъламъ нашимъ вчинили, тогъды мы того годъ, которого та са шкода намъ ѿтъ нихъ станеть, не бѣдемъ повинъни ѿного ѡпоминъку сѣконъ, што на семъ нашомъ листе и его докончаньи естъ описано, царю Сагапъ Кирею давати.

Нижли коли братъ нашъ Сагапъ Киреи, Ъсламъ Киреи солтанъ будѣтъ намъ тѣи вси речы, што на семъ листе нашемъ стоитъ, справедливе полнити, мы, Жыкгимонтъ, королъ полскый и великий князь, за таковую добротъ цара Сагапъ Кирееву маемъ ему, брату нашему поминки годовыи давати па двесте поставовъ сукъна лѣньского, то естъ с Коряны Полское сто поставовъ суконъ лѣньскихъ, а з Великого Князьства Литовьского такежъ сто поставовъ луньскихъ; а сыну нашему Ъсламу Киреи солтану с Коряны Полское тридцать поставовъ луньскихъ, а з Великого Князьства такежъ тридцать поставовъ луньскихъ.

А пры томъ тежъ царъ Сагапъ Кирей, братъ нашъ, маеть того стечечы, абы козаки белгородскіи, и его, паньствамъ нашимъ жадное шкоды не вчынили. А естъли бы некако, безъ ведома его тыи козаки прокрали са ъ паньство нашо а шкоды которыи подданнымъ нашимъ вчынили,<sup>b</sup> внъ маеть тых козаков за то скарати, а тыи шкоды вси ытыскавъшы маеть намъ назад вернути.

А тот ыпоминокъ сукна маемъ к нему посылати в кожъды год месеца иуна трыдцатого дна. А брат нашъ, цар Сагапъ Кирей не маеть к намъ послов своихъ великихъ посылати, бо намъ ъ скарге нашомъ на ытъправы, такъ тежъ и посломъ его ъ конех дла великое дороги шкода великаа са дееть. Нижли коли потреба вкажет [с] которым деломъ, або з вестыи ему к намъ послати, ино внъ маеть к намъ слати гонъца самогодръга, а наболшыи самотрета. А естъли бы внъ своего великого посла до нас прислал, тогъды мы не маемъ его нашимъ ничымъ ыправовати, ыдно с тогожъ ыпоминъку, которыи маемъ царю давати.

Ако жъ мы, Жыкгимонтъ, корол полскіи и великии князь литовскіи, перед тымъ посломъ вашимъ великимъ Девей мързоу, которого есте до насъ прислали, на всехъ тыхъ речахъ, што естъ в семъ нашомъ листе доконъчальномъ выписано, прысегали на нашу Книгу, на сватое Еванъгилие, и на томъ правдѣ нашу дали брату нашомъ, великому царю Сагапъ Кирею, и сыну нашему, ысламъ Кирей солтану прыятелю вашому прыятелемъ быти, а непрыятелю непрыятелемъ. А вы бы тежъ непрыятелю нашему московскому непрыязни довели, и всему паньству нашему, и городомъ нашимъ, и местомъ, и волостемъ, и селамъ, и всеи земъли, и всимъ людемъ нашимъ ытъ тебе бы, брата нашего, и ыт ысламъ Кирей солтана, и ытъ всехъ людей вашихъ некоторое шкоды не было. Хто б паньствамъ нашимъ был непрыятелемъ, тотъ и вамъ нехаи бздеть непрыятелемъ, а хто намъ прыятел, то бы и вамъ прыятел. И што в семъ нашомъ доконъчани выписано, на чомъ есьмо прысегали и правдѣ нашу тебе, брату нашему, Сагапъ Кирею царю, и сыну нашему, ысламъ Кирей солтану дали, на томъ хотимъ твердо стоати, и то все держати и полнити под королевствомъ нашимъ, ничымъ нештменъне. А царъ Сагапъ Кирей з братьею своею царевичы, и з детми, и зъ князи, ыланы, и мързы, маеть по тому жъ доконъчане свое, под тыми жъ словы, такъ стоит в семъ нашомъ листе, до насъ прислати, и то все водле ымовы наше, и прысаги и слова своего царьского намъ моцъне а ничымъ непохибне держати и полнити, и с того ничымъ не маеть выступати.

А тотъ есмо листъ нашъ доконъчальныи с печатью нашою маестатною на шнуре золотомъ послали посломъ нашимъ великимъ, державъцю красноселскимъ, паномъ Василемъ Тишкевичомъ.

<sup>b</sup> A tentative reading of this fragment by Dubonis: *a [за] шкоды, которыи подданнымъ нашимъ вчынили*, seems incorrect.



Пры которой жо справе того листу нашего докончального были Панове Рада наша Великого Кназьства Литовского: князь ІАнь, бискупъ виленьский; воевода виленьский, канцлер нашъ, староста белский и мозырский, панъ Ўлбрахтъ Мартиновичъ Кгашътолтъ; панъ виленьский, гетманъ нашъ навъшышыи, староста городеньский, маршалокъ нашъ дворный, державъца лидский и белицъкий, панъ Юри Миколаевичъ Радивиловича; воевода троцкий, маршалокъ земъский, панъ ІАнь ІАновичъ Заберезыньский; староста жомойтский, панъ ІАнь Миколаевичъ Радивиловича; воевода киевский, гетманъ нашъ дворный, державъца свислоцъкий, панъ Андреи ІАкъбовичъ Немировича; воевода полоцъкий, маршалокъ нашъ, панъ ІАнь Юръевичъ Глебовича; воевода новгородский, панъ Станиславъ Ўльбрахтевичъ Кгашътолт; воевода витебъский, маршалокъ нашъ, державъца волковыиский и мерецъкий, панъ Матеи Воитеховичъ ІАновича; воевода подлашъский, маршалокъ нашъ, староста дорогицкий, панъ Иванъ Богъдановичъ Сопега, и инъшыи рады того нашего паньства.

А справовано и дано его в паньстве нашомъ втѣчызномъ, Великомъ Кназьстве Литовскомъ, в месте нашомъ в Вильни, лета божего ꙗꙗꙗ [1535] годъ, месеца апрела десатого дна, инъдыкъта й [8].

Translation:

*The embassy from His Royal Majesty to the Horde through Pan Vasyl' Tyškevyč,<sup>1</sup> in the year 1535:*

*Let it happen in the name of Almighty God!*

*We, Sigismund, by the grace of God the king of Poland, the grand duke of Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Samogitia, Mazovia, and other [lands], commence in the name of God, who gives felicity, and [promise] to sincerely keep amity and brotherhood, and to fulfill our true word without any deceit and with sincere heart!<sup>2</sup>*

*When God, the Creator, extended his favor to us and—by God's will and favor—we assumed the place of our father and became the king and grand duke, namely of the Polish Crown and our [hereditary] fatherland, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, while keeping in mind the past maintaining of friendship by our ancestors, our father Casimir and [our] brother Alexander, their majesties the*

<sup>1</sup> Vasyl' Tyškevyč (Pol. Tyszkiewicz), courtier and tenant of Krasnoe Selo, envoy to the Crimea in 1535 and to Moscow in 1558, *starosta* of Cerkasy and Kaniv since 1536, palatine of Podlachia (Podlasie) since 1558; see Banionis, *LDK pasiuntinybių tarnyba*, pp. 163, 199, and 222; *Urządnicy centralni i dostojnicy WKL*, p. 246.

<sup>2</sup> This phrase is apparently a calque of the respective phrase found in the Tatar documents; therefore perhaps it should read: "We [...] commence in the name of God, who gives felicity [to those, who] sincerely keep amity and brotherhood, and fulfill their true word [...];" cf. Document 12, n. 5.

kings and grand dukes of glorious memory, who had remained in such brotherhood and friendship with the Crimean khans, we likewise commenced loyal brotherhood and true friendship with our brother, Sahib Giray Khan, and our son, Islam Giray Sultan. And having inspected the old and recent oaths, and our letters of agreement, conforming with those of our ancestors, while renewing the ancient custom we make manifest and known with our present letter that in desire to firmly keep loyal brotherhood and live in just friendship with our brother, Sahib Giray Khan, and our son, Islam Giray Sultan, we have given and we hereby give our present letter, being in conformance with earlier engagements and letters of agreement, and not diminishing anything in reference to the letters of agreement that were exchanged previously by our ancestors, the grand Lithuanian dukes and the Crimean khans, while they were in peace, to our brother, the great khan Sahib Giray, our son, Islam Giray Sultan, their children and descendants. And having debated and taken counsel with our Lords Councilors, in order to strengthen [our] statement so that mutual friendship may increase and last long, we engage and swear to our brother, Sahib Giray Khan, and to Islam Giray Sultan that we, Sigismund, the king of Poland and the grand duke of Lithuania, and our son, by the grace of God the king of Poland and the grand duke of Lithuania, His Majesty Sigismund II Augustus, should forever sincerely remain in brotherhood and friendship with Sahib Giray Khan and with our son, Islam Giray Sultan, and so should our children and descendants and their children and descendants, and they should be a friend of the other's friend and an enemy of the other's enemy, and they should jointly face any enemy in any place.

And whichever towns, estates, lands, and waters our Muscovian enemy took in his hand unjustly and in violation of his oath from the great kings: our father Casimir and [our] brother Alexander, and from us, [now] Sahib Giray Khan with his brother, Islam Giray Sultan, should—having invoked God's help—recapture all these towns, estates, lands, and waters from the said Muscovian enemy and restore them all to us. And our brother, Sahib Giray Khan, and Islam Giray Sultan, along with all their brothers, children, beys [Ruth. knjazi], ulans, and mirzas, should assist us now and in the future against the said Muscovian enemy and all other enemies of ours, while never departing from their oath and letter of agreement.

And as regards the wrongful acts committed during [the reigns of] our father, King and Grand Duke Casimir, our brothers, King [John] Albert and Alexander, and ours towards our state—the Polish Crown, and our fatherland—the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, by Mehmed Giray Khan, his brothers and children, and all the ulans, beys, and their servants, whatever damage was done then to our two states, we forgive them and do not want to hold their wrongful acts in our heart. And likewise, whatever wrongful acts were committed by our men during [the reigns of] their royal majesties: our father Casimir and [our] brother Alexander, or will be committed during our prosperous reign towards the Crimean Horde, our brother, Sahib Giray Khan, and Islam Giray Sultan should not hold it in their hearts, and should release all these [wrongful] acts from their hearts, so that upon hearing this, our enemies should tremble with fear, and our friends rejoice.

Moreover, all our merchants from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Polish Crown may freely, without any anxiety, take salt in Kačybej and, having paid the tolls according to the ancient custom, bring [this] salt to Kiev, Luc'k, and our other towns, guarded by the men of Sahib Giray Khan. And if they—our merchants, apart from the cossacks<sup>3</sup>—suffer any damage in Kačybej, in salt or [else], Sahib Giray Khan should compensate us all this damage. Moreover, all the merchants from our state, the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania—either rich or poor—may freely come with their merchandise to Perekop [i.e., the Crimean Khanate] and to Caffa, conduct their trade and freely depart, having paid the tolls.

And Sahib Giray Khan should always fulfill in regard to us whatever is written above in our present letter, and never depart from it. And Sahib Giray Khan should send his brothers and sons along with his troops against our Muscovian enemy, and take the towns, estates, lands, and waters that were captured from the Lithuanian Duchy by the grandfather and father<sup>4</sup> of our present Muscovian enemy. And whatever he takes with God's help, he should restore to us. And he should face jointly with us any of our enemies.

And he, Sahib Giray Khan, his brother Islam Giray, their brothers and sons, the sultans [Ruth. carevyčy, i.e., princes], the beys, ulans, and mirzas should not send their troops—either large or small—to our two states: the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and they should secure and prevent so that no damage should be done to our states by them or their men. And if some people of lower status [Ruth. ljudy malyi] sneak into our state without the knowledge of Khan Sahib Giray and his brother, Islam Giray, and raid any lands within our states: either the Polish Crown or the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, then our brother, Sahib Giray Khan, should capture them and send to us, and confiscate their houses. And if they escape themselves, he should send us their wives and children. And if they capture any people or goods, he should take them back and restore [to us], and he should compensate all damages. And if Sahib Giray Khan and his brother, Islam Giray Sultan, do not wish to display diligence and restrain their people from such wrongful acts, and if some of their people, or the sultans, beys, ulans, or mirzas, either of low or high status

<sup>3</sup> The phrase “apart from the cossacks” (*krome kozakov*), entered for the first time in the present document, is unclear. In fact, it can have three different meanings: 1) the Ukrainian cossacks being unruly royal subjects are not protected by the present clause; 2) the khan is not responsible for the attacks against the royal merchants committed by the Ukrainian cossacks; 3) the khan does not take responsibility for the attacks against the royal merchants committed by his own unruly subjects, in the earlier Crimean documents referred to as “our cossacks” (cf. Document 14, n. 20, Document 15, n. 17, Document 18, n. 30, and Document 24, n. 30). Yet, the third interpretation is the least likely because in the analogous clause of the following instruments, issued by Devlet Giray in 1552 and 1560, the cossacks are referred to as “your,” i.e., royal, and as “your or Muscovian” respectively (cf. Document 32, n. 17, and Document 33, n. 16).

<sup>4</sup> I.e., Ivan III (r. 1462–1505) and Vasilij III (r. 1505–1533), the grandfather and father of Ivan IV (r. 1533–1584).

[Ruth. *malyi abo velykyi ljudy*], enter our state and commit damage to us and our lands, then in the year when we suffer this damage from them, we will not be obliged to give to Sahib Giray Khan the gift in cloths that is described in our present letter and his letter of agreement.

But if our brother, Sahib Giray, [and] Islam Giray Sultan justly fulfill in regard to us all the conditions that are referred to in our present letter, we, Sigismund, the king of Poland and the grand duke, in return for such kindness of Sahib Giray Khan, should give him, our brother, annual gifts [Ruth. *pomyinky hodovy*] of 200 pieces [postaws] of London cloth,<sup>5</sup> namely 100 pieces of London cloth from the Polish Crown, and also 100 pieces of London [cloth] from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; and to our son, Islam Giray Sultan, [we should give] 30 pieces of London [cloth] from the Polish Crown, and also 30 pieces of London [cloth] from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

And also Sahib Giray Khan, our brother, should secure that the Akkerman cossacks<sup>6</sup> and his own [cossacks] should not commit any damage to our states. And if these cossacks somehow sneak into our state without his knowledge and commit some damage to our subjects, he should punish these cossacks, regain what they have stolen, and restore to us.

And we should send him the [said] gift in cloth every year by the 30th day of the month of June. And our brother, Sahib Giray Khan, should not send us his great envoys, because due to the long road a great detriment is caused to our treasury by providing his envoys with allowance and horses. Only when he needs to notify us about some matter or news, he should send us a courier in the company of one, or at most two men [Ruth. *samohodruha*, a *nablešy samotretja*]. And if he sends us his great envoy, then we are not obliged to give

<sup>5</sup> *Postaw* was a measure unit for cloth in Poland; according to the official taxes issued in 1565, a *postaw* of imported London cloth should have measured 40 ells in length and 3 ells in width, while a *postaw* of German or Polish cloth was smaller; see Antoni Mączak, *Sukiennictwo wielkopolskie XIV–XVII wieku* (Warsaw, 1955), pp. 288–290; this measure unit was also known in the Ottoman empire; cf. Document 34, n. 17. The term “London cloth” (Pol. *sukno luńskie*) referred to fine imported cloth, originally of English origin, that was also known in the Ottoman Empire; see Mączak, *op. cit.*, p. 204, and Andrzej Dziubiński, *Na szlakach Orientu. Handel między Polską a Imperium Osmańskim w XVI–XVIII wieku* (Wrocław, 1997), p. 148. In Sahib Giray’s document from 1539 (cf. Document 28), one *postaw* of London cloth was calculated as being worth 33 florins. Yet, its price was lower in Poland: in 1535, one ell of London cloth in Lwów cost 30–35 *groszy* (i.e., 0.67–0.78 golden florins). Assuming that one *postaw* measured 40 ells we would obtain 27–31 golden florins per one *postaw* (as the price of one ell refers to a retail sale, a wholesale price was even lower); cf. Stanisław Hoszowski, *Ceny we Lwowie w XVI i XVII wieku* (Lwów [L’viv], 1928), pp. 187 and 154 (for the ratio between one *grosz* and one golden florin).

<sup>6</sup> The Ruthenian term *kozaky belohorodskyi* refers to the Tatars and Turks dwelling around the town of Akkerman (Ukr. Bil’horod, Pol. Białogród), conquered by the Ottomans from the Moldavian rulers in 1484. The Turkic word *kazak* applied to free vagabonds; cf. Chapter 6 in Part II. Having entered into the Slavic languages, the term *kozak* (“cossack”) began to designate Ukrainian and Russian vagabonds as well.

him any allowance from our proper funds, but solely deduce it from the gift that we are to give to the khan.

Hereby we, Sigismund, the king of Poland and the grand duke of Lithuania, have sworn by our [holy] book, the Holy Gospel, in the presence of your great envoy, Devey Mirza,<sup>7</sup> whom you had sent to us, upon all the engagements that have been written down in our present letter of agreement, and we have engaged to our brother, the great khan Sahib Giray, and our son, Islam Giray Sultan, to be a friend of your friend and an enemy of your enemy. And you should also prove enmity to our Muscovian enemy, and no damage should be done to our entire state, our castles, towns, estates, villages, the whole land, and all our people by you, our brother, or Islam Giray Sultan, or any of your men. Whoever is an enemy to our states, should be your enemy, too, and whoever is a friend to us, should be your friend, too. And whatever is written in our present letter of agreement and what we have sworn upon and engaged to you, our brother, Sahib Giray Khan, and our son, Islam Giray Sultan, we want to firmly keep, entirely hold and fulfill under our reign, without any change. And Sahib Giray Khan along with his brothers, the sultans, and [his] children, and with the beys, ulans, and mirzas, should likewise send us his letter of agreement, [written] in the same words as our present letter, and strongly hold it and entirely fulfill without any fail or deviation according to our agreement and his monarchic oath and word.

And we have sent our present letter of agreement [lyst dokončalnyj] with our majestic seal<sup>8</sup> on a golden string through our great envoy, the tenant of Krasnoe Selo, Pan Vasyľ Tyškevyč.

The act of [drawing] our present letter of agreement has been attended by our Lords Councilors of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: the Reverend Jan,<sup>9</sup> the bishop of Vilnius; Pan Olbracht Marcinowicz Gasztold,<sup>10</sup> the palatine of Vilnius, our chancellor, the starosta of Bielsk and Mazyr; Pan Jurij Mikołajewicz Radziwiłł,<sup>11</sup> the lord [i.e., castellan] of Vilnius, our highest hetman, the starosta of Hrodna, our court marshal, the tenant of Lida and Belica; Pan Jan Janowicz Zabrzeziński,<sup>12</sup> the palatine of Trakai and the land marshal; Pan Jan

<sup>7</sup> On Devey Mirza, a member of the Manghit (Mansur) clan, who swore an oath on behalf of the khan in Sigismund's presence, see Document 25, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> On the great majestic seal used in the Lithuanian chancery, see Document 10, n. 9.

<sup>9</sup> Jan, natural son of King Sigismund and Katarzyna de Thelnicz, bishop of Vilnius since 1519 (though consecrated only in 1531), bishop of Poznań since 1536; see his biography by Aleksander Swieżawski in *PSB*, vol. 10, pp. 439–441.

<sup>10</sup> On Olbracht Gasztold, see Document 17, n. 21, Document 18, n. 35, and Document 24, notes 1 and 3.

<sup>11</sup> Jurij (Jerzy) Radziwiłł, palatine of Kiev in the years 1511–1514 (cf. Document 12, n. 25), castellan of Trakai since 1522, castellan of Vilnius since 1527, Lithuanian court marshal and lieutenant of Lida and Belica since 1528, Lithuanian grand (highest) hetman since 1531; see his biography by Grzegorz Błaszczyk in *PSB*, vol. 30, pp. 225–229.

<sup>12</sup> On Jan Janowicz Zabrzeziński, see Document 10, n. 16.

*Mikołajewicz Radziwiłł*,<sup>13</sup> the starosta of Samogitia; *Pan Andrzej Jakubowicz Niemirowicz*,<sup>14</sup> the palatine of Kiev, our court hetman, and the tenant of Svislač; *Pan Jan Jurevič Hlebovyč*,<sup>15</sup> the palatine of Polack and our marshal; *Pan Stanisław Olbrachtowicz Gasztold*,<sup>16</sup> the palatine of Navahrudak; *Pan Maciej Wojciechowicz Janowicz*,<sup>17</sup> the palatine of Vicebsk, our marshal, and the tenant of Vaukavysk and Mereč [Lith. Merkinė]; *Pan Ivan Bohdanovyč Sapeha*,<sup>18</sup> the palatine of Podlachia [Podlasie], our marshal, and the starosta of Drohiczyn; and other councilors of our state.

Composed and given in our ancestral state, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in our seat in Vilnius, anno Domini 1535, on the 10th day of the month of April, during the 8th indiction.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Jan Radziwiłł, *starosta* of Samogitia since 1535; see his biography by Maria Michalewiczowa in *PSB*, vol. 30, pp. 192–195.

<sup>14</sup> Andrzej Niemirowicz / Ruth. Andrej Nemyrovyč, palatine of Kiev since 1514, Lithuanian court hetman since 1535; see his biography by Stanisław Alexandrowicz in *PSB*, vol. 22 (Wrocław etc., 1977), pp. 803–808.

<sup>15</sup> Jan Hlebovyč (Hlebowicz), marshal since 1516 (on this title, see Document 10, n. 17), palatine of Vicebsk since 1528, palatine of Polack since 1532, palatine of Vilnius since 1542, Lithuanian chancellor since 1546; as the great Lithuanian envoy he negotiated the armistice with Muscovy in 1537; see his biography by Zdzisław Spieralski in *PSB*, vol. 9, pp. 541–542.

<sup>16</sup> Stanisław Gasztold, palatine of Navahrudak since 1522 (assumed the post in 1531), palatine of Trakai since 1542, first husband of Barbara Radziwiłłówna, the future wife of King Sigismund Augustus; see his biography by Władysław Pocięcha in *PSB*, vol. 7, p. 303.

<sup>17</sup> Maciej Wojciechowicz Janowicz Kłoczko, marshal and tenant of Vaukavysk since 1520, palatine of Vicebsk since 1532, *starosta* of Samogitia since 1542; see his biography by Tadeusz Wasilewski in *PSB*, vol. 13, pp. 48–49.

<sup>18</sup> Ivan Sapeha (Pol. Sapieha), marshal since 1515, palatine of Vicebsk since ca. 1520, palatine of Podlachia (Podlasie) since 1529, *starosta* of Drohiczyn since 1531; see his biography by Maria Michalewiczowa in *PSB*, vol. 34, pp. 618–621.

<sup>19</sup> The eighth indiction lasted from 1 September 1534 till 31 August 1535.

DOCUMENT 27 (APRIL 1535)

The formula of a donation *yarlıq cum şartname* to be issued  
by Khan Sahib Giray, prepared by the Lithuanian chancery

Ruthenian copies:

A. RGADA, fond 389 = Litovskaja metrika, no. 15, fol. 212a–214b [old foliation: 177a–179b].

Published in *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 15 (1528–1538). Užrašymų knyga 15*, pp. 235–238.

A.\* 18th-century Latin script transcription: AGAD, Metryka Litewska, no. 200, pp. 959–965.

То есть dokonъчане, которое маеть дати царъ Сагапъ Киреи  
Королю Его Милости и прислати паномъ Василемъ Тишъкевичомъ:

Божимъ именемъ початокъ буд!

Бога Единого мощью и милостью Сагапъ Киреи, великии царъ, почи-  
наемъ именемъ божимъ, которыи же роздаеть щастье, и милость,  
братство ѿ правде держати, и слово свое правдливое сполнати без  
обмылу, с правого сердца.

Богъ Створытел, коли насъ помиловалъ, на отца своего столцы зос-  
тали есьмо царемъ. Деда нашего Менъдли Кгиреа цара слово, брата  
нашого Магъмит Кгириа цара слово, мое Сапъ Кгириево цареве  
слово, брата моего Усламъ сольтаново слово:

Правая сторона, левая сторона великого влеса темъники, и  
тисачъники, и сотники, князи и вланы,<sup>a</sup> такежъ рѣскимъ княземъ,  
и местом, и городомъ, митрополитамъ, владыкамъ, белого[ло]вымъ и  
черньцомъ, боаром и мещаномъ, и всему посъполству:

Зведомо б было, штожъ мы давно чыним симъ нашимъ листомъ,  
штожъ нашы предки, цари, и отецъ мои Магъмитъ Кгиреи царъ, коли  
конь потныи был, до великого княза Витовта, и до корола и великого  
княза Казимира, до паньства Великого Князьства Литовъского в  
гостину прыеждчали и великии чти видали. Такежъ подлягъ первого  
обычаа рѣскихъ земель з городами, з местами, з волостями, тьмами, и со  
всьими доходы записали. Ничого не вменъшываючы с тых ярлыков,

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<sup>a</sup> It should read: *Правое стороны, левое стороны великого влеса темъни-  
комъ, и тисачъникомъ, и сотникомъ, [и десятиникомъ] княземъ и вланомъ;*  
cf. the earlier documents.

которыи за предковъ нашихъ цареи писаныи арлыки, и тежъ первей сего и ѿ насъ в тотъ часъ, коли божя ласка стала великому столцѣ предковъ нашихъ цареи и ѿтца нашего, видевшы старыи и нынеишнии прысаги и доконъчанья, листы нашы водлугъ предковъ нашихъ, и тежъ свои доконъчальныи листъ даемъ, какъ ѿтецъ нашъ Менъ Кгирей царъ Казимиръ королю и великому князю дал тотъ часъ. Коли и зъ Жыкгимонтьтомъ, королемъ и великимъ княземъ, братомъ нашимъ, зъ братскю прыязнь зашъли, и мы, поновляючы водле перъвшыхъ словъ, свои есьмо листъ дали под печатью позлотистою, брату нашему Жыкгимонтьту, королю и великому князю, и детемъ его, и потомкомъ, держати вовъ покои: зъ головахъ Киевъ изъ землями, и зъ водами, и со всими прыходы; Луческъ со тмами, и зъ землями, и зъ водами, и со всими прыходы; Смольнескъ со тмою, и зъ землями, и зъ водами, и со всими прыходы; Полоцко со тмою, и зъ землями, и зъ водами, и со всими прыходы; Подоле со тмою, и зъ землями, и зъ водами, и со всими прыходы; Сокаль со тмою, и зъ землями, и зъ водами, и со всими прыходы; Звинигород изъ землями, и зъ водами, и со всими прыходы; Цраславль<sup>b</sup> со тмою и доходы; Качыбиевъ, Маек изъ землями, и зъ водами; такежъ почонъшы ѿт Киева Днепромъ зъ верхъ ажъ до встья; Снепорада, Глиньска зъ людьми; Жолва[ж], Ботула изъ землями и водами; Берынъ, Синецъ, Хотенъ, Лучычынъ, Хотомышъле, Ускол изъ землями, и водами, и со всими доходы; Кърске со тмою; Сареевичъ Акгалдаи со тмою; Путивль, Радогощъ, Ми[ло]любъ изъ землями, водами, и со всими прыходы; Можеч, Стародѣбъ, Любеч, Бранско и[з] землями, водами, и со всими прыходы; Бченско,<sup>c</sup> Любско, Тола изъ землями, водами, и со всими прыходы; Берестей, Ратно, Козелско, Бранескъ, Улкона, Избашъ, Донаш—все изъ землями, водами, и со всими прыходы; Дашевъ город, Балыкълы городище, Тошынъ, Мемижа, Ухъра со тмою, Мамышъ, встѣра—все тыи изъ землями, водами, и со всими прыходы; Буско, и Великий Новъгород, и Псков, и Резаньский Переясловль со тмою, и зъ людьми, зъ леси и с пѣщами, и зъ города, и со всими прыходы, што течет и канецъ, къ столцѣ панства литовского.

И тому делѣ порадившы сѧ съ сынъми моими, съ царевичы, съ зланы, князи, и мурзы, твердо прысегаемъ, штожъ с королемъ и великимъ княземъ Жыкгимонтьтомъ правдиве зъ братстве и въ прыязни быти на веки, и нашьми детемъ и прадетемъ, и его детемъ и прадетемъ, а его прыятелю прыателемъ быти, а неприятелю неприателемъ во въсакомъ месте, и тежъ на инъшыи неприятели его с одного столѣти.

А которыи города и волости, и земли, и воды московский князь побралъ къ своей рѣце зъ вѣтца его Казимира, и зъ брата его Алексанъдра,

<sup>b</sup> It should read *Браславль*.

<sup>c</sup> It should read *Мценско*.



великих королей, Боже даи то, жебыхмо с помочю божъею которого города под нимъ взали. И тыи города и волости, и земљи, и воды ꙗ, Сагапъ Кирей царь, и брат мой Усламъ солтанъ, и инъшыи брата моя царевичы, вземъшы Бога на помоч, ꙗ московского заса тыи города вземъшы, и королю, великомꙗ князю Жыкгимонту утѣдати маемъ. И тежъ на непрыятеля его московского, и на иныхъ всехъ непрыятелей его ꙗ, Сагапъ Кирей царь, со вѣсею своею братею, и з сынъми, и з людми, и войскомъ помогати ныне и завжѣды, и напотомъ такежъ [маемъ].

А которыи злыи вчынъки были за утца вашего Казимира, короля и великого княза, и за брати вашею, Улбрахта короля и Улекъсанъдра, тотчасъ паньствꙗ вашомꙗ, утчызне вашои, ладской земли и литовской земљи, Великомꙗ Князьству, ут Магмит Кгиреа цара и утъ предковъ нашихъ, и утъ всехъ влановъ и князей, и утъ слѣгъ нашихъ, которыи тотъчасъ вашои земљи шкоды са стали, и уни то все имъ утпѣстили и тыи злыи вчынъки на зме не держали, которыи злыи вчынъки утъ брата нашего и утъ людехъ нашихъ были. Ино теперъ братъ нашъ, Жыкгимонтъ корол, на местцы утца своего, Казимира короля, и Улбрахта, и Улекъсанъдра зостал. Мы, брате нашъ Жыкгимонте, не бѣдемъ тыхъ злыхъ вчынъковъ ꙗ мысли своеи держати, и выкинемъ тое съ сердца своего, штожъ слышавшы непрыятели бы наши страшыли са, а прыятели радовали са. На тое дело ꙗ, Сагапъ Кирей царь, сильно стью братъ нашему, Жыкгимонту королю.

И тежъ правдивое противъ прыязни дозволили есьмо купъцомъ паньства литовъского, и зъ ладского добровольне, ни утъ кого не выстерегаючи са, въ Качыбиеве солъ брати и, мыта водле давного обычаа заплатившы, до Киева и до Луцка, и до инъшихъ городовъ солъ прибавляти за сторожою нашихъ людехъ. А естли ꙗ Качыбиеве котораа са шкода стала, або в соли, кроме козаковъ, купъцомъ вашымъ, и мы тыи шкоды братъ нашомꙗ заплатимъ. Такежъ всимъ купъцомъ паньства литовъского и ладского, богатымъ и голтыинымъ, добровольне прыити с торговлею своею до Перекопа и до Кааы, и тежъ сторговавши добровольно бы пошли, заплатившы мыта.

Такъ, ꙗко вышеи писано в семъ нашомъ листе, завжѣды то бѣдемъ сполнати, и с того николи не vystꙗпати. Такежъ братью и сыновъ своихъ изъ войскомъ своимъ на непрыятеля нашего московского пошълемъ, и тыхъ городовъ и волостей, и земль, и вод, которыи дедъ и утець теперешънего непрыятеля вашего и нашего московского побралъ утъ столица литовского, коли дасть Богъ, утънемъшы, брату нашему, королю Жыкгимонту и великомꙗ князю маемъ дати, и тежъ на кождого непрыятеля его с одного стоати.

А брата нашего, великого короля Жыкгимонътовы вбои паньства, ꙗкъ ꙗ Коръню Полскую, такъ ꙗ в Великое Князьство Литовъское, не маемъ войска своего великого, ани малого, ꙗ самъ, ꙗ царъ Сапъ Кирей, и братъ мой Усламъ Кирей солтан, и братья и дети наши царевичы, князи, вланы, и мързы, посылати, и того маемъ стеречи и боронити, абы жадное шкоды тымъ паньствамъ брата нашего Жыкгимонта утъ

нас и людей нашихъ ни въ чомъ не было. А естъли бы без ведомости нашея которые люди наши малыи прокрали са в паньство его, и пошодшы зоевали бы брата нашего землю, и мы их самих головами поймавши брату нашему королю пошълемъ, а дома их зграбимъ. А пакъ ли бы вни сами головами вшли, и мы жоны и дети ихъ хотимъ послати. А што взымуть людей и статков, то маемъ изыскавши назад вернуть и всю шкоду вправити. А естъли жъ бы я, царь Сагапъ Киреи, з братомъ своимъ Усламъ Киреи солтаномъ не хотели къ томъ пилности вчинити, а втъ таковых злыхъ вчиньковъ люди своихъ повстагънути, а которые бы люди наши, або царевичы, князи, вланы, и мързы, хотя малыи або великии люди в паньства его взошли и землямъ корола<мъ> Жыкгимонтовымъ шкоду вчинили, тогды Корол Его Милость Жыкгимонтъ того годъ, которого таа шкода ему и землямъ его втъ насъ и людей нашихъ станеть, не бѣдетъ повиненъ вного впоминокъ свконъ, што на семъ нашемъ листе и его докончаньи естъ вписано, намъ давати.

Нижи коли мы тии вси речи, которые на томъ нашемъ докончаньи стоать, бѣдемъ королю Жыкгимонту справедливе полънити, тогды братъ нашъ, корол полский и великий князь Жыкгимонтъ за тью добротъ нашу маеть намъ поминьки годовыи давати, то естъ с Корвны Польское сто поставов суконъ лянскихъ, а з Великого Кназства Литовского такъже сто поставов лянскихъ, а братъ нашему Усламъ солтану с Корвны Полское тридцать поставовъ сукон лянскихъ, а з Великого Кназства Литовского тридцать поставов свконъ лянскихъ.

А къ томъ тежъ вбещемъ брату нашему, ижъ маемъ мы того стечечи, абы козаки белгородскийи и наши паньствамъ его жадное шкоды не вчинили. А естъли бы некако тии козаки без ведома нашего прокрали са в паньство его а шкоды которые подданымъ его вделали, мы маемъ тых козаков за то скарати, а тии шкоды вси втыскавши, маемъ емъ, братъ нашему, назад вернуть.

А тот поминокъ сукъна мает к намъ братъ нашъ корол прыслати в кождый год месеца июня тридцатого дна. А мы к немъ великихъ пословъ своихъ не маемъ посылати, бо братъ нашомъ в скарге его на втъправы, такъ тежъ и посломъ нашимъ в конехъ для великое дороги шкода великаа са дееть. Нижи коли потреба вкажетъ которымъ деломъ, абы з вестьми къ немъ послать, а мы маемъ к нему, братъ нашему, слати гонца самодрьга, а наболшы самотрета. А естъли быхмо мы своего посла великого послали, тогды внъ его не маеть инашымъ<sup>d</sup> втъправоват, едно с тогожъ впоминокъ нашего, которые маеть намъ давати.

Какъ же я, Сагапъ Киреи царь, и братъ мой Усламъ солтанъ, и сынове мои, и вси братья мои царевичы, князи, вланы, и мързы, и дворане мои, и вси подданы мои, перед посломъ твоимъ, паномъ Васильемъ Тишъкевичомъ, которого посла своего великого ты, братъ нашъ,

<sup>d</sup> It should rather read *инымъ* or *ничымъ*; cf. Document 26.

к намъ прислал, вси есмы присегаи на нашу книгу Кърам, и на том правдѣ нашу дали тебе, братѣ нашему, великомѣ королю Жыкгимонтѣ, и сыну твоемѣ, молодомѣ королю Жыкгимонтѣ, прыятелю вашему прыятелемъ быти, а непрыятелю вашомѣ непрыателем, и вашему непрыятелю непрыязни быхмо довели. И еще вашомѣ панству всемѣ, и городомъ вашимѣ, и местомѣ, и волостамъ, и селамъ, и всеи земљи и всимъ людемъ вашимъ, брата нашего, ѡт нас и ѡт людеи наших всих шкоды бы не было; хто б паньствамъ вашей милости былъ непрыател, <sup>e</sup>тот к нам непрыател, а хто имъ прыател, тот и нам прыателъ.<sup>f</sup> И што в семъ нашомъ dokonчании все выписано, на чомъ есмы присегаи и правдѣ тебе, братѣ нашему, и сыну твоемѣ дали, на том хотимъ твердо стоати. И теперъ присегаемъ ѡтъ Бога подлугъ веры наше, и ста и двадцати тисечи и чотырех тисечи пророковъ, и нашего Его Милости правого пророка Магъмет Мастоѡа: воллаги биллеги таллаги. И на томъ dokonчании и с правдою твердо стоимъ.

Ѳ томъ ведаите! И золотомъ писаное dokonчание изъ золотою печатью послали есмы.

Translation:

*This is the letter of agreement which should be given by Sahib Giray Khan to His Royal Majesty and sent through Pan Vasyľ Tyškevyč.<sup>1</sup>*

*Let it commence in the name of God!*

*Sahib Giray, the great khan by the might and grace of the one God, we commence in the name of God, who gives felicity, and [promise] to sincerely keep amity and brotherhood, and to fulfill our true word without any deceit and with sincere heart!<sup>2</sup>*

*When God, the Creator, extended his favor to us, we ascended the throne of our father and became the khan. The word of our grandfather<sup>3</sup> Mengli Giray Khan, [also] the word of our brother Mehmed Giray Khan, the word of [mine,] Sahib Giray Khan, [and] the word of my brother, Islam Sultan:*

*To the commanders of ten thousands [tümens], thousands, hundreds, [and tens]<sup>4</sup> of the great people [ulus] of the right and the left side, the beys [Ruth.*

<sup>e-f</sup> Omitted, entered at the end of the document.

<sup>1</sup> On Vasyľ Tyškevyč (Pol. Tyszkiewicz), see Document 26, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> This phrase is apparently a calque of the respective phrase found in the earlier Tatar documents; therefore perhaps it should read: "We [...] commence in the name of God, who gives felicity [to those, who] sincerely keep amity and brotherhood, and fulfill their true word [...];" cf. Document 12, n. 5. The Lithuanian chancery phrased also the royal document in the same fashion; cf. Document 26, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Mengli Giray was Sahib Giray's father, and not grandfather.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently omitted by error; cf. Document 18.

knjazi] and ulans, also to the Ruthenian princes, towns, castles, metropolitans, [Orthodox] bishops, women [sic]<sup>5</sup> and monks, boyars and townsmen, and all the commoners:

It should be known that we announce with our present letter that our ancestors, the khans, and my father, Mehmed Giray Khan, when [his] horse was growing sweaty [beneath him],<sup>6</sup> they would come seeking hospitality [i.e., refuge] to Grand Duke Vytautas and King and Grand Duke Casimir, in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and they experienced great reverence. And according to the ancient custom they wrote down [and granted to them] the Ruthenian lands along with castles, towns, estates, tümen[s], and all revenues. And [now] we also give our letter of agreement, such as the letter that our father, Mengli Giray Khan, gave once to King and Grand Duke Casimir, without diminishing anything from [the contents of] those yarlıqs that have been written in the times of our ancestors, the khans, and also previously by us, when by the grace of God [we ascended] the great throne of our ancestors, the khans, and our father, and seeing [i.e., in the palace archives] the old and recent oaths and letters of agreement, [we gave] our letters according to [those of] our ancestors. As we have commenced brotherly friendship with our brother Sigismund, the king and grand duke, while renewing [the peace] on the basis of the ancient engagements, we have given our letter under a golden seal, letting our brother Sigismund, the king and grand duke, his children and descendants, hold in peace:

- firstly Kiev along with lands, waters, and all profits;
- Luc'k with its tümens along with lands, waters, and all profits;
- Smolensk with its tümen along with lands, waters, and all profits;
- Polack with its tümen along with lands, waters, and all profits;
- Podolia with its tümen along with lands, waters, and all profits;
- Sokolec<sup>7</sup> with its tümen along with lands, waters, and all profits;
- Zvynyorod<sup>8</sup> along with lands, waters, and all profits;
- Braclav with its tümen along with revenues;
- Kačybej and Majak along with lands and waters;<sup>9</sup>
- also starting from Kiev along with the Dnieper upstream<sup>10</sup> to its mouth;

<sup>5</sup> Apparently by misunderstanding, the scribe changed the old term *belcom* (lit. "[those wearing] white [garments]"), which had figured in earlier documents and referred to laymen living in monasteries (cf. Document 1, n. 2), into *beloho[lo]vym* (lit. "[those] with white heads"). The latter term referred to women and is unlikely in the given context; the same mistake already appears in Document 18 and in the later Turkish text of Document 34, where the term in question is rendered as *aqbashlı* (lit. "[the one] with a white head").

<sup>6</sup> Written in singular; it should rather read: "when their horses were growing sweaty [beneath them]."

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Document 8, n. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Document 8, n. 5.

<sup>9</sup> On Kačybej and Majak, cf. Document 8, notes 6–7.

<sup>10</sup> Sic; it should read "downstream."

- Sneporod and Hlyns’k along with [their] people;<sup>11</sup>
- Žolvaž<sup>12</sup> and Putyvl’ along with lands and waters;
- Byryn, Synec, Xoten’, Losyčy, Xotmyśl, and Oskol along with lands, waters, and all revenues;<sup>13</sup>
- Kursk with its tümen;
- Jagoldaj, son of Saraj with its tümen;<sup>14</sup>
- Putyvl’, Radogošč’ and Myloljub along with lands, waters, and all profits;<sup>15</sup>
- Mužeč,<sup>16</sup> Starodub, Ljubeč, and Brjansk along with lands, waters, and all profits;
- Mcensk, Ljubutsk, and Tula along with lands, waters, and all profits;<sup>17</sup>
- Berestej, Retan’, Kozel’sk, Pronsk, Volkonsk, Spažsk, and Donec, all with their lands, waters, and all profits;<sup>18</sup>
- the castle of Dašov, the ruined castle [Ruth. horodyšče] of Balykly,<sup>19</sup> Tušyn, Nemyrov,<sup>20</sup> Uhrom with its tümen,<sup>21</sup> Mamyš,<sup>22</sup> and an island [referred to as Fedorov],<sup>23</sup> all with their lands, waters, and all profits;<sup>24</sup>
- Pskov, Velikij Novgorod, Pskov,<sup>25</sup> and Perejaslavl’ Rjazan’skij, with their tümen[s] and people along with forests, towns, all profits, [and everything]

<sup>11</sup> On Sneporod and Hlyns’k, cf. Document 8, notes 8–9.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Document 8, n. 10.

<sup>13</sup> Apart from Oskol, these estates were situated in the region of Putyvl’ and on the rivers Sula and Vorskla, cf. Document 8, notes 11–15. Oskol once belonged to the *tümen* of Jagoldaj (see n. 14 below) along with Myloljub and Mužeč (cf. Document 8, notes 18–19).

<sup>14</sup> It should rather read: “the *tümen* of Jagoldaj, son of Saraj;” on this estate, extending between the upper Sejm and the upper Donec rivers, and its former owner, see Document 8, n. 18.

<sup>15</sup> Putyvl’ is erroneously recorded twice, here and above along with Žolvaž, in a corrupt form Botula. Myloljub once belonged to the *tümen* of Jagoldaj along with Oskol and Mužeč (cf. n. 13 above), while the town of Radogošč’ was situated further to the northwest.

<sup>16</sup> Mužeč once belonged to the *tümen* of Jagoldaj along with Oskol and Myloljub; cf. n. 13 above.

<sup>17</sup> On Mcensk, Ljubutsk, and Tula, see Document 8, notes 20–21.

<sup>18</sup> On these localities and estates, see Document 8, notes 22–26.

<sup>19</sup> On these two settlements, situated on the lower Boh, see Document 8, notes 31 and 28. Dašov was in fact the ancient name of Očakiv (Tat. Djankerman; Tur. Özü qal’esi).

<sup>20</sup> Corruptly recorded as Memyža; cf. n. 24 below.

<sup>21</sup> The *tümen* of Uhrom, which could not be localized, appears in Documents 14, 20 (corrupt as “the *tümen* of Turov”), and 24; cf. n. 24 below.

<sup>22</sup> In the earlier documents recorded as Mušač, Mušal, Mušen, Mumyš, and Myšen; see Document 19, n. 25.

<sup>23</sup> For Fedorov, cf. Document 14.

<sup>24</sup> The last four settlements: Tušyn, Nemyrov (alias Nemyr), Mamyš, and Fedorov (alias Xodorov or Fedorkovo), as well as the *tümen* of Uhrom, could not be identified, but they were apparently situated in lower Podolia, between the Boh and Dniester rivers; cf. Document 8, n. 32, Document 12, n. 23, and Document 14.

<sup>25</sup> Erroneously registered twice: in a corrupt form as Busko (above) and here correctly as Pskov.

*that flows or streams—[giving all the above localities] to the throne of the Lithuanian state.*

*And having taken counsel in this matter along with my sons, the sultans [Ruth. carevyčy, i.e., princes], [and] with the ulans, beys, and mirzas, we firmly swear to sincerely remain in eternal brotherhood and friendship with the king and grand duke Sigismund, and so should do our children and descendants; and in any place we should be a friend of his friend and an enemy of his enemy, and face jointly [with him] his other enemies too.*

*And whichever towns, estates, lands, and waters the Muscovian duke took in his hand from the great kings: his father Casimir and his brother Alexander, God let us [re]capture—with God's help—from him any of these towns! And I, Sahib Giray Khan, and my brother Islam Sultan, and my other brothers, the sultans, having invoked the help of God and taken back from the Muscovian [duke] these towns, estates, lands, and waters, should restore them to the king and grand duke Sigismund. And I, Sahib Giray Khan, along with all my brothers, sons, people, and troops, should assist him against his Muscovian enemy and any of his other enemies now, always, and in the future.*

*And as regards the wrongful acts committed during [the reigns of] your father Casimir, the king and grand duke, and your brothers, King [John] Albert and Alexander, towards your state and fatherland, Poland and Lithuania, the Grand Duchy, by Mehmed Giray Khan and our ancestors, and all the ulans and beys, and our servants, whatever damage was done then to your land, they [i.e., your father and brothers] forgave them all this and did not hold in their hearts the wrongful acts committed by our brother and people. And now you, our brother, King Sigismund, have taken the place of your father, King Casimir, and Albert, and Alexander. [And] we, our brother Sigismund, will not hold these wrongful acts in our hearts and will release them from our hearts, so that upon hearing this our enemies should tremble with fear, and our friends rejoice. In this matter I, Sahib Giray Khan, firmly stand by you, our brother, King Sigismund.*

*Also, in return for [your] sincere friendship we have allowed the merchants from the Lithuanian and Polish states to freely take salt in Kačybej, without any fear of anybody, and, having paid the toll according to the ancient custom, bring it to Kiev, Luc'k, and other towns, guarded by our men. And if your merchants, apart from the cossacks<sup>26</sup>—suffer any damage in Kačybej, in salt or [else], we will compensate this damage to our brother. Moreover, all the merchants from the Lithuanian and Polish states—either rich or poor—may freely*

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<sup>26</sup> The phrase “apart from the cossacks” (*krome kozakov*), entered for the first time in the royal document (Document 26), is unclear. It can have three different meanings: 1) the Ukrainian cossacks being unruly royal subjects are not protected by the present clause; 2) the khan is not responsible for the attacks against the royal merchants committed by the Ukrainian cossacks; 3) the khan does not take responsibility for the attacks against the royal merchants committed by his own unruly subjects; for a detailed discussion, cf. Document 26, n. 3.

come with their merchandise to Perekop [i.e., the Crimean Khanate] and to Caffa, conduct their trade and freely depart, having paid the tolls.

And I will always fulfill whatever is written above in our present letter, and never depart from it. And I will send my brothers and sons along with my troops against our Muscovian enemy, and—God willing—having taken the towns, estates, lands, and waters that were captured from the Lithuanian throne by the grandfather and father<sup>27</sup> of your and our present Muscovian enemy, I should restore them to our brother, the king and grand duke Sigismund; and we should jointly face any of his enemies.

And I, Sahib Giray Khan, my brother Islam Giray Sultan, our brothers and sons, the sultans, the beys, ulans, and mirzas should not send our troops—either large or small—to the two states of our brother, the great king Sigismund: the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and we should secure and prevent so that no damage should be done to these states of our brother Sigismund by us or our men. And if some of our subjects of lower status [Ruth. *ljudy malyi*] sneak into his state without our knowledge and raid the land of our brother, then we will capture them and send to our brother, the king, and confiscate their houses. And if they escape themselves, we aim to send their wives and children. And if they capture any people or goods, we should take them back and restore [to the king], and we should compensate all damages. And if I, Sahib Giray Khan, and my brother, Islam Giray Sultan, do not wish to display diligence and restrain our people from such wrongful acts, and if some of our people, or the sultans, beys, ulans, or mirzas, either of low or high status [Ruth. *malyi abo velykyi ljudy*], enter his state and commit damage to King Sigismund's lands, then in the year when he or his lands suffer this damage from us or our people, His Majesty King Sigismund will not be obliged to give us the gift in cloths that is described in our present letter and his letter of agreement.

But if we justly fulfill in regard to King Sigismund all the conditions that are referred to in our present letter, then he, Sigismund, the king of Poland and the grand duke, in return for our kindness should give us annual gifts [Ruth. *pomyvky godovyi*], namely 100 pieces [postaws] of London cloth<sup>28</sup> from the Polish Crown, and also 100 pieces of London [cloth] from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; and to our brother, Islam Sultan, [he should give] 30 pieces of London cloth from the Polish Crown, and 30 pieces of London cloth from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

And also we promise our brother to secure that the Akkerman cossacks<sup>29</sup> and our [cossacks] should not commit any damage to his states. And if these cossacks somehow sneak into his state without our knowledge and commit some

<sup>27</sup> I.e., Ivan III (r. 1462–1505) and Vasilij III (r. 1505–1533), the grandfather and father of Ivan IV (r. 1533–1584).

<sup>28</sup> On the terms *postaw* and “London cloth,” see Document 26, n. 5.

<sup>29</sup> On the Ruthenian term *kozaki belohorodskii* and the contemporary meaning of the word *kozak*, see Document 26, n. 6.

damage to his subjects, we should punish these cossacks, regain what they have stolen, and restore to him, our brother.

And our brother, the king, should send us the [said] gift in cloth every year by the 30th day of the month of June. And we should not send him our great envoys, because due to the long road a great detriment is caused to the treasury of our brother by providing our envoys with allowance and horses. Only when we need to send him news regarding some [urgent] matter, we should send him a courier in the company of one, or at most two men [Ruth. *samohodruha*, a *nablešy samotretja*]. And if we send our great envoy, then he is not obliged to give him any [additional] allowance, but solely deduce it from the gift that he is to give us.

And I, Sahib Giray Khan, and my brother Islam Sultan, and my sons, and all my brothers, the sultans, and the beys, ulans, mirzas, my courtiers and all my subjects, have sworn by our [holy] book, the Koran, in the presence of your envoy, Pan Vasyľ Tyškevyč, whom you, our brother, had sent us as your great envoy, and we have engaged to you, our brother, the great king Sigismund, and to your son, the young king Sigismund, to be a friend of your friend and an enemy of your enemy so that we may prove enmity to your enemy. And no damage should be done by us and all our people to the whole your state, your castles, towns, estates, villages, and all the land and people of yours, our brother; whoever is an enemy to the states of Your Majesty, will be an enemy to us, and whoever is a friend to them, will be our friend too. And whatever is written in our present letter of agreement and what we have sworn upon and engaged to you, our brother, and your son, we want to firmly keep. And now we swear by God, according to our faith, by 124,000 prophets,<sup>30</sup> and by our righteous prophet, His Majesty Muhammad Mustafa:<sup>31</sup> by God, with God, and through God!<sup>32</sup> And we firmly and sincerely stand upon this letter of agreement.

Thus you should know! And we have sent the letter of agreement, written in gold and provided with a golden seal.

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<sup>30</sup> On the number of prophets as recorded in the Muslim tradition, cf. Document 13, n. 3. The present oath formula, prepared by the royal chancery, was evidently based on earlier Tatar documents.

<sup>31</sup> Mustafa (lit. "the Chosen") is the second name of Prophet Muhammad.

<sup>32</sup> The Arabic formula *vallahi billahi tallahi* is correctly rendered in the Cyrillic text.



DOCUMENT 28 (DECEMBER 1539)  
The donation *yarlıq* cum *şartname* sent by Khan Sahib Giray  
to King Sigismund

The original document is missing.

Polish translation:

A. Bibl. Kórn., ms. 222, pp. 122–126.

B. Bibl. Czart., ms. 59 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 787–794.

Sahipkireia cara pakta roku pańskiego 1542 z Zigmuntem etc.<sup>a</sup>

W imię boże i z łaski bożej ja, Sahipgirei<sup>b</sup> car poczynam, bracką przyjaźń sprawiedliwie trzymać, i słowo nasze w sprawiedliwości mieć! Iż z łaski bożej na miejscu<sup>c</sup> ojca naszego carem zostałem, ojca naszego, cara Menligireya<sup>d</sup> słowo, i brata naszego starszego cara słowo, i nas, Sahibkireya<sup>e</sup> słowo to jest:

I państwa naszego od prawej i lewej ręki naszej, i wielkiego państwa naszego ułanom i kniaziom naszym,<sup>f</sup> ruskim państwow, miastom, zamkom, metropolitom, władynom, czerńcom, bielcom, bojarom, mieszczanom, i wszelkim pospolitym ludziom, czynimy jawno tem<sup>g</sup> naszym listem:

Jako i pierwej nasi carowie, przodkowie nasi, ociec nasz Menligirey<sup>h</sup> car, brat nasz starszy Machmetgirey<sup>i</sup> car, dziad nasz Aczigirey<sup>j</sup> car, kiedy na koniu swym potnym<sup>k</sup> do wielkiego kniazia Witolta<sup>l</sup> i do wielkiego króla Casimierza,<sup>m</sup> do państwa lytweskigo<sup>n</sup> w gościnę przyjeżdżali, i wielką uczciwość mieli, a tak my wedle pierwszych obyczajów ruskie państwa, zamki, miasta, i wsie,<sup>o</sup> z ich dochody i pożytkami napisaliśmy, nic nie ostawując, jedno wedle pierwszych

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<sup>a</sup> B. *Sahipgireia cara tatarskiego pakta z Zygmuntem I, królem polskim.*

<sup>b</sup> B. *Sahipgirey.*

<sup>c</sup> In B. here and hereafter: *miejsu.*

<sup>d</sup> B. *Menligereia.*

<sup>e</sup> B. *Sahibgireia.*

<sup>f</sup> In both copies written erroneously: *ułanów i kniazów naszych*; the Polish translation is evidently corrupt; cf. the earlier documents.

<sup>g</sup> B. *tym.*

<sup>h</sup> B. here and hereafter: *Menligirey.*

<sup>i</sup> B. *Machmetgerey.*

<sup>j</sup> B. *Adzigerey.*

<sup>k</sup> B. mistakenly written *polnym*; cf. Document 1, n. c.

<sup>l</sup> B. *Witolta.*

<sup>m</sup> B. *Kazimierza.*

<sup>n</sup> B. here and hereafter: *litewskiego.*

<sup>o</sup> In both copies written erroneously: *ruskim państwow, zamkom, miastom, i wsiom.*

listów, jako za pierwszych carów pisywali. I weźrzawszy<sup>p</sup> na pierwsze sprawy, gdy my za pomocą bożą na miejscu przodków naszych carem ostaliśmy, i weźrzeliśmy w sprawy ojców naszych, i w pierwsze dokończenie, tedy wedle tego dokończenia listy i dokończenie swoje tak, jako i ociec nasz, Menligirey car królowi Cazimierzowi<sup>q</sup> i wielkiemu kniaziowi Zigmuntowi,<sup>r</sup> kiedy z Zigmuntem królem i wielkim kniazem, bratem swym, wedle pierwszej brackiej<sup>s</sup> przyjaźni mieszkali, my także z bratem naszym ponawiamy wedle pierwszego obyczaju. I ten list nasz dajem pod złotą pieczęcią naszą bratu naszemu, wielkiemu królowi Zigmuntowi i wielkiemu kniaziowi lytewskiemu, i jego potomkom, mocno dzierżeć wiarą i prawdą: w głowach Kiiow i Cerkassy z ziemiami, wodami, i ze wszelkimi<sup>t</sup> dochodami i pożytkami ich; Smoleńsko z ziemiami, wodami; Połoczko z ziemiami, wodami, etc.; Zwynihrod<sup>u</sup> z ziemiami, wodami, etc.; Brasław z ziemiami, wodami, etc.; Stoprud, Mlinsko z ziemiami, etc.;<sup>v</sup> Żołwasz, Budulę<sup>w</sup> z ziemiami, wodami, etc.; Buczinten,<sup>x</sup> Choten, Łucziczyn, Totmyślen,<sup>y</sup> Uscun z ziemiami, wodami, etc.; Kozielsko; tumen<sup>z</sup> Saraiowicza—Jekaltańskie państwo—wam bratu naszemu, wielkiemu królowi, i synowi waszemu, które państwa przynależą, zamki, ludzie, i dąbrowy, etc., z ziemiami, wodami, i ze wszelkimi pożytkami ich, gdzie wnijdzie i wciecze, ku państwu i stolcu litewskiemu.

Poradziwszy się z carowiczami, z synmi naszymi, i z ułany, kniaziami, murzami, mocnąsmy przysięgę uczynili: wielkiemu królowi i wielkiemu kniaziowi lytewskiemu Zigmuntowi, i synowi waszemu, wielkiemu królowi i wielkiemu książęciu w brackiej a w dobrej przyjaźni mamy być; synowie nasi potemuż, i potomkowie także z potomkami waszymi w brackiej przyjaźni mają być.

A które zamki, państwa, i wsi<sup>aa</sup> kniaź moskiewski przez zdrażliwy postępek swój u ojca waszego, króla Casimirza,<sup>ab</sup> i u brata waszego, króla Alexandra, i od samych was zabrał, ja, Sahypkirey<sup>ac</sup> car, da Pan Bóg, za pomocą bożą państwo moskiewskie wielkim wojskiem zwojowawszy, i od niego odjąwszy, te zamki wam, bratu naszemu wielkiemu królowi, i synowi waszemu, i

<sup>p</sup> B. here and hereafter: *wejrzawszy*.

<sup>q</sup> B. *królowi Kazimierzowi*.

<sup>r</sup> B. here and hereafter: *Zygmuntowi*.

<sup>s</sup> B. *braterskiej*.

<sup>t</sup> B. here and hereafter: *wszystkiemi*.

<sup>u</sup> B. *Zwinigrod*.

<sup>v</sup> B. *z ziemiami, wodami, etc.*

<sup>w</sup> B. *Budulę*.

<sup>x</sup> B. *Brezinten*; apparently this corrupt place-name resulted from the erroneous amalgamation of two place-names: *Byryn* (or *Beryn*) and *Sinieć*; cf. Document 27 and earlier documents.

<sup>y</sup> B. *Łucziczin, Totmislen*.

<sup>z</sup> In both copies written erroneously: *lumen*.

<sup>aa</sup> B. *wsie*.

<sup>ab</sup> B. *Kazimierza*.

<sup>ac</sup> B. *Sahipgerrey*.

potomkom ich wiernie mamy służyć.<sup>ad</sup> A nieprzyjacielowi moskiewskiemu i inszemu<sup>ae</sup> nieprzyjacielowi będziem nieprzyjaźń oddawać. Ja, Sahipkirey<sup>af</sup> car, i z synmi swymi, i z wielkimi wojski naszymi, gdziekolwiek, teraz i na potem, inaczej nie czyniąc, przeciwko nieprzyjacielowi będziem.

A które złe uczynki za ojca naszego, i za starszego brata naszego, i za króla Kazimierza, i za brata, króla Olbrichta,<sup>ag</sup> i za króla Alexandra państwowym waszym polskim i litewskim Machmetgirey<sup>ah</sup> car, przodkowie nasi, ułani, kniaziowie, murzowie, i insi służy nasi, któregośkolwiek czasu państwu waszemu szkody czynili, abyście te namienione szkody z umysłów swych wypuścili. I teraz wy, brat nasz, król Zigmunt na miejscu ojca swego, króla Kazimierza, króla Olbrichta, i króla Alexandra, oni takowe pierwsze złe uczynki odpuszczali, i wy, brat nasz, <także my, carowiczowie,><sup>ai</sup> z umysłów swoich<sup>aj</sup> wypuścić macie, aby nieprzyjaciele to słysząc bali się, a przyjaciele radowali się.

Sahipkirey<sup>ak</sup> car, [także my, carowiczowie,] bratu naszemu, wielkiemu królowi Zigmuntowi, także bracką<sup>al</sup> przyjaźń prawdziwie dźierać mamy. I dozwoliliśmy kupcom państwa polskiego, i kupcom państwa litewskiego, wolno przyjechać<sup>am</sup> i odjechać, nic się nie bojąc, i na czorczę<sup>an</sup> sól brać, wedle obyczaju do Kiiowa i do Luczka, i do inszych zamków prowadzić za strażą ludzi naszych; aby kupowali, przedawali, jako wolno przyjeżdżali, tak wolno odjeżdżali, wedle ustaw myto oddawszy; jako w tym liście opisujem, i mamy słowo nasze prawdziwie pełnić.

Synów swych z wojskiem naszym<sup>ao</sup> posyłać na państwo moskiewskie, i na insze nieprzyjaciele także mamy posyłać.

A nie mamy państwa brata naszego, jako w państwo polskie, tak w państwo litewskie, wojska swego wysłać nie mamy.<sup>ap</sup> A ja sam, Sahibkirey<sup>aq</sup> car, i synowie nasi, carowiczowie, i ułanowie, kniaziowie, murzowie, puszczając nikogo nie będziem, i tego będziem przestrzegać i bronić, tym dwom państwom żadna szkoda aby nie była od nas, i od ludzi naszych. A jeśliby bez wolej<sup>ar</sup> naszej ktokolwiek, chocia wiele albo mało ludzi, ukradkiem państwu waszemu

<sup>ad</sup> B. *wiecznie mają służyć.*

<sup>ae</sup> B. *innemu.*

<sup>af</sup> B. *Sahipgerey.*

<sup>ag</sup> B. *Olbrichta.*

<sup>ah</sup> B. *Machmetgerey.*

<sup>ai</sup> Apparently this fragment should be entered in the paragraph below.

<sup>aj</sup> B. *swych.*

<sup>ak</sup> B. *Sahipgerey.*

<sup>al</sup> B. *braterską.*

<sup>am</sup> B. *przyjechać.*

<sup>an</sup> On the Turkish term *çorqa* see n. 14 below.

<sup>ao</sup> Missing in B.

<sup>ap</sup> B. *A w państwa brata naszego, jako w państwo polskie, tak w państwo litewskie, wojska swego wysłać nie mamy.*

<sup>aq</sup> B. *Sahipgerey.*

<sup>ar</sup> B. *woli.*

szkodę uczynili, mamy ich na gardle karać, i ten plion<sup>as</sup> przywiedziony do was, brata naszego, wielkiego króla, i do syna brata naszego wrócić mamy, i mamy im szkody popłacić.

A jeśliby ja, Sahibkirey<sup>at</sup> car, tych rzeczy nie sprawił, i jeślibym tych ludzi nie ujmował, i którzy ludzie nasi, synowie, ułani, kniaziowie, murzowie, mały albo wielki lud, w państwo polskie albo w państwo litewskie wtargnęli, tedy brat nasz, król Zigmunt, i syn wasz, wielki król, tego roku upominków, sukien i złotych posyłać nie macie, które upominki w tym liście są napisane.

Bratu naszemu, wielkiemu królowi, i synowi waszemu, wielkiemu królowi, każdego czasu bracką przyjaźń<sup>au</sup> sprawiedliwie dzierżeć, a każdego roku wam, bratu swemu, mamy się upominać upominków: za 13000 złotych sukna luńskiego—z Korony Polskiej 200<sup>av</sup> postawów sukna luńskiego bez trzech postawów, a z Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego także 200 postawów sukna luńskiego bez trzech postawów. A każdy postaw mamy przyjąć po 33<sup>aw</sup> czerwonych złotych. A przy tych suknach 2000<sup>ax</sup> gotowymi złotymi czerwonymi macie dać, a to ma być summa wszystkiego piętnaście tysięcy<sup>ay</sup> złotych czerwonych. Macie przysyłać na rok na dzień Świętego Jurgia wiosnego.

A posłów i gońców więcej posyłać nie będziem, jedno wedle zwyczaju starodawnego:<sup>az</sup> napierwej od nas samych, i od żon naszych, i od dziewczek naszych, i od niewiastek naszych, i od gahalki<sup>ba</sup> carowicza, i ode wszelkich<sup>bb</sup> carowiczów, wiele ich będzie, i od czterech caraczeyów,<sup>bc</sup> i przy każdym karaczeyu<sup>bd</sup> ode dwu murz, mamy posyłać, a więcej tego posyłać nie będziem.

A od was, brata naszego, i od króla młodego, jeśli że<sup>be</sup> do nas posłowie i gońcy przysyłani będą, my im żadnej trudności ani przykrości nie będziem czynić, ani my sami, ani synowie nasi, ani ułanowie, kniaziowie, murzowie. Posłów i gońców złym umysłem zmyśliwszy<sup>bf</sup> grabić nie mamy, żadnych krzywd czynić nie mamy, ani im samym, ani sługom ich, aby jako przyjechali, tak wolno odjechali.<sup>bg</sup>

<sup>as</sup> B. *plon*.

<sup>at</sup> B. *Sahibgerrey*.

<sup>au</sup> B. *przyjaźń bracką*.

<sup>av</sup> In B. here and below: *dwieście*.

<sup>aw</sup> B. *trzydzieści trzy*.

<sup>ax</sup> B. *dwa tysiące*.

<sup>ay</sup> B. *summa wszystkiego piętnaście tysięcy*.

<sup>az</sup> B. *starodawnego*.

<sup>ba</sup> B. *gahalki*.

<sup>bb</sup> B. *od wszystkich*.

<sup>bc</sup> B. *caraczaiów*.

<sup>bd</sup> B. *karaczaiu*.

<sup>be</sup> Missing in B.

<sup>bf</sup> B. *zmyślawszy*.

<sup>bg</sup> B. *odjeżdżali*.

W głowach ja sam, Sahypgirey<sup>bh</sup> car, i ze wszemi synmi swoimi, i ze wszemi ułany, kniaziami, murzami, i ze wszemi sługami, i też ze wszemi ludźmi<sup>bi</sup> naszymi przysięgliśmy wiarą i prawdą na tym dokończeniu Bogu jedynemu, na Alkoran: wam, bratu naszemu na prawdzie, i synowi waszemu, młodemu królowi Zigmuntowi Augustowi prawdziwie mamy dzierżeć; my sami, synowie, i potomkowie nasi w brackiej przyjaźni mają być; a potym waszym obudwóm państwow, polskiemu i litewskiemu, i ich zamkom, włościom, i wsiom, które ku obudwóm państwow przynależą, tym państwow od nas i od ludzi naszych żadna szkoda być nie ma, państwu waszemu i wam, bratu naszemu, wielkiemu królowi Zigmuntowi.

Na brackiej przyjaźni, na prawdzie to dokończenie pisano. Na czymesmy przysięgli wam, bratu naszemu, i synowi waszemu, i to postanowienie mocno mamy dzierżeć. I daliśmy to dokończenie pod złotą pieczęcią, iż między wami, bratem naszym, a między nami, które dokończenie postanowiono, według tego mamy się sprawować; iż nie mam w państwo królewskie<sup>bj</sup> ani ja sam, ani mam dozwalać synom swoim, ani karaczaiom naszym w państwo wasze wtargnąwszy szkody czynić. A gdzie by więc oni szkodę poczynili, jeśli będę mocen, odjąć sam w wiernym swym państwie.<sup>bk</sup>

A jeśli by do Białogrodu, albo do Oczakowa, albo też do Ozowa uciekli, albo tych zamków kozacy państwo wasze jeśli by wojowali, u tych my nie mamy mocy odjąwszy wam odsyłać, bo to są zamki cara tureckiego;<sup>bl</sup> boście wy nam o nich nie spominali,<sup>bm</sup> ani o tych trzech zamków kozakach przysięgaliśmy.

A jeśli by z państwa tureckiego do państwa naszego ci ludzie, jeśli by winni byli, tych będziemy karać. Dla tych Cesarz Jego Miłość nam nic nie uczyni.

A z państwa naszego którzy tam pójda, jeśli będą winni, tam ich będą karać, my do nich niczego nie mamy. I dlatego tych trzech zamków w dokończeniu nie wkładali, że oni, który plon przywioda, my nie możemy od nich odjąwszy, do was posłać. A tak za to abyście nam nie dziwowali. A jeśli by nam o to mówili, my ich nie wypuścimy od posługi swojej, iż wam nie mają żadnych szkód szkodzić.

I pieczęciem swoje przyłożył, wallahi wie billahi wi tellahi,<sup>bn</sup> przysięgam Bogu jedynemu i Machometowi Prorokowi.

Dan po ześciu z tego świata Machometa Proroka roku 946, od narodzenia Pana Chrystusowego 1542.<sup>bo</sup>

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<sup>bh</sup> B. Sahipgerrey.

<sup>bi</sup> B. ludźmi.

<sup>bj</sup> B. w państwie królewskim.

<sup>bk</sup> B. sam odjąć w wiecznym swym państwie.

<sup>bl</sup> In B. here and below: tureckiego.

<sup>bm</sup> B. wspominali.

<sup>bn</sup> B. I pieczęciem swoim przyłożył, wallahi wie hillahi wi tellahi.

<sup>bo</sup> B. Dan po zejściu z tego świata Machometa Proroka roku dziewięćsetnego czterdziestego szóstego, od narodzenia Pana Chrystusowego tysiącznego pięćsetnego czterdziestego drugiego.

Translation:

*The treaty [Pol. pakta] of Sahib Giray Khan with Sigismund etc., Anno Domini 1542:*<sup>1</sup>

*I, Sahib Giray Khan, commence in the name of God and by the grace of God, [and engage] to justly keep brotherly friendship, and to respect our word! As by the grace of God I have become the khan in the place of our father, this is the word of my father, Mengli Giray Khan, and of my elder brother,<sup>2</sup> and of us, Sahib Giray:*

*<And> [To the commanders]<sup>3</sup> of our right and left hand of our state, to our ulans and beys [kniaziom] of our great state, and to the Ruthenian estates, towns, castles, metropolitans, [Orthodox] bishops, monks, laymen,<sup>4</sup> boyars, townsmen, and all common people, we make known with our present letter:*

*As formerly the khans, our ancestors, our father Mengli Giray Khan, our elder brother Mehmed Giray Khan, and our grandfather Hadji Giray Khan, when their horses were growing sweaty [beneath them], they would come seeking hospitality [i.e., refuge] to Grand Duke Vytautas and to the great king Casimir, in the Lithuanian state, and they enjoyed great sincerity, according to the former custom and letters that were written in the times of the former khans, we have granted to [Lithuania]<sup>5</sup> the Ruthenian states, castles, towns, villages, along with their incomes and profits, and without any omission. And, when with the help of God we have become the khan in the place of our ancestors, we have inspected the matters of our fathers and the previous letter of agreement, and according to that letter of agreement we have renewed our correspondence and agreement with our brother, according to the ancient custom, as our father, Mengli Giray Khan, used to keep in regard to King Casimir and Grand Duke Sigismund, when he was remaining in brotherly friendship with his brother Sigismund, the king and the grand duke. Hence we grant our present letter under the golden seal to our brother Sigismund, the great king and the grand duke of Lithuania, and to his descendants, [letting them] to hold firmly, sincerely and truly:*

- firstly Kiev and Čerkasy along with lands, waters, and all their incomes and profits;*
- Smolensk with lands and waters;*
- Polack with lands, waters, etc.;*
- Zvynhorod with lands, waters, etc.;*

<sup>1</sup> Sic; this date must be wrong since the Muslim year 946 A.H. lasted from 19 May 1539 till 7 May 1540.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., Mehmed Giray, cf. below.

<sup>3</sup> The text of the Polish translation is evidently corrupt; cf. n. f above.

<sup>4</sup> On the old Ruthenian term *belec*, see Document 1, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. n. o above.

- Braclav with lands, waters, etc.;
- Sneporod and Hlyn's'k with lands etc.;<sup>6</sup>
- Žolvaž' and Putyvl'<sup>8</sup> along with lands, waters, etc.;
- Byryn, Synec, Xoten', Losyčy, Xotmyśl, and Oskol along with lands, waters, and all revenues;<sup>9</sup>
- Kozel'sk;
- the tümen of Saraj's son, i.e., the estate of Jagoldaj;<sup>10</sup>

—all these estates, castles, people, oak woods, etc., along with their lands, waters, and all their profits, wherever anything comes or flows in, [should] belong to you, our brother, the great king, your son, and the state and throne of Lithuania.

Having taken counsel with the sultans, our sons, and with the ulans, beys, and mirzas, we have taken a firm oath: we should remain in brotherly and good friendship with Sigismund, the great king and the grand duke of Lithuania, and with your son, the great king and grand duke; and so should our sons, and our ancestors should likewise remain in brotherly friendship with your ancestors.

And whichever castles, estates, and villages the duke of Muscovy treacherously took from your father, King Casimir, your brother, King Alexander, and from you, I, Sahib Giray Khan, should—God willing—with God's help take back these castles from him, having raided the Muscovian state with large troops, [and restore to you];<sup>11</sup> and we should faithfully serve<sup>12</sup> our brother, the great king, your son, and their [i.e., your] ancestors. And we will reciprocate the enmity of [your] Muscovian enemy or any other enemy. I, Sahib Giray Khan, along with my sons and our large troops, will face [your] enemy wherever needed, now and in the future, and we will not do otherwise.

And as regards the wrongful acts committed to your Polish and Lithuanian states in the times of our father and elder brother, and in the times of King Casimir, [your] brother, King [John] Albert, and King Alexander, by Mehmed Giray Khan, our ancestors, ulans, beys, mirzas, and other servants, you should release the aforementioned damages from your heart. And now, when you, our brother, King Sigismund, are in the place of your father, King Casimir, and King Albert, and King Alexander, as they used to forgive the former wrongful

<sup>6</sup> On Sneporod and Hlyn's'k, cf. Document 8, notes 8–9.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Document 8, n. 10.

<sup>8</sup> Recorded in a corrupt form as *Budula*; cf. the earlier documents.

<sup>9</sup> On the spelling of the names Byryn and Sinec, see n. x above. Apart from Oskol, these estates were situated in the region of Putyvl' and on the rivers Sula and Vorskla, cf. Document 8, notes 11–15. Oskol (here corruptly recorded as *Uscun*) once belonged to the tümen of Jagoldaj; see Document 8, n. 19, and n. 10 below.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. n. z above; on this estate, extending between the upper Sejm and the upper Donec rivers, and its former owner, Jagoldaj, son of Saraj, see Document 8, n. 18.

<sup>11</sup> Apparently omitted.

<sup>12</sup> In B. "and they [i.e., these castles and their inhabitants] should serve forever [our brother, etc.]."

acts, also you, our brother, should release them from your heart, so that upon hearing this [our] enemies should tremble with fear, and [our] friends should rejoice.

[And I,] Sahib Giray Khan, and also us, the sultans,<sup>13</sup> should truly keep brotherly friendship with our brother, the great king Sigismund. And we have allowed the merchants from Poland and the merchants from Lithuania to freely come and depart, without any fear, take salt from a saline<sup>14</sup> and transport it to Kiev, Luc'k, and other castles, guarded by our men; so that they may buy, sell, freely come and freely depart, having paid the toll according to the laws; and we should truly fulfill our word as we describe in the present letter.

We should send our sons along with our troops against Muscovy and against other [royal] enemies.

And we should not send our troops to the states of our brother, either Poland, or Lithuania. Neither I, Sahib Giray Khan, nor our sons, the sultans, the ulans, beys, and mirzas should let anybody go; and we will prevent and guard so that no damage should be done to these two states by us or our people. And if some individuals—either many or few people—commit any damage to your state without our consent, we should punish them by death [lit. beheading], send the taken captives back to you, our brother, the great king, and to our brother's son, and compensate the damages.

And if I, Sahib Giray Khan, do not fulfill this [engagement] and do not capture these people, and if any of our subjects, sons, ulans, beys, mirzas, invade Poland or Lithuania in small or large numbers, then you, our brother, King Sigismund, and your son, the great king, do not have to send the gifts in cloth and cash [złoty] due that given year, which gifts are specified in the present letter.

We should constantly and justly keep brotherly friendship with our brother, the great king, and with your son, the great king, and [in return] each year we will expect gifts in London cloth<sup>15</sup> worth 13,000 florins [złoty]—197 pieces [postaws]<sup>16</sup> of London cloth from the Polish Crown and 197 pieces of London cloth from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. And we should accept each piece [postaw] as being worth 33 golden florins [czerwonych złotych, i.e., ducats]. And along with the cloth you should give 2000 golden florins in cash, which makes altogether 15000 golden florins. You should send it by St. George's Day, in the spring.<sup>17</sup>

And we should not send more envoys and couriers but only the number that used to be customary: firstly by us, our wives, daughters, and daughters-in-law,

<sup>13</sup> Cf. n. ai above.

<sup>14</sup> The Polish translator regarded the Turkish term *çorqa* ("saline") as a place-name *Czorka* (hence in the locative: *na Czorcze*); the term also appears in a later document in Turkish; cf. Document 34. Like in the earlier documents, this paragraph refers to the Black Sea salines near Kačybej; cf. also Document 31, n. 11.

<sup>15</sup> On the term "London cloth," see Document 26, n. 5.

<sup>16</sup> Lit. "two hundred *postaws* without three *postaws*;" on the term *postaw*, see Document 26, n. 5.

<sup>17</sup> I.e., 23 April.



by the *qalga sultan* and all [other] sultans, whatever their number, and by the four *qaraçis*, and by two mirzas from the retinue of each *qaraçis*; and we should not send more.

And if envoys and couriers are sent to us from you, our brother, or from the young king [i.e., Sigismund Augustus], neither we, nor our sons, the ulans, beys, and ulans will make them any trouble or nuisance. We should not allow to be misled by evil minds and rob or harm [the royal] envoys and couriers, or their servants, so that they may come and depart freely.

I, Sahib Giray Khan—to begin with, along with all my sons, all the ulans, beys, mirzas, and servants, and along with all our men, we have sincerely and truly sworn upon this letter of agreement to one God and by the Koran: “we should sincerely keep [our oath] to you, our brother, and to your son, the young king Sigismund Augustus; we, our sons and descendants should remain in brotherly friendship; moreover, no damage should be done by us or our people to you, our brother, the great king Sigismund, nor to either of your states, Poland or Lithuania, their castles, estates, or villages.”

This letter of agreement [dokończenie] has been corroborated by brotherly friendship and [the above] oath. What we have sworn upon and engaged to our brother and your son, we should firmly keep. And we have given the present letter of agreement under the golden seal, [engaging] that we are to act according to what has been agreed between us and our brother, and that neither I, nor my sons or *qaraçis* under my permission, should invade or cause damage to your state. And if they cause any damage, if it is within my power, I should confiscate [their captives and spoils]<sup>18</sup> in my state.

But if they flee to Akkerman, Očakiv, or Azov,<sup>19</sup> or if a raid against your state is committed by the cossacks from these castles, then we have no power to confiscate [their captives and spoils] and send back to you, because these castles belong to the Turkish emperor; you did not mention them to us [in previous agreements], neither did we take any oath regarding the cossacks of these three castles.

Yet, if these people arrive in our state from the Turkish state, if they are guilty, we will punish them. His Imperial Majesty [i.e., the Ottoman sultan] will not reproach us for [punishing] them.

And if such individuals [i.e., evildoers] leave our state and go there [i.e., to the Ottoman domains], if they are guilty, they will be punished there, but we have no power over them. Therefore these three castles have not been enclosed in the letter of agreement, as we cannot confiscate the captives from those, who bring them [to these castles,] and send back to you. You should not reproach

<sup>18</sup> This fragment is apparently corrupt and it was restored to make better sense.

<sup>19</sup> The name Ozów (Ozowa in the genitive case) refers to the castle at the mouth of the Don—Azov (Pol. Azów, Tur. Azaq); it could also refer to Očakiv, known in Turkish as Özi qal'esi (“the Dnieper castle”), but then we would have to assume that Očakiv was mistakenly recorded twice under two names. Besides, the document states below that there were three Ottoman castles in the region.

*us for this. But if they [i.e., our subjects] inform us [of their plans to raid your lands], we will not let them go, as they should not cause you any damage.*

*And I have appended my seals, by God, with God, and through God!<sup>20</sup>—I swear to God and Prophet Muhammad.*

*Issued in the year 946 after the departure of Prophet Muhammad from this world,<sup>21</sup> 1542 [sic] since the birth of Lord Christ.<sup>22</sup>*

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<sup>20</sup> The Arabic formula *vallahi ve billahi ve tallahi* is correctly rendered in the Polish text.

<sup>21</sup> *Sic*; of course it should refer to the Hegira and not Muhammad's death. The Muslim year 946 A.H. lasted from 19 May 1539 till 7 May 1540. Judging by the fact that a Tatar courier announcing the embassy's departure from the Crimea reached Sigismund's court by 10 January 1540, we may assume that the document was issued in December 1539; cf. Sigismund's letter to the khan, sent through the returning Crimean courier on 10 January 1540, published in *Russkaja Istoričeskaja Biblioteka*, vol. 30, cols. 58–60.

<sup>22</sup> *Sic*; cf. n. 1 above.

DOCUMENT 29 (THE BEGINNING OF 1541)  
The preliminary peace conditions sworn in Cracow by Ali Hadji  
(Alihača), the Crimean envoy

Ruthenian copies:

A. RGADA, fond 389 = Litovskaja metrika, no. 524, fol. 29b–31a.

Published in a) *Akty odnosjaščiesja k istorii Zapadnoj Rossii*, pp. 363–364; b) *Russkaja Istoričeskaja Biblioteka*, vol. 30, cols. 76–81.

A.\* 18th-century Latin script transcription: AGAD, Metryka Litewska, no. 206, pp. 753–756.<sup>1</sup>

Таковаа намова Королю Его Милости съ царемъ Сагапъ Киереемъ естъ вчинена в Кракове черезъ великого посла Алыгачу, где то широкими словы маеть быти выписано с початъку, якъ и въ перъшихъ докончанъяхъ:

я [1]: Лечъ дело господарское съ царемъ на томъ zostало, ижъ царъ Сагапъ Кирей маеть приателю Короля Его Милости, и сыну его милости, королю молодому и великому князю Авъгусту,<sup>a</sup> приателемъ быти, а неприателю их милости неприателемъ, и на кожъдого неприатела маеть зъ их милостью господари быти за шдинъ.

в [2]: А которые города, волости, земъли, воды неприатель господарскийи московскийи в вотъца его милости, Казимера, и брата его милости, великих королей, и тежъ в Короля Его Милости несправедливие через присагу свою побралъ, ино царъ Сагапъ Кирей, вземъ Бога на помочъ, маеть тые вси города в того неприатела его милости московского побрати, и заса Королю Его Милости повтъдавати. А маеть его милость<sup>b</sup> на того неприатела, и на иных всихъ неприателеи помагати.

г [3]: Къ тому тежъ царъ Сагапъ Кирей маеть Королю Его Милости и потомъкомъ его милости вовъ покои держати: в головахъ Киевъ из земълами и водами; Лвческъ со тъмами, и з земълами, и з водами; Смольнескъ со тъмою, и з водами, и з земълами; Полоцъко со тъмою, и з земълами, и водами; Подолье со тъмами, и з земълами, и з водами;

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<sup>1</sup> This copy consists of 12 articles instead of 13 because the articles 4 and 5 of the Ruthenian copy have been combined.

<sup>a</sup> An evident scribal error; it should read: сына его милости, короля молодого и великого князя Авъгуста.

<sup>b</sup> It should read милости.

Сокаль со тьмами, и з водами, и з землами; Звинигородъ такъжо из земълами и з водами; Браславль со тьмою и з доходы; Качибиевъ, Маекъ из земълами и водами; такежъ почонъши отъ Киева Днепромъ в веръхъ ажъ до встьа; Снепорода, Глинська зъ людми; Жолва[ж], Ботъли из земълами и водами; Берин, Синець, Хотень, Лвчичинъ, Хотомышъле, Всколь из земълами и водами; Коръске со тьмою; Сараевич Ёкгалдаи со тьмо<но>ю; Пятивль, Радогощъ, Милубовъ из земълами и водами; Можечь, Стародзбъ, Любечъ, Браньско; Пченско,<sup>c</sup> Люпско, Тола из земълами и водами; Берестей, Ратно, Козельско, Бранескъ, Влькона, Избаш, Донаш; Дашовъ город, Балаклы городища, Ташинъ, Мемижи, Вхъра со тьмою, Момыш, встура—вси тые из земълами и водами; Бъско, Великий Новъгородъ, Псковъ, Резинский Переяславль со тьмою, и з людми, и лесы, с пушами, и з города, и со вьсими приходы, што течет и канеть, къ столцу панъства литовъского.

д [4]: Тежъ кыпцы панствъ его милости, Коръны Польское и Кназства Великого Литовъского, мають добровольне в Качибиеве соль брати и, мыта водълягъ давъного вбычаю заплативъши, до Киева и до Лвцька, и до иных городовъ соль прибавляти за сторожою люди царевых.

ё [5]: А естли бы в Качибиеве котораа са шкода подданнымъ Корола Его Милости отъ людей царевых [стала], ино царъ маеть тые шкоды Королю Его Милости поплатити.

ѣ [6]: Такежъ всимъ кыпцомъ панства ладъского и литовъского вольно приити с торъговълею своею до Перекопа и до Кааы и, тамъ сторъговавши, заса добровольно поити, заплативъши мыта стародавъные; а царевымъ купъцомъ по томъ ж до панъства его милости вольно торъговати ходити и заса добровольне поити по тому жъ, заплативъши мыта звъчайные.

ѝ [7]: А не маеть царъ в обои панства Корола Его Милости, такъ Корънъ Польскую, ѡко и Кназство Великое Литовъское, воиска своего великого и малого вьсылати, такъ, ѡко то на доконъчанью ширей вьдетъ вписано.<sup>d</sup>

й [8]: Што са дотычетъ поминъковъ, ино Король Его Милость маеть ему за добротъ его в кожъдый годъ поминку посылати за патнадцать тисачъ золотыхъ свкъны, то естъ кожъдый поставъ сукъна люньского за тридцать и за три золотыхъ черъленихъ.

<sup>c</sup> It should read *Мченско*.

<sup>d</sup> The passage ends with a sign denoting *etc*.

ѿ [9]: А тотъ поминокъ маеть его милость царз посылати по половицы, то естъ на день Светого Іѡна, месеца іюла<sup>с</sup> двадъцать четверъ-того дна, а дръгюю половину <зги> впоминку маеть его милость ему посылати на день Всих Светых, месеца ноабра первого дна.

ї [10]: А не маеть царъ многих гонъцовъ своих до Корола Его Милости слати, бо Господаръ Его Милость<sup>с</sup> шкода великаа ѿ скаръбе его милости са дееть. Нижъли коли потреба вкажеть с которымъ деломъ, або зъ вестыми до Корола Его Милости посылати, тогъды маеть царъ слати гонца самодръга, а набольшъ самотретего.<sup>с</sup>

ѿї [11]: А естъли бы царъ гонъцовъ своих ѿ великих почътех слалъ, а было бы их ѿсобъ двадцать або большъ, тогъды Король Его Милость с тогожъ впоминку царева маеть их ѿтъправовати. А коли царъ великого посла своего до Корола Его Милости пошълеть, тогъды з нимъ не маеть быти больш людєи, ѿдъно човековъ десать або двадцать, а набольшъ полътретадцать; а Король Его Милость кажеть тых [з] скарбъ своего ѿтъправовати, што бѣдетъ вола его милости господаръскаа.

ѿї [12]: А естъли бы зъ ведомомъ царевымъ, або и без ведомо[с]ти цареви которые люди малые або великие в панъство господарское са прокрали, а вни бы, пошедъши, звоевали, ино царъ маеть их самых головами поймавъши до его милости послати, и дома их розграбити. А пакъ ли бы вни сами головами звошъли, и ѿнъ жоны и дети их маеть до Корола Его Милости послати; а што ѿзмуть статъковъ, то зыскавъши назадъ верънути. А естъли бы царъ на то пилности вчинит не хотелъ и таковых людєи не повъстегалъ, а которые бы люди або царевици в землю господарскую звошъли и шкода вчинили, тогды того годъ, котораа<sup>h</sup> са таа шкода станеть, не маеть его милость ѿного впоминъку цареви давати. Нижъли коли цар бѣдетъ справедливѣ тѣе вси речи сполънати, его милость господаръ маеть ему ѿнынѣ поминокъ давати.

її [13]: А на тѣе вси речи, которые на томъ списку суть выписанные, великий посолъ царевъ, княз Алигачи, душою царевою и самъ ѿтъ себе которое его милость<sup>i</sup> присагу вчинилъ, ижъ маеть царъ водълягъ ѿное намовы то все справедливѣ держати и полъннити, и маеть водълягъ того списку доконъчанье свое до его милости прислати, лечъ ширєи доконъчанье маеть быти выписано по тому, ѿако и иншиє доконъчанъа.

<sup>с</sup> Sic; it should read *июна*.

<sup>с</sup> It should read: *Господарю Его Милости*.

<sup>с</sup> The passage ends with a sign denoting *etc*.

<sup>h</sup> It should read *которого*.

<sup>i</sup> It should read: *его милости*.

## Translation:

*Such an agreement between His Royal Majesty and Sahib Giray Khan has been designed in Cracow through [the mediation of] the great envoy Ali Hadji;<sup>2</sup> [thereafter] it should be written down in broader words at the heading, as [it was usual] in the previous letters of agreement:*

*1) It has been settled between the hospodar [i.e., Sigismund] and the khan that Sahib Giray Khan should by a friend to the friends of His Royal Majesty and of the son of His Majesty, the young king and grand duke Augustus, and an enemy to the enemies of Their Majesties, and he should face any enemy jointly with Their Majesties, the hospodars.*

*2) And whichever towns, estates, lands, and waters the hospodar's Muscovian enemy took unjustly and in violation of his oath from the great kings: His Majesty's father Casimir and His Majesty's brother, and also from His Royal Majesty, [now] Sahib Giray Khan should—having invoked God's help—take [back] all these towns from the said Muscovian enemy of His Majesty, and restore them to His Royal Majesty. And he should assist His Majesty against this enemy and all other enemies.*

*3) Moreover, Sahib Giray Khan should let His Royal Majesty and His Majesty's descendants hold in peace:*

- firstly Kiev along with lands and waters;*
- Luc'k with its tümens along with lands and waters;*
- Smolensk with its tümen along with lands and waters;*
- Polack with its tümen along with lands and waters;*
- Podolia with its tümens along with lands and waters;*
- Sokolec<sup>3</sup> with its tümens along with waters and lands;*
- also Zvynyhorod<sup>4</sup> along with lands and waters;*
- Braclav with its tümen and revenues;*
- Kačybej and Majak along with lands and waters;<sup>5</sup>*

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<sup>2</sup> Apparently identical with Ali Hadji, a courtier (*içki bek*) of Sahib Giray Khan, who thereafter participated in the failed campaign against Muscovy in 1541; see *Tarih-i Sahib Giray Han*, pp. 61–62 and 200 (French translation); cf. also Zajcev, “‘Pozabyv Boga, i naše žalovan’e, i svoju dušu...’ (Priključenija knjazja Semena Fedoroviča Bel’skogo),” in: *idem, Meždu Moskvov i Stambulom*, p. 157, n. 134. The present document is undated, but its dating is enabled by a comparison with neighboring documents registered in the Lithuanian Register as well as the fact that Anikij Hornostaj, the royal envoy who accompanied Ali Hadji back to the Crimea, returned to Poland-Lithuania already in July 1541. Ali Hadji first negotiated in Cracow and then traveled to Vilnius in order to take an oath in the royal presence; cf. Document 30, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Document 8, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Document 8, n. 5.

<sup>5</sup> On Kačybej and Majak, cf. Document 8, notes 6–7.

- also starting from Kiev along with the Dnieper upstream<sup>6</sup> to its mouth;
- Sneporod and Hlyns'k along with [their] people;<sup>7</sup>
- Žolvaž<sup>8</sup> and Putyvl' along with lands and waters;
- Byryn, Synec, Xoten', Losyčy, Xotmyśl, and Oskol along with lands and waters;<sup>9</sup>
- Kursk with its tümen;
- Jagoldaj, son of Saraj with its tümen;<sup>10</sup>
- Putyvl', Radogošč' and Myloljub along with lands and waters;<sup>11</sup>
- Mužeč,<sup>12</sup> Starodub, Ljubeč, and Brjansk;
- Mcensk, Ljubutsk, and Tula along with lands and waters;<sup>13</sup>
- Berestej, Retan', Kozel'sk, Pronsk, Volkonsk, Spažsk, and Donec;<sup>14</sup>
- the castle of Dašov, the ruined castle [Ruth. horodyšče] of Balykly,<sup>15</sup> Tušyn, Nemyrov,<sup>16</sup> Uhrom with its tümen,<sup>17</sup> Momyš,<sup>18</sup> and an island [referred to as Fedorov],<sup>19</sup> all with their lands and waters;<sup>20</sup>
- Pskov, Velikij Novgorod, Pskov,<sup>21</sup> and Perejaslavl' Rjazan'skij, with their tümen[s] and people along with forests, towns, all profits, [and everything] that flows or streams—[giving all the above localities] to the throne of the Lithuanian state.

4) And the merchants from His Majesty's states: the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, may freely take salt in Kačybej and, having paid the tolls according to the ancient custom, bring [this] salt to Kiev, Luc'k, and other towns, guarded by the khan's men.

<sup>6</sup> *Sic*; it should read "downstream;" cf. Document 27, n. 10.

<sup>7</sup> On Sneporod and Hlyns'k, cf. Document 8, notes 8–9.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Document 8, n. 10.

<sup>9</sup> On these estates, listed in the same order, cf. Document 27, n. 13.

<sup>10</sup> It should rather read: "the *tümen* of Jagoldaj, son of Saraj;" cf. Document 27, n. 14.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Document 27, n. 15; Putyvl' is erroneously recorded twice, here and above along with Žolvaž, in a corrupt form Botuly.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Document 27, n. 16.

<sup>13</sup> On Mcensk, Ljubutsk, and Tula, see Document 8, notes 20–21.

<sup>14</sup> On these localities and estates, see Document 8, notes 22–26.

<sup>15</sup> On these two settlements, situated on the lower Boh, see Document 8, notes 31 and 28. Dašov was in fact the ancient name of Očakiv (Tat. Djankerman; Tur. Özü qal'esi).

<sup>16</sup> Corruptly recorded as Memyžy; cf. n. 20 below.

<sup>17</sup> The *tümen* of Uhrom, which could not be localized, appears in Documents 14, 20 (corrupt as "the *tümen* of Turov"), 24, and 27; cf. n. 20 below.

<sup>18</sup> In the earlier documents recorded as Mušač, Mušal, Mušen, Mumyš, Myšen, and Mamyš; see Document 27, n. 22.

<sup>19</sup> For Fedorov, cf. Document 14.

<sup>20</sup> The last four settlements, Tušyn, Nemyrov (alias Nemyr), Momyš, and Fedorov (alias Xodorov or Fedorkovo), as well as the *tümen* of Uhrom, could not be identified, but they were apparently situated in lower Podolia, between the Boh and Dniester rivers; cf. Document 8, n. 32, Document 12, n. 23, and Document 14.

<sup>21</sup> Erroneously registered twice: in a corrupt form as Busko (above) and here correctly as Pskov; cf. Document 27, n. 25.

5) *And if the subjects of His Royal Majesty suffer any damage in Kačybej from the khan's men, the khan should compensate this damage to His Royal Majesty.*

6) *Moreover, all the merchants from the Polish or Lithuanian state may come with their merchandise to Perekop [i.e., the Crimean Khanate] and to Caffa, conduct their trade there and freely return home, having paid the ancient tolls; likewise, the khan's merchants may go to His Majesty's state with the purpose of trade, and freely return home, having likewise paid the customary tolls.*

7) *The khan should not send his troops—either large or small—to the two states of His Royal Majesty: the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, as will be more broadly described in the letter of agreement.*

8) *As concerns the gifts: in return for his [i.e., the khan's] kindness, His Royal Majesty should send him each year a gift worth 15,000 florins [zolutys] in cloths, namely each piece [postaw] of London cloth<sup>22</sup> [considered] worth 33 golden florins [i.e., ducats].*

9) *His Majesty should send this gift to the khan by halves, namely [the first half] by St. John's Day, by the 24th day of the month of June, and the second half of the gift should be sent to him by His Majesty by All Saints' Day, by the 1st day of the month of November.*

10) *And the khan should not send numerous couriers to His Royal Majesty because it causes great detriment to His Majesty, the hospodar [i.e., Sigismund], in His Majesty's treasury. Only when he needs to notify His Royal Majesty about some matter or news, then the khan should send a courier in the company of one, or at most two men [Ruth. samohodruha, a nabol's samotreteho].*

11) *And if the khan sends his couriers with large retinues numbering twenty or more persons, then His Royal Majesty should give them allowance by deducing it from the gift due to the khan. And when the khan sends his great envoy to His Royal Majesty, then he should not be accompanied by more than ten, twenty, or at most twenty-five men; and His Royal Majesty will order to give them as much allowance from his treasury as it pleases His Majesty, the hospodar.*

12) *And if some individuals of low or high status [Ruth. ljudi malye abo velykye] sneak into the hospodar's state with the khan's knowledge or without, and raid it, the khan should capture them and send to His Majesty, and confiscate their houses. And if they escape themselves, he should send His Royal Majesty their wives and children; and if they capture any goods, he should take them back and restore [to the king]. And if the khan does not wish to display diligence and restrain such people, and if some individuals, or the sultans [Ruth. carevyčy,*

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<sup>22</sup> On the terms *postaw* and "London cloth," see Document 26, n. 5.



*i.e., Tatar princes], enter the hospodar's land and commit damage, then in the year when this damage occurs, His Majesty will not have to give the said gift to the khan. But if the khan justly fulfills all the said conditions, His Majesty, the hospodar should give him the said gift.*

*13) Ali Hadji Bey, the khan's great envoy, has sworn to His Majesty with the khan's soul and on his own upon all the conditions that have been written down in this draft [spysok], [and engaged] that the khan should justly keep and fulfill everything according to this agreement, and he should send to His Majesty his letter of agreement, being in accord with this draft, but written more broadly, as the other letters of agreement [used to be written].*

DOCUMENT 30 (THE FIRST HALF OF 1541)  
The oath by Ali Hadji (Alihača), the Crimean envoy,  
sworn in Vilnius

Ruthenian copies:

A. RGADA, fond 389 = Litovskaja metrika, no. 28, fol. 40a–40b.

Published in *Metryka Vjalikaha Knjastva Litouskaha. Kniha 28 (1522–1552)*. *Kniha zapisau* 28, p. 94.

A.\* 18th-century Latin script transcription: AGAD, *Metryka Litewska*, no. 213, pp. 425–427.

Прысага Алигача именемъ господара его, цара Сагап Киреа Воюна, королю польскому и великому князю литовскому Жикгимонту, и сынъ его милости Авгвсту вчинена:

Іа, Алигача, присагаю душею господара моего, волного цара Сагапъ Киреа Воюна [на] ал-Куран, на бересать,<sup>a</sup> через Бога вышнего има, и через Ахмета<sup>b</sup> пророка нашего, и через сто и двадцать и чотыри тисачи, и через триста и тринадцат пророков нашихъ, братъ господара моего, королю польскому и великому князю литовскому, его милости Жикгимонту, и сыну его милости, королю польскому и великому князю Авггустъ, то все держати и справедливе полнити во всемъ водлугъ тое намовы, которюю есми с Паны Радами Корола Его Милости вчинилъ, и списокъ вное вмовы до господара моего послалъ, и тепер перед самымъ Господаремъ Его Милостью тую вмову приимю.

А господаръ тежъ мой мает и то принати, и твю всю теперешнюю вмовъ маю<sup>c</sup> держати и полнити, Королю Его Милости на тьи вси речи листъ свои присажный послати.

Іакожъ и ја самъ душею моею Королю Его Милости Жикгимонту, и сынъ его милости, молодомъ королю присегаю на томъ, ижъ господаръ мой, вольный цар маеть королем ихъ милости добра хотети и приати, и ничего на ихъ милости господарей, и на вбои панства их милости, Корянь Полскую и Кназьство Великое Литовское, лихого не мает мыслити. И сынов своих царевичов, и людей своих маеть ввати, и не дати вбоимъ панствомъ его милости шкody чинити. И приателю их милости маеть быти приателемъ, а неприателю неприателемъ.

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<sup>a</sup> Perhaps it should read: *берекам*, i.e., “the divine blessings” in Arabic and Turkish; cf. Document 21, n. a and Document 25, n. a.

<sup>b</sup> It should read *Махмета* as in the present document below, or *Махамета* as in Document 21.

<sup>c</sup> Apparently it should read *мает*.

А посла теперешнего великого, пана Шника Горностаа, и иныхъ послов и гонцовъ, которые бѣдѣть [wt] Корола Его Милости до Цара Его Милости ходити, нѣ маеть их задерживати, ани соромоты ни легкости не маеть Его Милость Цар самъ, ани князи, и вланы, и вриадники его милости посломъ и гоньцомъ Корола Его Милости чинити, ани грабити их, ани слугъ их.

И естли то господаръ мои спольнить, Боже ему помози, а естли того не спольнить, Боже ему не помози, и нехай бѣдетъ втдален вт ласки божей и законъ Махмета пророка нашего, и тыхъ всихъ вышеи писаныхъ пророковъ нашихъ, и нехай бѣдетъ ѿко нечавный поганин, и нехай бы жадный его сынъ, и по немъ бѣдѣчи, на томъ царстве, на которомъ он царѣть, не царовали, але ѿко Богъ правдивый и справедливый, нехай ихъ скинетъ изъ столца втцовского, а неприятеля ихъ нехай Богъ на томъ столцы пановати вчинити на вечны часы.

Писан...

Translation:

*The oath by Ali Hadji<sup>1</sup> in the name of his khan, Sahib Giray Bahadır [Ruth. Vojun],<sup>2</sup> sworn to Sigismund, the king of Poland and the grand duke of Lithuania, and the son of His Majesty, Augustus:*

*I, Ali Hadji, swear with the soul of my lord, the free<sup>3</sup> khan Sahib Giray Bahadır, by the Koran, the divine blessings,<sup>4</sup> the name of the highest God, our prophet Muhammad,<sup>5</sup> and our 124,000 and 313 prophets<sup>6</sup> to the brother of my lord, His Majesty Sigismund, the king of Poland and the grand duke of*

<sup>1</sup> On Ali Hadji, a courtier of Sahib Giray Khan, and on the dating of the present document, see Document 29, n. 2. The oath must have taken place in Vilnius, where King Sigismund resided between 24 May 1540 and 19 May 1542; cf. Gąsiorowski, "Itineraria dwu ostatnich Jagiellonów," p. 267.

<sup>2</sup> In Sahib Giray's *tamğa* impressed on a document from 1523, when he reigned in Kazan (1521–1524), he is referred to as *Sahib Giray Bahadır Han*. Hence the term *Vojun* ("warrior"), found in the Ruthenian translation, apparently reflects the Turkish term (also a proper name) *Bahadır* (lit. "hero"). Admittedly, in two later variants of Sahib Giray's *tamğa* impressed on documents from 1549–1550, when he was the Crimean khan (r. 1532–1551), the word *Bahadır* is missing and he is referred to merely as *Sahib Giray Han*; cf. Mirkasym Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, pp. 145 and 153–154. Another possibility is that the term *vojun* reflects the Turkish epithet *el-ğazi*, referring to a Muslim fighter and found in the introductory formula of Sahib Giray's *yarlıq*s. Perhaps not by coincidence, the phrase *Ebü'l-Feth el-ğazi Sahib Girey Han sözüüm* was translated in Russian as "*Pobedonosnogo voitelja Saxib-Giraja xana slovo*;" cf. Usmanov, "Termin <<jarlyk>>," p. 226.

<sup>3</sup> On the expression *volnyj car* ("free khan"), reflecting the ancient Mongol-Tatar notion of sovereignty, cf. Document 10, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> The obscure word *beresat* has been tentatively read as *berekat*; cf. n. a above, Document 21, notes a and 5, and Document 25, notes a and 3.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. n. b above.

<sup>6</sup> On the number of prophets and messengers as recorded in the Muslim tradition, cf. Document 21, n. 6.

*Lithuania, and to the son of His Majesty, Augustus, the king of Poland and the grand duke, to keep and justly, entirely fulfill everything that I have agreed upon with the Lords Councilors of His Royal Majesty and of which agreement I have sent a copy to my lord; and now I accept this agreement in the presence of His Majesty, the hospodar [i.e., Sigismund].*

*And my lord should accept this too, and he should keep and fulfill the whole present agreement, and he should send to His Royal Majesty his oath-letter confirming what has been said [above].*

*Also I personally swear with my soul to His Royal Majesty Sigismund and to the son of His Majesty, the young king, that my lord, the free khan, should wish well and be friendly towards Their Royal Majesties, and should have no bad intentions against Their Majesties, the hospodars, and the two states of Their Majesties: the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. And he should restrain his sons, the sultans [Ruth. carevyčov, i.e., princes], and his men and not let them commit any damage to the two states of His Majesty. And he should be a friend of Their Majesties' friend, and an enemy of their enemy. And he should not detain the present great envoy, Pan Anikij Hornostaj,<sup>7</sup> or other envoys and couriers who will come from His Royal Majesty to His Majesty the Khan; nor should His Majesty the Khan or the beys [Ruth. knjazy], ulans, and officials of His Majesty commit any ignoble or inconsiderate acts to the envoys and couriers of His Royal Majesty, or rob them or their servants.*

*And if my lord fulfills this, may God assist him; and if he does not fulfill it, may God deny him assistance, and may he be separated from the divine grace and from the law of our prophet Muhammad, and from all our above written prophets, and may he be like a false-hearted heathen, and may none of his sons and descendants reign in the kingdom in which he reigns, but—as God is true and just—may He remove them from the ancestral throne, and may God make their enemy rule on that throne forever.*

*Written [...] <sup>8</sup>*

<sup>7</sup> On Anikij (Onikiej) Hornostaj, see Document 19, n. 4.

<sup>8</sup> The *datatio* and *locatio* are missing. In fact, while recording the texts of the oaths, Lithuanian chancery clerks usually did not record their date and place.

DOCUMENT 31 (SEPTEMBER 1542)  
The donation *yarlıq* cum *şartname* sent by Khan Sahib Giray  
to King Sigismund

The original document is missing.

Polish translation:

A. Bibl. Kórn., ms. 222, pp. 126–129.

B. Bibl. Czart., ms. 62 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 243–247.

Sahipkireia cara pakta roku pańskiego 1545 z Zygmuntem etc.<sup>a</sup>

Poczynamy bożym imieniem i proroctwa Jego Miłości Machometa Proroka! Iż terażniejszego czasu, chwała miłemu Bogu, na miescu<sup>b</sup> ojca swego carem ostaliśmy, jako ociec nasz Menligirey<sup>c</sup> car, i brat nasz Machmetgirey<sup>d</sup> car, tak i od nas, Sahipgireya<sup>e</sup> cara:

Od prawej i od lewej ręki naszej, i od wszelkiego państwa naszego ułanom, kniaziom, murzom,<sup>f</sup> ruskim państwom, zamkom, miastom, czerńcom, bielcom, i wszelkim<sup>g</sup> aby było jawno, iż przodkowie nasi na potnym<sup>h</sup> koniu do wielkiego kniazia Wytolta<sup>i</sup> i do wielkiego króla Kazimierza, do państwa litewskiego w gościnę przyjeżdżali i wielką uczciwość mieli. I przodkowie nasi z wielkim królem Casimirzem<sup>j</sup> w bratskiej<sup>k</sup> przyjaźni byli, i między sobą dokończenie i przysięgi dali. My także, w wielkiej a w dobrej przyjaźni brackiej z wami, bratem naszym, wielkim królem Zygmuntem<sup>l</sup> i synem waszym, młodym królem i wielkim księżciem litewskim, i daliśmy to dokończenie nasze i przysięgę pod złotą pieczęcią naszą: w głowach to jest Kiyow,<sup>m</sup> Cerkassy, Wielkie Luczko z państwa, Połoczko, Braśłow,<sup>n</sup> Ostreho, Olenisko,<sup>o</sup> Choten,

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<sup>a</sup> B. *Sahipkireia cara tatarskiego pakta, roku pańskiego 1545.*

<sup>b</sup> B. *miejscu.*

<sup>c</sup> B. *Menligerey.*

<sup>d</sup> B. *Machmetgerey.*

<sup>e</sup> B. *Sahipgireia*

<sup>f</sup> In both copies written erroneously: *ułanów, kniaziów, murzów*; for the same error, cf. Document 28, n. f.

<sup>g</sup> B. *wszystkim.*

<sup>h</sup> In B. mistakenly written *polnym*; cf. Document 1, n. c.

<sup>i</sup> B. *Witolta.*

<sup>j</sup> B. *Kazimierzem.*

<sup>k</sup> B. *braterskiej.*

<sup>l</sup> In B. here and hereafter: *Zygmuntem.*

<sup>m</sup> B. *Kiiow.*

<sup>n</sup> B. *Braśław.*

<sup>o</sup> B. *Ostroholensko*; cf. n. 5 below.

Luczicen, Chotensko, Kozielsko, tumen Sareyewycza<sup>p</sup>—Jakateńską ziemię, Batulą, Radonisko,<sup>q</sup> Brańsko, Starodub.

Te zamki od brata naszego ten nieprzyjaciół zdradliwym postępkim zabrał. A gdy da Pan Bóg, nam dopomoże, te zamki do swych rąk wziąć, te zamki do was, brata naszego postąpiem<sup>r</sup> bratu naszemu, młodemu królowi. I z nim dobrą bracką przyjaźń mając, temu nieprzyjaciółowi naszemu i waszemu nieprzyjaźń oddawać, my sami i syn nasz, Amynkirey soldan, ulani, kniaziowie, murzowie, na tym dokończeniu przysięgli.

Przedtym które złe uczynki między nami były, te z myśli swych wypuszczamy. I chcemy wiarą i prawdą dzierżyć, a przyjaciele nasi aby to słysząc radowali się, a nieprzyjaciele aby się bali.

A gdy między nami takowa przyjaźń będzie stała, tedy z państwa lyteńskiego<sup>s</sup> kupcom wolno przyjeżdżać, i państwa polskiego także kupcy mają przyjeżdżać. Żeby do naszego państwa wolno przyjeżdżali i odjeżdżali, i po państwu naszemu<sup>t</sup> gdzie by jedno chcieli, kupowali, sprzedawali, a im nie ma nikt żadnej krzywdy i szkody czynić. I wedle ustawy myto oddawszy, na czorce<sup>u</sup> sól wolno ludziom was, brata naszego, brać, i gdzie chcą sprzedawać, do którychkolwiek zamków waszych. A za<sup>v</sup> tą bracką przyjaźnią kupcom waszym, i którzy posłowie przyjeżdżać mają, i posłowie, którzy by przyjeżdżać mieli, tym kto by krzywdę czynił, takowe mamy karać, aby brat nasz takowych złych ludzi<sup>w</sup> w swoim państwie karali. A dla przyjaźni braterskiej, jeśliby z Łytwy albo z Polski<sup>x</sup> hultani<sup>y</sup> i bogaci<sup>z</sup> do Prekopu przyjadą,<sup>aa</sup> nikt im na przeszkodzie<sup>ab</sup> być nie ma, wedlia<sup>ac</sup> obyczaju z towarów myto oddawszy, wolno by targowali.

I tak rok które dokończenie pan Hornostay przyniósł, i którego by roku mieli wojować, tego roku upominków dać nie macie. Tym obyczajem pisano. Synowie nasi, caraczeyowie<sup>ad</sup> stąd<sup>ae</sup> z wojski naszymi bez wolej<sup>af</sup> naszej nie pójda. A jeśliby ktokolwiek z wojski naszymi, albo my sami którego roku

<sup>p</sup> B. *Saraiewicza*.

<sup>q</sup> B. *Radomsko*

<sup>r</sup> B. *postąpim*.

<sup>s</sup> B. *liteńskiego*.

<sup>t</sup> B. *po państwie naszym*.

<sup>u</sup> On the Turkish term *çorqa* see n. 11 below.

<sup>v</sup> B. *tak*.

<sup>w</sup> B. *ludzi złych*.

<sup>x</sup> B. *z Litwy albo z Polskiej*.

<sup>y</sup> A loanword from Ruthenian, where *hol'tjaj* means "a landless peasant," but also "a poor man;" the phrase *bohatym y holtjajnym* ("the rich and the poor") can be found in the analogous fragment of the proposed treaty formula from 1535 (cf. Document 27).

<sup>z</sup> In B. corrupt as *bojarzy*.

<sup>aa</sup> B. *przyjadą do Prekopu*.

<sup>ab</sup> Corrupt in A.; written correctly in B.

<sup>ac</sup> B. *wedle*.

<sup>ad</sup> In B. corrupt as *carowiczowie*.

<sup>ae</sup> Missing in B.

<sup>af</sup> In B. here and below *woli*.

w ziemie wtargnęli, tego roku upominków brać nie będziem, w waszym dokończeniu tym obyczajem napisano. A jeśliby bez woliej naszej w państwo wasze wtargnął bądź mały lud,<sup>ag</sup> albo jaki, tedy które by plony przywiedli, od nich odjąwszy do was odeślemy, i takowych mamy karać.

I wy, brat nasz, król Zigmunt, i wielki król młody, dla przyjaźni braterskiej każdego roku miesiąca...<sup>ah</sup> nas macie upominkami obsyłać, to jest za 13000 złotych czerwonych sukna luńskiego,<sup>ai</sup> a dwa tysiąca<sup>aj</sup> złotych czerwonych gotowych; i trzy dziewięci upominków; a co za te 13000 złotych czerwonych sukna, połowicę z państwa lyteńskiego,<sup>ak</sup> a połowicę z państwa polskiego. Każdy postaw oszacowawszy mamy brać po 33 czerwonych złotych. A te upominki każdy rok miesiąca...<sup>al</sup> do nas tu macie przysyłać. Ta przysięga i dokończenie na tym jest od nas dla przyjaźni naszej.

Posłowie i gońcy mają chodźć od nas samych, i od synów naszych, od Amingireya<sup>am</sup> carowicza, i od inszych carowiczów. Jako i pierwej chadzywali,<sup>an</sup> i teraz takim że sposobem mają chodźć od tych namienionych caraczeyów.<sup>ao</sup> A tych karaczeyów,<sup>ap</sup> sług po 20000 i po 30000 mają, ich posłowie i gońcy chadzali,<sup>aq</sup> a teraz ich mamy umniejszać<sup>ar</sup>? Ich posły za przodków, ojców naszych chodzywali, umniejszać ich nie mamy. Jako od was panowie litewscy, tak i panowie polscy, abowiem<sup>as</sup> oni u nas takowymiż pany są. A od inszych ludzi posłowie chodźć nie mają. A chocia by<sup>at</sup> byli od inszych ludzi, tedy abyście ich nie przyjmowali, my to od was wdzięcznie przyjmiemy. Którzy bez potrzeby przychodzą, wy sami ich przyjmujecie, a jak<sup>au</sup> nie mają chodźć. A którzy bez potrzeby przyjadą, tych abyście odpuścili nic im nie dawszy, i po wtóre aby tacy nie jeździli, abyście wiedzieli.

A który poseł ma do nas być, jako i pierwej upominki bywały kniaziom naszym i innym sługom naszym, chocia<sup>av</sup> upominki synom, żonom, i dziewczkom naszym wszelko spolna<sup>aw</sup> oddacie. My nie mamy posła waszego żadnego ni w czym hamować,<sup>ax</sup> i sług jego nie będziem, ale go bez omieszkania odprawiam.<sup>ay</sup>

<sup>ag</sup> B. *lud*.

<sup>ah</sup> The name of the month is missing; cf. notes al and ba below.

<sup>ai</sup> In B. corrupt as *lanskiego*.

<sup>aj</sup> B. *tysiące*.

<sup>ak</sup> B. *litewskiego*.

<sup>al</sup> Empty space is left for the name of the month; cf. notes ah and ba.

<sup>am</sup> B. *Amingireia*.

<sup>an</sup> In B. corrupt: <d>*chodzywali*.

<sup>ao</sup> B. *caraczeiów*.

<sup>ap</sup> B. *karaczeiów*; this sentence should rather begin: *a ci karaczeyowie*.

<sup>aq</sup> B. *chodzili*.

<sup>ar</sup> B. *umniejszyć*.

<sup>as</sup> B. *albowiem*.

<sup>at</sup> B. *chociażby*.

<sup>au</sup> B. *jakże*.

<sup>av</sup> B. *chociaż*.

<sup>aw</sup> B. *wszystko spełna*.

<sup>ax</sup> In B. corrupt: *szanować*.

<sup>ay</sup> B. *odprawim*.

I dlia<sup>az</sup> przyjaźni braterskiej ja sam, i synowie moi carowiczowie, ulani, kniaziowie, murzowie, wszelką prawdą przysięgamy bratu naszemu, wielkiemu królowi Zigmuntowi, i synowi jego, młodemu królowi. A oni mają nam każdego roku miesiąca...<sup>ba</sup> przysłać 2000 złotych czerwonych i za 13000 upominków sukna. Którego roku nam przyśle,<sup>bb</sup> tego roku szkód czynić nie mamy. Państwu jego, zamkom, wsiom, żadnych szkód czynić nie mamy<sup>bc</sup> i nie każem czynić. Przysięgamy Jedynemu Bogu, Jego Miłości Machometowi Prorokowi, to jest: wallahy wie billahy<sup>bd</sup> wi tellahy—przysięgliśmy, o tym wiercie.<sup>be</sup>

Pirwejeśmy<sup>bf</sup> napisali tych zamków: Zwinihrod,<sup>bg</sup> Budula, Jewnini, Sinacz,<sup>bh</sup> Chotmyslen,<sup>bi</sup> Uskun. Te zamki ze wszem na wszem, z ziemiami, wodami, i ze wszemi dochody i pożytkami ich wam, bratu naszemu, królowi Zigmuntowi, i synowi waszemu Augustowi królowi postępujemy.

I daliśmy ten nasz list pod złotą pieczęcią naszą podle roku ześcia<sup>bj</sup> z tego świata Machometa Proroka liat 949 roku, od narodzenia Pana Christusowego roku 1545.<sup>bk</sup>

Translation:

*The treaty [Pol. pakta] of Sahib Giray Khan with Sigismund etc., Anno Domini 1545.<sup>1</sup>*

*We commence in the name of God and [invoke] the prophecy of His Excellency, Prophet Muhammad! As presently, by the grace of dear God we have become the khan in the place of our father, as our father, Mengli Giray Khan, and our brother, Mehmed Giray Khan, also us, Sahib Giray Khan, [we announce our word].<sup>2</sup>*

<sup>az</sup> B. *dla*.

<sup>ba</sup> Empty space is left for the name of the month; cf. notes ah and al above.

<sup>bb</sup> B. *przyśle*.

<sup>bc</sup> In A corrupt: *nie majemy*.

<sup>bd</sup> In B. corrupt: *hillahy*.

<sup>be</sup> In B. corrupt: *wiedzcie*.

<sup>bf</sup> In B. corrupt: *przytymeśmy*.

<sup>bg</sup> B. *Zwinograd*.

<sup>bh</sup> In B. amalgamated into one place-name: *Jewninininacz*.

<sup>bi</sup> B. *Chotimsten*.

<sup>bj</sup> B. *zejścia*.

<sup>bk</sup> B. *lat dziewięćsetnego czterdziestego dziewiątego roku, od narodzenia Pana Chrystusowego roku tysiącznego pięćsetnego czterdziestego piątego*.

<sup>1</sup> Sic; this date must be wrong since the Muslim year 949 A.H. lasted from 17 April 1542 till 5 April 1543. The latter dating is confirmed by the reference to Anikij Hornostaj's embassy that reportedly took place "last year" (see the text below); Hornostaj performed his last known embassy to the Crimea in 1541.

<sup>2</sup> This standard formula, which was apparently present in the lost original, has been reconstructed in order to make a better sense.



[To the commanders]<sup>3</sup> of our right and left hand, to the ulans, beys [kniaziom], and mirzas of our whole state, and to the Ruthenian estates, castles, towns, monks, laymen,<sup>4</sup> and all [the people]:

It should be known that our ancestors, when their horses were growing sweaty [beneath them], would come seeking hospitality [i.e., refuge] to Grand Duke Vytautas and to the great king Casimir, in the Lithuanian state, and they enjoyed great sincerity. And our ancestors remained in brotherly friendship with the great king Casimir, and they mutually exchanged letters of agreement and oaths. [Being] in great, sound, and brotherly friendship with you, our brother, the great king Sigismund, and your son, the young king and the grand duke of Lithuania, we too have given our present letter of agreement [dokończenie] under our golden seal, and [taken] our oath, [granting]:

- firstly Kiev and Čerkasy;
- Great Luc'k along with its estate;
- Polack;
- Braclav;
- Sneporod and Hlyn's'k;<sup>5</sup>
- Xoten', Losyčy, Xotmyśl;<sup>6</sup>
- Kozel'sk;
- the tümen of Saraj's son, i.e., the land of Jagoldaj;<sup>7</sup>
- Putyvl' and Radogošč';<sup>8</sup>
- Brjansk and Starodub.

The aforementioned castles were treacherously taken from our brother by the [Muscovian] enemy.<sup>9</sup> God willing, when God helps us to capture these castles in our hands, we will restore them to you, our brother, [or] to our brother, the young king. We and our son, Emin Giray Sultan,<sup>10</sup> and the ulans, beys, and

<sup>3</sup> The text of the Polish translation is corrupt; cf. n. f above.

<sup>4</sup> On the old Ruthenian term *belec*, see Document 1, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Recorded in corrupt forms as *Ostreho* (cf. *Stoprud* in Document 28) and *Oleni-sko*; on Sneporod and Hlyn's'k, cf. Document 8, notes 8–9.

<sup>6</sup> These estates, situated in the region of Putyvl' and on the river Vorskla, are listed in the same order in previous documents; cf. Document 8, notes 13–15.

<sup>7</sup> On this estate, extending between the upper Sejm and the upper Donec rivers, and its former owner, Jagoldaj, son of Saraj, see Document 8, n. 18.

<sup>8</sup> Recorded in corrupt forms as *Batula* and *Radonisko*; listed in the same order in Document 27.

<sup>9</sup> Two separate clauses of earlier documents are mistakenly mixed together here: the clause granting the Ruthenian lands to Lithuania and the khan's promise to assist the king in regaining his lands captured by the Muscovian grand dukes. In fact, only a portion of the lands and castles listed above had been lost to Muscovy by 1542.

<sup>10</sup> Emin Giray, the son and qalga of Sahib Giray; in 1539 he headed a raid against Muscovy, in 1543 commanded the Tatar troops in Hungary, in 1545 was sent against Astrakhan, and in 1549 against Poland-Lithuania; killed in 1551 by his own servant (*nöker*) during the rebellion that resulted in the deposition and execution of his father; see Gökbilgin, *1532–1577 yılları arasında Kırım Hanlığı'nın siyaset durumu*,

mirzas, have taken oath upon the present letter of agreement, to keep a sound and brotherly friendship with him [i.e., the young king] and reciprocate the enmity of the said enemy of ours and yours.

As regards the past wrongful acts committed by both sides, we release them from our hearts. We want to keep [the peace] sincerely and truly, so that upon hearing this our friends should rejoice, and our enemies should tremble with fear.

And while such friendship lasts between us, the merchants from Lithuania and the merchants from Poland may come [to our domains]. They may freely come to our state and depart, and buy and sell in all our domains wherever they wish, and nobody should bring them any harm or damage. Having paid the toll according to the law, your subjects, our brother, may take salt from a saline,<sup>11</sup> transport it to any of your castles and sell wherever they wish. And, while this brotherly friendship lasts, if anybody harms your merchants or the envoys, who are to come, we should punish such individuals, so that our brother should [likewise] punish such evildoers in his state. And for the sake of [our] brotherly friendship, if poor or rich [merchants] arrive at Perekop [i.e., in the Crimean Khanate] from Lithuania or Poland, nobody should disturb them; having paid the toll for their goods according to the custom, they may freely conduct their trade.

And regarding the letter of agreement [dokończenie] that was brought last year by Pan Hornostaj,<sup>12</sup> [it provided that] if they [i.e., the Tatars] raid [your lands] in a given year, you do not have to send gifts due that year. Thus was written. [As for us, we engage that] our sons and qaraçıs will not set out along with our troops without our consent. But if one year anybody along with our troops, or we in person invade [your] lands, then we will not receive the gifts due that year; thus was written in your letter of agreement. And if some individuals—few people or else—invade your state without our consent, then we will confiscate the captives that they bring and send back to you, and we should punish such individuals.

And you, our brother, king Sigismund, and the young great king, should send us gifts for the sake of [our] brotherly friendship, each year in the month of...;<sup>13</sup>

pp. 19, 28, 35–39; Kolankowski, "Problem Krymu w dziejach jagiellońskich," p. 295; Hajvoronskyj, *Poveliteli dvux materikov*, vol. 1, p. 229.

<sup>11</sup> The Polish translator regarded the Turkish term *çorqa* ("saline") as a place-name *Czorka* (hence in the locative: *na Czorce*); the term also appears in a later document in Turkish; cf. Document 34. Like in the earlier documents, this paragraph refers to the Black Sea salines near Kaçybej; cf. also Document 28, n. 14.

<sup>12</sup> On Anikij (Onikiej) Hornostaj, see Document 19, n. 4 and Document 30; the khan apparently refers here to his last embassy from 1541. The provision releasing the king from sending gifts in a year when a Tatar raid occurred was negotiated between Hadji Ali and the Polish lords in Cracow; see Document 29, article 12. The khan refers here to that provisory instrument or rather its solemn royal confirmation that was probably brought by Hornostaj to the Crimea in 1541 but whose text has not been preserved.

<sup>13</sup> The name of the month is missing (cf. notes 17–18 below).

namely London cloth<sup>14</sup> worth 13,000 golden florins [złotych czerwonych] and 2,000 golden florins in cash [złotych czerwonych gotowych]; and [besides,] three sets of nine gifts [trzy dziewięci upominków];<sup>15</sup> and as concerns the cloth worth 13,000 golden florins: one half [should be given] from Lithuania, and another half from Poland. We should accept each piece [postaw]<sup>16</sup> [of cloth] as being worth 33 golden florins. And you should send us these gifts each year in the month of...<sup>17</sup> Our present oath and letter of agreement are based on the above and effected for the sake of our friendship.

Envoys and couriers should be sent [to you] by us and our sons: Emin Giray Sultan and other sultans. As they used to be sent formerly, also now they should be sent likewise by the aforementioned sultans. And as regards the qaraçıs, they have each 20,000 or 30,000 servants and they used to send envoys and couriers; should we now reduce their number [i.e., the number of their envoys]? They used to send envoys in the times of our ancestors and fathers, we cannot reduce their number. As you have the Lithuanian and Polish lords at your side, so they are their peers at our side. But other people should not send envoys. And even if [envoys] are sent by other people, you should not receive them and we will gladly accept it. If you receive those who come without any reason, they will not stop coming. So if they come without any reason, you should send them back with empty hands so that they should not come again; thus you should know.

And if you send us an envoy, you should send [through him] altogether customary gifts for our beys and other servants, as well as our sons, wives, and daughters. We should not detain any of your envoys, or his servants, but we should send him back without delay.

<sup>14</sup> On the term "London cloth," see Document 26, n. 5.

<sup>15</sup> The term *dziewięć* ("nine," *devet* or *devjat'* in Ruthenian and Russian sources) reflected the Turco-Mongolian custom, according to which a gift should have consisted of nine objects, whereas this number was considered sacred. By the 17th century, the custom to give nine gifts was known from Eastern Europe to Tibet; cf. Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met. The Russian State and the Kalmyk Nomads, 1600–1771*, pp. 26 and 61. To give one example, in 1496 the Lithuanian treasury prepared (but did not send) three sets of nine gifts to be sent to Mengli Giray: the first "nine" consisted of three fur coats, one bunch of forty sable furs, two bunches of forty marten furs (counted as one gift), and four fur linings, the second "nine" of nine pieces (*postaws*) of cloth, and the third "nine" of nine cloths; see Xoroškevič, *Rus' i Krym*, p. 254. According to Mária Ivanics, by the early 16th century the term *devjatye pominki* ("gifts of nine") had disappeared from the sources and was replaced simply by *pominki* ("gifts"); cf. Ivanics, "Entstehung und Quellenwert der krimtatarischen *tiyiş defters*," *AO ASH* 47 (1994): 105–112, esp. p. 106. Yet, as we see, the term itself was not forgotten (see also Document 32, n. 25). As late as in 1607, the Polish royal chancery prepared a list containing "three sets of nine gifts" (*troja dziewięci upominków*) for Khan Ghazi II Giray; see Biblioteka PAN w Krakowie, ms. 1690, fol. 63b. A request to send him gifts, arranged in sets of nine objects, was likewise expressed by Khan Bahadır Giray in 1640; see Document 55, n. 13.

<sup>16</sup> On the term *postaw*, see Document 26, n. 5.

<sup>17</sup> Empty space is left for the name of the month (cf. notes 13 and 18).

And for the sake of [our] brotherly friendship I, and my sons, the sultans, and the ulans, beys, and mirzas, truly swear [to keep this agreement] to our brother, the great king Sigismund, and to his son, the young king. And they should send us each year in the month of...<sup>18</sup> 2,000 golden florins and the gifts in cloth worth 13,000. If he sends us [the said gifts], then in that year we are not to cause damage [to him]. We should not and will not cause any damage to his states, castles, and villages.

We swear to one God and His Excellency Prophet Muhammad: by God, with God, and through God!<sup>19</sup>—thus we swore and thus you should believe.

And previously we wrote down the following castles:<sup>20</sup>

- Zvynyhorod;
- Putyvl’;
- Žolvaž;<sup>21</sup>
- Synec;<sup>22</sup>
- Xotmyśl, and Oskol;<sup>23</sup>

—we cede the above castles in their entirety, along with their lands, waters, and all their incomes and profits to you, our brother, King Sigismund, and your son, King Augustus.

We have issued our present letter under our golden seal in the year 949 since the departure of Prophet Muhammad from this world,<sup>24</sup> 1545 [sic] since the birth of Lord Christ.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Empty space is left for the name of the month (cf. notes 13 and 17 above).

<sup>19</sup> The Arabic formula *vallahi ve billahi ve tallahi* is correctly rendered in the Polish text.

<sup>20</sup> The localities listed below are listed in the document from 1539 (cf. Document 28) but omitted (except for Putyvl’ and Xotmyśl) in the present document in the fragment referring to the lands “granted” to Lithuania (see above). Apparently the scribe noticed the omission or it was pointed out by the royal envoy, hence the missing localities were entered here. Putyvl’ and Xotmyśl are mistakenly recorded twice.

<sup>21</sup> Registered in a corrupt form as *Jewnini*; its tentative identification is based on the order of localities in the earlier documents; Žolvaž was an estate in the region of Putyvl’; cf. Document 8, n. 10.

<sup>22</sup> An estate on the river Sula; cf. Document 8, n. 12.

<sup>23</sup> On Xotmyśl, erroneously registered twice (for the first time in a corrupt form as *Chotensko*), see n. 6 above. Oskol (here recorded in a corrupt form as *Uskun*) once belonged to the *tümen* of Jagoldaj; see Document 8, notes 18–19.

<sup>24</sup> Sic; of course it should refer to the Hegira and not Muhammad’s death. The Muslim year 949 A.H. lasted from 17 April 1542 till 5 April 1543. Judging by the fact that Sigismund officially acknowledged the arrival of the Crimean embassy in his solemn response to the Tatar envoy dated 12 October 1542, we may assume that the khan’s document was probably issued in September 1542; cf. the royal letter published in *Russkaja Istoričeskaja Biblioteka*, vol. 30, cols. 81–84.

<sup>25</sup> Sic; cf. n. 1 above.

DOCUMENT 32 (MAY 1552)

The donation *yarlıq cum şartname* (*dokončan'e* alias *lyst prysjažnyj*)  
sent by Khan Devlet Giray to King Sigismund Augustus

The original document is missing.

Ruthenian copies:

A. RGADA, fond 389 = Litovskaja metrika, no. 591, fol. 100a–106b [old foliation: 101a–107b].

Published in *Kniga posol'skaja*, vol. 1, pp. 65–70.

A.\* 18th-century Latin script transcription: AGAD, Metryka Litewska, no. 215, pp. 152–162.

А то dokonъчанье в тот же часъ присланое:

Пан Бог початькомъ есть в каждой речи справедливои!

Великое Урды великии царъ Давлетъ Киреи цар слово:

Починаемъ напред божьимъ именемъ; ꙗ, з ласки и з моцы божьи цар Давлетъ Киреи, змыслилъ и почалъ есьми з ласки бозскии, хотячи по бозскому зволеню братьскую а верную приазнь и слово свое без жадной льстивости полъннить, кгда Пан Богъ рачилъ намъ дати тую ласку свою бозскую видит, а того яснее дочекать, и вставить насъ на томъ местѣ царскомъ, на которомъ продкове наши были стари: дедъ нашъ небощикъ славное памети Менъли Киреи цар, а братъ мои старшии небощикъ Магъметъ Киреи цар, дадько мои Сагапъ Киреи царъ, а ꙗ естемъ по нихъ Давлетъ Киреи царъ.

Узъзнаимую самъ ѡтъ себе и ѡтъ всихъ верныхъ нашихъ, котории намъ служатъ правою и левою рѣкою—зланове, князи, и мързы, тымъ нашимъ dokonъчаньемъ княжатомъ рѣскимъ, замъкомъ, местомъ, митрополитомъ, владыкомъ, черньцомъ и бельцомъ, попом и мещаномъ, и всимъ посполитымъ людемъ:

Мы то явне чинимъ, што предки наши, цари: великии цар Менъли Киреи цар, а братъ нашъ старшии небощикъ Магметъ Киреи царъ, Сагапъ Киреи цар, предкове наши, дедъ нашъ Ачъ Киреи цар, коли кона своего потного, тогды приехалъ до великого княза Витовъта, и до великого корола Казимира к Великому Паньствъ Литовскому з гостину, в тотъ час великую зчѣту и почѣтливость мели. А такъ водлугъ первшого обычаю земль рѣскихъ городовъ и местъ, и волостей, и тмы, и зо всими зходы ихъ написали есьмо, ничего не зпослежаючи ѡтъ листу предковъ нашихъ цареи старих, ꙗко за предковъ нашихъ писываны были листы и dokonъчанья под присегами ихъ ведлугъ стадавного обычаю, мы тежъ dokonчанье под присегою нашою дали

водлѣгъ того обычаю, ꙗко предокъ и штецъ нашъ, небожикъ Меньли Кирей царь королю Казимиру и великому князю былъ далъ, [и] в тотъ часъ, коли королъ Жикгимонтъ з великимъ княземъ<sup>a</sup> братомъ нашимъ ѿ братьской доброй приязни межи собою встали. Мы тежъ поновляючи то, абы было панство ведлугъ першого звычайу и слова заховано, дали есмо листъ нашъ золотомъ написаныи под золотыми нашими печатями брату нашему, великому королю Жикгимонъту Авѣгусту, и великому князю литовскому, и сыномъ его и потомкомъ, держати справедливе: а почонъши ѿ головахъ Киевъ, Черкасы, Каневъ, Хрѣчовъ, Житомир, и вси города и волости, земли, и воды, и [с] всакими доходы и пожитками ихъ; Великое Луцъко з волостями, зъ землями, и зъ водами, и зо всими пожитки и доходы; Полоцъко, Витебскъ; и вси города поднепръские почонъ з верхъ ажъ до встья, и зъ землями, и з водами, и з многими доходы и пожитки ихъ; Сокаль з многими землями, и водами, и зо всими пожитки и доходы ихъ; Звинигородъ зъ землями, зъ водами, зо всими пожитки и доходы; Браславъ, Веница з тмами и зо всими доходы и пожитки ихъ; Степрудъ,<sup>b</sup> Меньскъ;<sup>c</sup> Золвашъ, Бѣдѣла зъ землями, з водами; Бринтежъ,<sup>d</sup> Хотинъ, Лучычын, Хотмышлей, Хскулъ зъ землями, зъ водами; Козельско тмень; Саравкгул<sup>e</sup> Ёколътаи тмень—брата нашего, великого короля которые города и замки, которые прислѣхаютъ ку панству его, бѣдъ дерево, леси, земли, и воды, и многии пожитки и доходы, где течеть и вканеть, к великому панству литовскому прислѣхаютъ.

Мы тои речи порадивъши са изъ сыномъ нашимъ, калъкга солтъаномъ, и з ѡншими царевичи, и з ѡланы, и зо всими князи и мързы нашими, моцне есмо присегу из ними на томъ ѡчинили, хотечи из братомъ нашимъ, великимъ королемъ Жикгимонътомъ Авѣгустомъ, и великимъ княземъ литовскимъ, ѿ веръной правде и в доброй приязни быти на веки. И сынове наши и потомковѣ ихъ зъ сыны брата нашего, з внучаты и потомки ихъ межи собою ѿ братьской приязни мають быти. А маемъ приателю его приателемъ быти, а неприателю его неприателемъ, и где бы кольвекъ неприатель его былъ, тут маемъ напротивъ томъ неприателеви за ѡдинъ быть, и напротивку его за ѡдно стоять.

А которые замки и волости, и земли князь великий московский под свою рѣкъ забралъ за предковъ короля, брата нашего: славное

<sup>a</sup> Perhaps it should read *царемъ*?

<sup>b</sup> It should read *Снепрудъ*.

<sup>c</sup> It should read *Глинъскъ*.

<sup>d</sup> Apparently this corrupt place-name resulted from the erroneous amalgamation of two place-names: *Берынъ/Бирин* and *Синецъ*; cf. Document 27 and earlier documents.

<sup>e</sup> The word *Саравкгул* recorded in Cyrillic script apparently reflects the Turkish patronymic *Sarayoglu*, i.e., "Saray's son."

памети Казимира, и брата его корола Алексанъдра, и за корола Жикгимонъта, втѣца корола Авѣгустова, через свои зрадливыи поступъ, втѣ панѣства корола брата нашего втѣшло, мы тежъ Пана Бога вземши собе на помочъ, с тыхъ замѣковъ, которые кольвекъ з рѣкъ его возьмемъ, тотъ замокъ и волости, земли, и воды ѿ, Давлетъ Кирей царъ, и калка солѣтанъ, и инѣшие царевичи, вланы, князи, и мѣрзы з божѣю помочью, што Панъ Богъ намъ допоможесть з рѣкъ московскаго взати, мы тые города маемъ брату нашему, великомъ королю Жикгимонъту Авѣгустъ подати, и напротивъку неприатела его московскаго, и на инѣшихъ неприателѣи его всихъ стоати, за вдинъ быть. И где бы братъ нашомъ была потреба, ѿ самъ своею всобою, Давлетъ Кирей цар, и зъ братѣю своею, и зъ сынѣми нашими, и зо всимъ воискомъ нашимъ хочемъ быть помочѣны. Втѣ тыхъ часовъ теперешнихъ и приидѣчихъ, и на потомѣные часы по тому жъ бѣдемъ помогати.

А которіе злые вчинѣки были, або и бывали перед тымъ, за старого корола Казимира, за великаго князя, и дадѣка вашего корола Влѣбрахта, и корола Алексанъдра, в тотъ часъ ѣ панѣства ваши, ѿко до Корѣны Польское и до Великаго Княства Литовскаго, за Могъметъ Кирей цара, втѣ предковъ нашихъ, втѣ всихъ влановъ, князеи, и мѣрзъ, и втѣ некоторыхъ слугъ нашихъ, ѣ панѣствахъ вашихъ на тотъ часъ шкоды немалые деивали се; а веѣже вни тые ихъ все злые вчинѣки на сторону втѣкладываемъ,<sup>f</sup> и в малую речъ межи собою не завоживали са, и в сердцахъ своихъ прошлыхъ речеи не задерживали, которіи злыи речеи са починовали втѣ братѣи наше и втѣ иншихъ людеи, што са на внѣ часъ деивало. А такъ брате нашъ, Жикгимонъте Авѣгусте королю, всел еси на мѣстѣцъ предѣковъ: и втѣца своего Жикгимонта корола, а корола Казимира, и дадѣка вашего Влѣбрахта корола, и Влексанъдра корола, а такъ и мы з вами братомъ нашимъ, королемъ Жикгимонътомъ Авѣгустомъ, по тому жъ хочемъ быти: дла таковыхъ лихихъ речеи мы в жадную неприазнь межи собою заходить са не маемъ, и все тое з мыслу и з серѣдецъ своихъ выступити маемъ, абы неприатѣли наши то слышачи и видечи того са страшили, а приатѣли наши в том са радовали и потешали, тую приазнь нашу межи нами видечи.

А такъ ѿ, Давлетъ Кирей цар, бѣдѣчи в моцы своеи, брату нашему, Жикгимонъту Авѣгустъ королю полѣциломъ са ѣ доброй а верной братѣской приазни быть, и позволиломъ на то, абы купѣцы ѿко с Корѣны Польское, такъ тежъ и з Великаго Княства Литовскаго вольность мѣли по земли нашей куповать, и с тою вольностью приехати и втѣехати, и ни в чомъ никого са не боачи, а до Кочибиа по соль ездити и брать, и водлугъ вбычаю староѣвѣнаго мыто давати; а с Кіева, з Лѣвѣцка, и з ынѣшихъ городовъ по соль приѣждѣчати мають

<sup>f</sup> It should read *втѣкладывали*.

за сторожою людеи нашихъ. А естли бы имъ берячи сол ѡтъ нашихъ людеи шкода се стала, ѡкромя козаковъ вашихъ, тогда мы тую шкоду вамъ, брату нашому, заплатимъ. И инъшимъ всимъ вашимъ купцомъ, бѣдѣ с Корзны Полское, и тежѣ з Великого Кназства Литовъского, ѡкъ богатому, такъ и ѡбогому, вольно до Каѡы и до Перекопа ехати, мыто заплативъши.

Иѡко есѡмо и в листе своемъ то ѡписали, мы то каждого часу слово свое полънити хотимъ, ничимъ с него не выстѣпѡючи. А такъ ѡко и теперешнего часу, водлѣгъ доконъчанья нашего братью свою, сыновъ моихъ зъ войскомъ моимъ на неприателя вашего московского пошлемъ. И тьи города, и села, и земли, которые княза великого московского ѡтець забралъ ѡтъ Великого Кназства Литовъского, з божьею помочю, кгда тьи замъки бѣдѣтъ ѡтъ неприателя ѡтобраны, тогды мають быти ѡтъ насъ даны братъ нашому Жикгимонъту королю Авъгусту, великомъ князю литовскому, и к паньству его, Великому Кназству, маеть быти привлащѡно. И напротивъ кожъдого неприателя его маемъ за ѡдинъ быти.

И кгда даст ли Богъ, и наперед царевичовъ, ѡлановъ, князеи, мързъ, из великимъ войскомъ нашимъ бѣдемъ слати в землю неприателя нашего московского, и на инъшие неприатели, гдѡкольвекъ братъ нашъ, Жикгимонътъ Авъгустъ король потребовать бѣдѣтъ, ведлѣгъ доконъчанья нашего. А в паньство брата нашего, Жикгимонъта Авъгуста короля, ѡкъ до Корзны Польское, такъ и до Великого Кназства Литовъского, ѡкъ великого войска, такъ тежѣ и малого не маемъ ѡсылати, козаковъ и инъшихъ с простых людеи не бѣдемъ посылати.

Иѡ самъ, Давлетъ Кирей царъ, и сынъ нашъ коалка солтъанъ, и инъшие сынове наши царевичи, и Рада наша: князи корачиеве, ѡланы, князи, и мързы, и козаковъ и всихъ людеи посполитыхъ не бѣдемъ посылати, и бѣдемъ того з великою пильностью стеречи, абы ѡко Корзне Польской, такъ и Великому Кназству Литовскому, ѡко замкомъ далекимъ и ѡкраиннымъ, городомъ, волостамъ, и селомъ, тымъ ѡбеюмъ паньствамъ шкоды жадной не было никгда на вечные часы, абы таа присега з братомъ нашимъ, Жикгимонътомъ Авъгустомъ королемъ, на вечные часы была держана, ѡко есѡмо присегнули на вечныйи часы ее съпокойне держати и слово наше полънити. А што ѡ, Давлетъ Кирей царъ самъ ѡсобою своею, сыны и братиа мои царевичи, Рада: князи карачееве, и ѡланы, мързы, и все войско великое и малое, и козаки и посполитые люди з моего паньства и с царства моего з брата моего, великого короля, ѡво обоа паньства воевати и шкоды чинити не пойдѣтъ; и к томъ тежѣ козаки белгородские, и ѡчаковъские, и ѡзовъские воевать не бѣдуть, и з людеи моихъ с крымскихъ приставъши злѣчивъши са, слово зъединочивъши, в паньство его вторгнувъши шкоду бѣ мели вчинити, ѡ таковыхъ бѣдѣ грозно знимати. И не кажѣ брата своего паньства воевати, ѡкъ своимъ козакомъ, такъ белгородцомъ, и ѡчаковцомъ, и ѡзовскимъ козакомъ, и своимъ людемъ з ними злѣчати са, ихъ ѡтъ того моцью



своею <ѡтъ того> [бѣдѣ] грозѣне ѡнимати, штобы ѡни брата моего, великого короля панѣства не воевали; бо ꙗко мамѣ ихъ моѣ <моѣ> ѡтъ того повстегати, и дла выступѣ ихъ кожѣдый бѣдетъ каранѣ; бо Цесарѣ Его Милостѣ тѣреѣцькийи призволилѣ, абы тѣхъ козаковѣ во стажѣливости мелѣ, а ѡтъ того ихъ повстегалѣ, бо хотя быхѣ за выступѣ ихъ и каралѣ, тогда ми Цесарѣ Его Милостѣ ни слова за то не рекѣнеть.

Если бы тежѣ з нашихѣ людеи некоториѣ пошодши мели мешкати з Белогороде, зѣ Очакове, и в Езове, и мешкаючи тамѣ шкодѣ ꙗкую мели ѡбеимѣ панѣствамѣ, ꙗко Корѣне, такѣ и Великомѣ Кнѣзствѣ, мы таковыхѣ грознымѣ каранѣемѣ бѣдемѣ карати. Если бы тежѣ ѡни без ведома, або з ведомомѣ приходши воевали, бѣдѣ люди великие, або и малые, и козаки зкрадши сѣ в землю шкодѣ ꙗкую зчинатѣ, мы сѣ таковыхѣ доведавѣши, ихѣ самихѣ винѣныхъ нашедши, полонѣ тотѣ побраныѣ безѣ жадного ѡкупѣ братѣ нашему, великому королю засѣ ихѣ пошлемѣ, и тѣе вси шкоды кажемѣ нагородити и заплатити. И надѣто тѣхѣ людеи еще, естли бы люди мои, або царевичовѣ люди, або сыновѣ нашихѣ царевичовѣ люди, злановѣ, кнѣзеи и мѣрзѣ, и карачеевѣ люди, естли бы сѣ допѣстили того и ѡбеимѣ панѣствамъ вашимѣ шкодѣ ꙗкуюкожѣвекѣ зчинатѣ, таковые розмаитыми и дивѣными каранѣи маюѣ быти каранѣ, а тотѣ зѣвсѣ полонѣ ихѣ маеѣ без жадного ѡкупѣ собравѣши, назад ѡтѣпущонѣ быѣ маеѣ, и всю шкодѣ тѣю, которѣа бы сѣ на ѡнѣ часѣ стала, кажемѣ поплатити.

А напотомѣ, коториѣ былѣ межи нихѣ з головахѣ, з ними ходилѣ и шкодѣ ѡбеюмѣ тѣмѣ панѣствамѣ зчинилѣ, або замѣкомѣ пограничѣнымѣ и волостамѣ, коториѣ бы тѣмѣ змысломѣ тамѣ ходили на сказѣ тѣмѣ ѡбеюмѣ панѣствамѣ воевати, тѣхѣ всихѣ старѣшихѣ, которыхъ сѣ доведаемѣ, коториѣ шкодѣ поделаюѣтѣ, ꙗко вамѣ на томъ шлюбѣю и прирекамѣ, таковыхѣ передѣ посломѣ вашимъ за ихѣ выстѣпы кажемѣ стинати. Естли быхъ ꙗко, бѣдѣчи царъ Давлетѣ Киреи, в тѣхѣ словахѣ своихѣ моцне на то не стоалѣ, або таковыхъ злыхѣ людеи не повстагалѣ: напередъ своихѣ людеи, царевичовѣ, злановѣ, кнѣзеи, и мѣрзѣ, и козаковѣ, малыхѣ и великихѣ людеи, ѡбеюмѣ панѣствамѣ, Лаѣцькомѣ и Великому Кнѣзству Литовскому, або на Украине, воевати и шкоды чинити, тогда мы тое все кажемѣ заплатити, а старшихѣ горлы карати. А вамѣ, братѣ нашему, великому королю Жикгимонтѣ приазнѣ и правѣдѣ справедливе показыватѣ бѣдемѣ и миръ вечистыѣ межи собою маемѣ мети; и ѡбеюмѣ панѣствамѣ, ꙗкѣ Корѣне Польскои, такѣ и Великому Кнѣзству Литовскому хочѣ на вечѣные часы, и бѣдѣ тотъ мирѣ ведлѣгѣ доконѣчанѣа и присеги своеи твердо держати, ꙗко есѣмо шлюбили и присегу зчинили неѡтѣмѣненнымѣ быѣ.

А за то братѣ нашѣ, королѣ и великиѣ кнѣз Жикгимонтѣ Авѣгустѣ, по доброй воли своеи кожѣдого годѣ мене, брата своего, тѣми зпомянѣнками маеѣ ѡбѣсылати, то се значить: за тринадцѣть тисеѣчи золотыхѣ черленыхѣ сукнами люнѣскими—з ладѣского панѣства двесте поставовѣ лѣнѣскихѣ безъ трехъ поставовѣ, а зѣ литовѣского кнѣзства двестежѣ поставовѣ лунѣскихѣ безъ трехъ поставовѣ кожѣдого

годъ; и при тыхъ сукнахъ две тисечи золотыхъ черленыхъ—тисеча золотыхъ с Корзны Польское, а тисеча золотыхъ черленыхъ з Великого Кназства Литовьского, то са сполнить за патънадцать тисечеи золотыхъ черьленыхъ; и ку тому инъшие зпоминъки, какъ и первеи сего было посылаю три деветь зпоминковъ. Тыи зпоминъки, и сукна, и две тисечи золотыхъ черьленыхъ присылати мають к намъ на рокъ ноябра месеца, кожъдого годъ того месеца первого дна.

И мы тежъ не маемъ болшеи пословъ и гоньцовъ, вдно так, ѿко и перед тымъ бывало. Подлѣгъ обычаю послы и гоньцы мають ити наипервей ѡтъ нас и ѡтъ жонъ нашихъ, и ѡтъ коалъкки царевича, и ѡтъ инъшихъ царевичовъ, а ѡтъ трехъ корачеевъ, а ѡтъ ихъ сыновъ двухъ мързъ, а болшеи того не маеть никто слати. Естли бы болшии того послы або и гоньцы мели ходить, вы тежъ ничего имъ не даите, ѡтъпѣстите; ѿ за то вамъ, братѣ своемъ, ничего не маемъ мовити, бо послы и гоньцы, котории ходать до васъ, вы тыхъ даруете, вни тежъ видечи то, того хоженѣя своего перестать не хочѣтъ; ѿко ли бы есте таковыхъ ни щимъ ѡтъпѣстили, сами бы есте того досмотрели, естли бы вни в дрѣгги разъ ходили.

А ѡтъ васъ, брата нашего посолъ и гонецъ коли приидеть, мы ихъ долъго при собе не задерживать бѣдемъ и тѣздности жадныхъ не заделываемъ, и не заделывати бѣдемъ, и без мешканѣя ѡтъ себе ѡтъправѣмъ, и ѡтъправовати бѣдемъ. И ещѣ мы сами братѣи и детемъ нашимъ царевичомъ, вланомъ, княземъ, и мързамъ, и всимъ людемъ нашимъ, кривдъ и втисковъ вашимъ посломъ, и гоньцомъ, и тольмачомъ, и ихъ слугамъ, кривдъ жадныхъ не кажемъ чинити. По своеи доброй воли ѿко приедѣтъ, такъже по доброй воли и ѡтъедѣтъ.

ѿ самъ в головахъ, Давлетъ Кирей царъ, из сыномъ своимъ коалъкою солтъаномъ, и з ынъшими сынъми моими царевичи, вланы, князи, корачии, мурзы, што естъ всихъ, которие при насъ естъ, присегу свою чинимъ и вчинили есьмо:

Присегаемъ на правде тому Богу, котории сотворилъ небо и землю, на нашемъ елѣ-Къране вамъ, брату нашему, правдѣ и верности свою ѡказѣмъ, и потомкомъ вашимъ в справедливости и в доброй верности быть, и хотачи вамъ, вбеимъ паньствамъ вашимъ, брата нашего, ѿко Корзене Польской, такъ и Великому Кназству Литовскому, и всимъ замкомъ вашимъ, и волостамъ, и селамъ вашимъ, и всему паньствѣ и людемъ вашимъ, ѡтъ насъ самыхъ и ѡтъ всихъ людей нашихъ в жадной речи шкода се не станетъ; з вами, братомъ нашимъ, великимъ королемъ Жикгимонътомъ <королемъ> Авъгустомъ хотачи в братской доброй приязни быти на вечъные часы, ѿко и в томъ докончанѣи нашемъ знакомите а ѿвне ѡписана естъ.

И на всемъ на томъ присегу есмо вчинили на справедливости, и зпометавъши на вышнего единого Бога, и на пророка нашего Магмедъ Мостаѡв, ведлѣгъ законъ нашего присегаемъ то моцъне держати: воллаги во биллоги ва теллоги. Наша присега на томъ ест. Вамъ, брату нашему присегу свою моцъне держати бѣдемъ, и слово наше ѡтъ тое присеги наше николи не ѡтменъно бѣдеть.

И дали есьмо на то вамъ сес нашъ листъ присажный, доконъчанье присаги наше братъское, листъ золотомъ написаныи, печати золотыи вытиснувъши, послали есьмо до вас сее доконъчанье нашо.

Писанъ тот листъ по смерти Магъметовы деветьсот петьдесат деватого року. Писанъ на Багъжисаре.

Translation:

*The letter of agreement sent at the same time:*<sup>1</sup>

*God is the beginning of every just matter!*

*The word of Devlet Giray Khan, the great khan of the Great Horde:*

*We commence in the name of God; I, Devlet Giray, the khan by the grace and might of God, have intended and initiated [the following] with God's favor, in desire to—God willing—fulfill our brotherly and loyal friendship and our word, without any deceit, when God has let us see his divine favor and see us being seated on the royal seat that used to be occupied by our ancestors: our late grandfather of glorious memory Mengli Giray Khan, our late elder brother<sup>2</sup> Mehmed Giray Khan, and our uncle Sahib Giray Khan; and [now] I, Devlet Giray Khan, succeed them.*

*With our present letter of agreement I announce in my name and in the name of all our loyal subjects, who serve us [in the troops off]<sup>3</sup> the right and left hand—the ulans, beys [Ruth. knjazi], and mirzas, to the Ruthenian princes, castles, towns, metropolitans, [Orthodox] bishops, monks and laymen,<sup>4</sup> [Orthodox] priests, townsmen, and all common people:*

*We announce that our ancestors, the khans: the great khan Mengli Giray Khan, our late elder brother Mehmed Giray Khan, Sahib Giray Khan, [and previously] our grandfather,<sup>5</sup> Hadji Giray Khan, when his horse was growing sweaty [beneath him], then he would come<sup>6</sup> seeking hospitality [i.e., refuge] to Grand Duke Vytautas and great king Casimir, to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and then they experienced great reverence. And according to the ancient custom we have written down [and granted to Lithuania] the Ruthenian lands: castles, towns, estates, tümens along with all incomes, without*

<sup>1</sup> The heading refers to another letter brought by the same embassy, received by the king in Danzig (Gdańsk) at the audience held on 29 August 1552; cf. *Kniga posol'skaja*, vol. 1, pp. 60–63.

<sup>2</sup> As Devlet Giray was the son of Mübarek Giray and grandson of Mengli Giray, Mehmed Giray was his uncle and not his older brother.

<sup>3</sup> The literal meaning of the Ruthenian translation: “who serve us with right and left hand,” is obviously corrupt, hence it was corrected here.

<sup>4</sup> On the old Ruthenian term *belec*, see Document 1, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Hadji Giray was Devlet Giray's great grandfather.

<sup>6</sup> Written in singular; it should rather read: “when their horses were growing sweaty [beneath them], then they would come [...]”

diminishing anything from [the contents of] the letter[s] of our ancestors, the old khans; as letters and letters of agreement had been written in the times of our ancestors [and confirmed] with their oaths, according to the ancient custom, so also we—according to this custom—have given a letter of agreement [confirmed] with our oath, such as [the letter] given by our late ancestor and [grand]father, Mengli Giray Khan, to the king and grand duke Casimir, [and also the one] from the times, when King Sigismund and the great khan,<sup>7</sup> our brother, remained in brotherly and good mutual friendship. While aiming to preserve the state according to the ancient custom and engagement[s], we have also given anew our letter written in gold, under our golden seals, letting our brother Sigismund Augustus, the great king and grand duke of Lithuania, his sons and descendants, rightly hold:

- firstly Kiev, Čerkasy, Kaniv, Ovruč, Žytomyr along with all towns, estates, lands, waters, and all kinds of revenues and profits;
- Great Luc’k along with estates, lands, waters, and all their profits and revenues;
- Polack and Vicebsk;
- all the towns along the Dnieper, starting from its source to its mouth, along with lands, waters, and their numerous revenues and profits;
- Sokolec<sup>8</sup> along with numerous lands, waters, and all their profits and revenues;
- Zvynhorod<sup>9</sup> along with lands, waters, all profits and revenues;
- Braclav and Vinnycja along with their tümens and all their revenues and profits;
- Sneporod and Hlyns’k;<sup>10</sup>
- Žolvaž<sup>11</sup> and Putyvl’<sup>12</sup> along with lands and waters;
- Byryn, Synec, Xoten’, Losyčy, Xotmyšl, and Oskol along with lands, waters, and all revenues;<sup>13</sup>
- the tümen of Kozel’sk;
- the tümen of Jagoldaj, son of Saraj;<sup>14</sup>

—[in sum] either the towns and castles of our brother, the great king, that belong to his state, or the woods, forests, lands, waters, and numerous profits

<sup>7</sup> Cf. n. a above; this passage apparently refers to Mehmed Giray (cf. n. 2 above).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Document 8, n. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Document 8, n. 5.

<sup>10</sup> On Sneporod and Hlyns’k, cf. Document 8, notes 8–9.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Document 8, n. 10.

<sup>12</sup> Recorded in a corrupt form as Budula; cf. the earlier documents.

<sup>13</sup> On the spelling of the names Byryn and Synec, see n. d above. Apart from Oskol, these estates were situated in the region of Putyvl’ and on the rivers Sula and Vor-skla, cf. Document 8, notes 11–15. Oskol once belonged to the tümen of Jagoldaj (see Document 8, n. 19, and n. 14 below).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. n. e above; on this estate, extending between the upper Sejm and the upper Donec rivers, and its former owner, see Document 8, n. 18.

and revenues, wherever anything flows or streams, [that] belong to the great Lithuanian state.

Having taken counsel in this matter with our son, the qalga sultan,<sup>15</sup> with other sultans [Ruth. carevyčy, i.e., princes], and with the ulans, and all our beys and mirzas, we have firmly sworn along with them upon [the following conditions], in desire to remain for centuries in loyal sincerity and good friendship with our brother Sigismund Augustus, the great king and the grand duke of Lithuania. And our sons and their descendants should mutually remain in brotherly friendship with our brother's sons, grandsons, and their descendants. And we should be a friend of his friend and an enemy of his enemy, and if any of his enemies appears from any direction, we should jointly face and resist this enemy.

And whichever castles, estates, and lands the grand duke of Muscovy treacherously took under his hand in the times of the ancestors of the king, our brother: Casimir of glorious memory, and his brother,<sup>16</sup> King Alexander, and King Sigismund, the father of King Augustus, thus alienating them from the state of the king, our brother, if we—having invoked God's help—take any of these castles from his hands, [then] I, Devlet Giray Khan, and the qalga sultan, and other sultans, ulans, beys, and mirzas, should restore these castles, estates, lands, and waters, taken with God's assistance from the hands of the Muscovian [duke], to our brother, the great king Sigismund Augustus, and jointly with him we should face his Muscovian enemy and all his other enemies. And wherever our brother needs it, I, Devlet Giray Khan, wish to assist him in person, with my brothers and our sons, and with all our troops. Hereafter, we will assist [him] accordingly, also in the times of our descendants.

And as regards the past wrongful acts committed in the times of the old king Casimir, the grand duke, your uncle King [John] Albert, and King Alexander, indeed substantial damages were done in those times towards your states, the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, during [the reign of] Mehmed Giray Khan by our ancestors, all the ulans, beys, and mirzas, and some of our servants; and yet they [i.e., the past kings] left all these wrongful acts aside, did not fret about a minor matter and did not hold in their hearts the past harm done in those times by our brothers and other men. And as you, our brother, King Sigismund Augustus, have ascended the seat of your ancestors: your father King Sigismund, King Casimir, your uncle King [John] Albert, and King Alexander, we hereby want to keep analogous relations with you, our brother, King Sigismund Augustus: we should not stir up enmity between us for such minor harms and we should release them all from our hearts, so that upon

<sup>15</sup> I.e., Ahmed Giray, the son and qalga of Devlet Giray, who died in 1555 during an expedition against Muscovy; see Vinogradov, *Russko-krymskie otnošenija*, vol. 1, pp. 69 and 96.

<sup>16</sup> Alexander was Casimir's son and Sigismund Augustus' uncle. Apparently the word "brother" was mechanically copied after the earlier Crimean documents addressed to King Sigismund, where Alexander was referred to as the latter's brother; cf. Document 33, n. 15.

hearing and seeing this our enemies should tremble with fear, and our friends should rejoice and be happy on seeing our mutual friendship.

And I, Devlet Giray Khan, have offered through my authority to our brother, King Sigismund Augustus, to remain in good and loyal brotherly friendship, and I have allowed that the merchants from the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania may freely buy in our land, and come and depart, without any fear of anybody, and travel to Kačybej to take salt, while paying the toll according to the ancient custom; and they may come for salt from Kiev, Luc'k, and other towns, guarded by our men. And if, while taking salt, they suffer any damage from our men, apart from your cossacks,<sup>17</sup> then we will compensate this damage to you, our brother. And all your other merchants, both from the Polish Crown and from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, either rich or poor, may go to Caffa and to Perekop [i.e., the Crimean Khanate], having paid the toll.

We wish to always fulfill our word as we have written in our letter, and not depart from it. And also now, in accordance with our letter of agreement, we will send our brothers and sons along with our<sup>18</sup> troops against your Muscovian enemy. And as regards the towns, villages, and lands that the father of the grand duke of Muscovy took away from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, when—with God's help—these castles are taken [back] from the enemy, then we should give them [back] to our brother, King Sigismund Augustus, and they should be appended to his state, the Grand Duchy. And we should jointly face any of his enemies.

And—God willing—also in the future, according to our letter of agreement, we will send the sultans, ulans, beys, and mirzas along with our great army to the land of our Muscovian enemy, and against other enemies, wherever our brother, King Sigismund Augustus, needs it. And we will not send troops—either large or small—to the state of our brother, King Sigismund Augustus, either to the Polish Crown or to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, [likewise] we will not send cossacks<sup>19</sup> or other common people.

I, Devlet Giray Khan, and my son, the qalga sultan, and our other sons, the sultans, and our Council: the qaraçı beys, ulans, beys, and mirzas, will not send cossacks or any common people, and we will secure with great diligence so that no damage should ever be done to the two states: the Polish Crown

<sup>17</sup> On the interpretation of this clause, cf. Document 26, n. 3, and Document 27, n. 26. While the previous documents were more vague and could refer to vagabonds inhabiting either side of the border, the present one clearly refers to the cossacks being royal subjects. Still, the phrase “apart from your cossacks” (*okrom kozakov vašyx*) can have two different meanings: 1) the Ukrainian cossacks being unruly royal subjects are not protected by the present clause; 2) the khan is not responsible for the attacks against the royal merchants committed by the Ukrainian cossacks.

<sup>18</sup> Literally this sentence reads: “we will send our brothers and my sons along with my troops;” first person singular and plural are constantly mixed in the present document.

<sup>19</sup> The Turkic word *kazak* applied to free vagabonds; cf. n. 17 above and Chapter 6 in Part II. In the given context it applies to those vagabonds who at least in theory were the khan's subjects.

and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, [their] remote and frontier castles, towns, estates, and villages, and so that this oath [taken along] with our brother, King Sigismund Augustus, should be kept forever, as we have sworn to peacefully keep it and fulfill our word forever. And neither I personally, Devlet Giray Khan, my sons and brothers, the sultans, the Council: the qaraçı beys, the ulans and mirzas, nor any of our troops, either large or small, the cossacks and common people from my state and khanate, will raid or commit damage to the two states of my brother, the great king; and neither will raid the cossacks of Akkerman, Očakiv, and Azov;<sup>20</sup> and if some of the latter join and unite with my Crimean people and enter his state and commit damage, I will severely restrain them. And I will not let my cossacks or the cossacks of Akkerman, Očakiv, or Azov raid the state of my brother, neither will I let my people join them; I will severely restrain them from doing that with [all] my power, so that they would not raid the state of my brother, the great king; as I have the authority to restrain them from this, everyone of them will be punished for his transgressions; [and] as His Majesty, the Turkish emperor, allowed me to keep a tight rein on these cossacks and restrain them from such acts, even if I punish them for their transgressions, then His Majesty, the Emperor will not reproach me for this.

And if some of our people set out and settle down in Akkerman, Očakiv, or Azov,<sup>21</sup> and while dwelling there, they commit any damage to either of the two states, the [Polish] Crown or the Grand Duchy, we will severely punish them. And if they come and raid [your land] secretly or openly, or if some people of high or low status [Ruth. *bud' l'judy velykye, abo y malye*], or the cossacks, sneak into [your] land and commit any damage, on hearing that, we will find the culprits and send back the taken captives to our brother, the great king, without [demanding] any redemption, and we will order to restore and compensate all the damages. And apart from the individuals mentioned above, if my people, or the people of the sultans or of our sons, the sultans, or the people of the ulans, beys, mirzas, or qaraçıs commit such an act and cause any damage to your two states, they should be given various and extraordinary punishments, and all their captives should be gathered and sent back without [demanding] any redemption, and we will order to compensate the whole damage that has been done.

And henceforth, whoever is their leader and sets out and causes damage to either of these two states, or [their] frontier castles, or estates, [and] whoever sets out with the intention to harm and raid these two states, in regard to all [such] elders, who cause damage and whom we learn about, I engage and

<sup>20</sup> The Ruthenian phrase *kozaky belohorodskye, očakovskye, y ozovskye* refers to the Tatars and Turks dwelling around the towns of Akkerman (Ukr. Bil'horod, Pol. Białogród), Očakiv (Tat. Djankerman, Tur. Özü qal'esi), and Azov (Pol. Azów, Tur. Azaq), controlled by the Ottoman sultan. The Turkic word *kazak* applied to free vagabonds; cf. Chapter 6 in Part II. Having entered into the Slavic languages, the term *kozak* ("cossack") began to designate Ukrainian and Russian vagabonds as well.

<sup>21</sup> Here Azov is referred to in the Ruthenian text as *Ezov*; cf. n. 20 above and Document 28, n. 19.

promise you that for their transgressions I will order to behead them in the presence of your envoy. [And] if I, Devlet Giray Khan, fail to firmly keep these words and restrain such evil people, either [from among] my servants, or [from among] the sultans, ulans, beys, mirzas, and cossacks, [in sum,] the people of [both] low and high status, from raiding and bringing harm to the two states: Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, or to the Ukraine,<sup>22</sup> then we will order to compensate this all [damage] and to punish their elders by beheading. And we will truly display friendship and sincerity to you, our brother, the great king Sigismund, and we should remain in mutual eternal peace; and I wish to keep eternally and firmly the peace with the two states: the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, according to my letter of agreement and my oath, as we have engaged and sworn to keep it without any variation.

And in return, our brother, the king and grand duke Sigismund Augustus, should send each year gifts to me, his brother, out of his good will, namely: in London cloths<sup>23</sup> worth 13,000 golden florins [złoty<sup>24</sup> čerlenyx, i.e., ducats]—each year 197 pieces [postaws]<sup>24</sup> of London [cloth] from the Polish state and 197 pieces of London [cloth] from the Lithuanian duchy; and along with these cloths 2,000 golden florins—a thousand florins from the Polish Crown, and a thousand golden florins from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which makes altogether 15,000 golden florins; and besides other gifts, as also previously three sets of nine gifts [try devet' upomynkov]<sup>25</sup> used to be sent. They should send us these gifts, both the cloths and the 2,000 golden florins, by the month of November, each year by the 1st day of this month.

And we should not send more envoys and couriers but only the number that used to be heretofore. According to the custom, envoys and couriers should be sent primarily by us and our wives, the qalga sultan and other sultans, three qaraçıs and two mirzas, their [i.e., the qaraçıs'] sons, and by nobody else. If more envoys and couriers were to go, you may send them back without giving them anything, and I will not reproach you, our brother, for this, because as you lavish gifts on the envoys and couriers who come to you, on seeing this, they do not want to stop going, but if you send them back with empty hands, you will see yourself whether they will come again.

And when an envoy or courier comes from you, our brother, we will not detain him for a longer time and we will not make him any trouble, and we will send him back without delay [now and in the future].<sup>26</sup> Neither will we let our brothers and children, the sultans, [and] the ulans, beys, mirzas, and all

<sup>22</sup> The original meaning of the Slavic word *ukrayna/ukraina* is “frontier,” but here it seems that it already refers to the geographical region—the Ukraine.

<sup>23</sup> On the term “London cloth,” see Document 26, n. 5.

<sup>24</sup> Lit. “two hundred *postaws* without three *postaws*,” on the term *postaw*, see Document 26, n. 5.

<sup>25</sup> On the term *devet'* (“nine”), reflecting the Turco-Mongolian custom according to which a gift should have consisted of nine objects, see Document 31, n. 15.

<sup>26</sup> The khan's engagement is written in the present and the future tense (*trudnostej žadnyx ne zadelyvaem, y ne zadelyvaty budem, y bez meškan'ja ot sebe opravuem, y opravovaty budem*), hence the phrase “now and in the future” was added.



*our people hurt or oppress your envoys, couriers, interpreters, or their servants. As they arrive out of their free will, so they will depart.*

*I, Devlet Giray Khan—to begin with, along with my son, the qalga sultan, and my other sons, the sultans, [and] the ulans, beys, qaraçıs, and mirzas, namely all, who stand by us, we have sworn our oath:*

*We sincerely swear to God, who created heaven and earth, and by our Koran, to display our sincerity and loyalty to you, our brother, and to remain in justice and good loyalty with your descendants; and we wish that no damage should be done in any matter by us or any of our people to you, our brother, and your two states, either the Polish Crown or the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, or any of your castles, estates, villages, your whole state and people; and we wish to eternally remain in good brotherly friendship with you, our brother, the great king Sigismund Augustus, just as it is openly and visibly described in our present letter of agreement.*

*And we have taken oath upon the sincerity of everything [that has been written] above, and having invoked the supreme and one God, and our prophet Muhammad Mustafa,<sup>27</sup> we swear according to our law to firmly keep it: by God, with God, and through God!<sup>28</sup> Such is our oath. We will firmly keep our oath to you, our brother, and our word will never deviate from our present oath.*

*We have given you our present oath-letter [lyst prysjažnyj] confirming our brotherly oath, written in gold; having impressed the golden seals, we have sent you our present letter of agreement [dokončan'e].*

*This letter has been written in the 959th year after the death<sup>29</sup> of Muhammad. Written in Baghchararay.*

<sup>27</sup> Mustafa (lit. "the Chosen") is the second name of Prophet Muhammad.

<sup>28</sup> The Arabic formula *vallahi va billahi va tallahi* is correctly rendered (in Tatar pronunciation) in the Cyrillic text.

<sup>29</sup> Sic; of course it should refer to the Hegira and not Muhammad's death. The Muslim year 959 A.H. lasted from 29 December 1551 till 17 December 1552. As the khan's letter, delivered along with the present document, was dated 15 May 1552 (cf. n. 1 above), we may date this instrument more precisely, in May 1552.

DOCUMENT 33 (1560)  
The donation *yarliq* cum *şartname* sent by Khan Devlet Giray  
to King Sigismund Augustus

The original document is missing.

Polish translation:<sup>1</sup>

A. Bibl. Kórn., ms. 222, pp. 129–137.

B. Bibl. Czart., ms. 70 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 581–593.

Dawletgireia cara pakta z Augustem etc. Roku Pańskiego 1560:<sup>a</sup>

W obyczaju jako przodek i ociec nasz nieboszczyk Menligirey<sup>b</sup> car, królowi Casimirzowi<sup>c</sup> i wielkiemu księżęciu lytewskiemu<sup>d</sup> był dał, jakoż potym król Zigmunt Kasymyrowicz<sup>e</sup> z bratem naszym w braterskiej przyjaźni zostali, a tak ponawiając to, aby były państwa brata naszego, wielkiego króla Zigmunta<sup>f</sup> Augusta wedle pierwszego zwyczaju, i słowa aby były zachowane, daliśmy list nasz złotem pisany, pod złotymi pieczęciami naszymi, bratu naszemu, wielkiemu królowi i wielkiemu księżęciu litewskiemu Zigmuntowi Augustowi, synom i potomkom jego, dzierżeć sprawiedliwie: a począwszy w głowach Kiiów, Cyrkassy, Kanyów,<sup>g</sup> Owruć, Żytomierz, i wszelkie zamki podnieprskie, i dzierżawy i wody, ze wszelakimi dochodami i pożytkami ich; Połoczsk,<sup>h</sup> Witebsko, i wszelkie zamki podnieprskie, począwszy z wierzchu aż do uścia,<sup>i</sup> z ziemiami, z<sup>j</sup> wodami, i ze wszelkimi<sup>k</sup> dochody i pożytkami ich; Sokal ze wszelkimi ziemiami, [wodami,]<sup>l</sup> i dochodami ich; Zwinihrod z ziemiami,

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<sup>1</sup> Apart from the two copies listed below, before WW2 another copy was held in the Poturzyca Library (Biblioteka Poturzycka) in Lwów, in the folders of Łukasz Gołębiowski, a nineteenth-century antiquarian and historian; cf. Ludwik Kolankowski, "Problem Krymu w dziejach jagiellońskich," pp. 290 and 297. After WW2, some of the library holdings found their way to the Ossolineum Library in Wrocław, but I was unable to find the folder concerned.

<sup>a</sup> B. *Dawletgireia cara tatarskiego pakta z Zygmuntem Augustem królem polskim. Roku Pańskiego 1560.*

<sup>b</sup> B. *Menligerey.*

<sup>c</sup> B. *Kazimierzowi.*

<sup>d</sup> B. *litewskiemu.*

<sup>e</sup> B. *Zygmunt Kazimierowicz.*

<sup>f</sup> B. here and hereafter: *Zygmunta.*

<sup>g</sup> B. *Kaniów.*

<sup>h</sup> B. *Połoczsk.*

<sup>i</sup> B. *ujścia.*

<sup>j</sup> Missing in B.

<sup>k</sup> B. here and hereafter: *wszelkimi.*

<sup>l</sup> Thus in B.; in A.: *ziemiami i dochodami, i dochodami ich* whereas *dochodami* is erroneously repeated.

<wielkimi> wodami, i ze wszelkimi dochody i pożytkami ich;<sup>m</sup> Bracław, Wynnica,<sup>n</sup> z wodami, ziemiemi, i ze wszelkimi<sup>o</sup> pożytkami ich; Stepruth, Mlennik;<sup>p</sup> Żołdasz, Budula, z ziemiemi, wodami, i ze wszelkimi<sup>q</sup> dochodami ich; Brunten,<sup>r</sup> Luczicen, Choten, Kozielsko, Chotmyen,<sup>s</sup> Chotmislen, Uskon; Saraacul Jarn telmon<sup>t</sup>—brata naszego, wielkiego króla, które zamki i grody przynależą ku państwu jego koronnemu, litewskiemu i ruskiemu, bądź drzewo, lasy, wody i ziem wiele, pożytki i dochody, gdzie wciecze i wnijdzie, ku wszelkim<sup>u</sup> państwow wielkiego króla przynależącym.<sup>v</sup>

My te rzeczy poradziwszy się z gałą sołdanem carowiczem, synem naszym starszym, i ze wszelkimi<sup>w</sup> carowiczami, ułany, kniaźmi, i murzami naszymi, krymskimi, i precopskimi, i nahaiskimi,<sup>x</sup> którzy nam wiernie służą, mocnąsmy przysięgę naszą uczynili, chcąc z bratem naszym, wielkim królem Zigmuntem Augustem i wielkim księżciem litewskim w wiernej, prawdziwej i dobrej przyjaźni być na wieki. I synowie nasi i potomkowie ich między sobą w braterskiej przyjaźni mają być. A mamy przyjaciółom jego przyjacielem być, gdziebykolwiek jedno nieprzyjaciół jego był, to mamy naprzeciwko tego nieprzyjaciela jego za jeden być, i naprzeciwko jemu za jednego bić.

Które zamki, włości, i ziemie nieprzyjaciół nasz kniaź moskiewski pod swą rękę zabrał za przodków wielkiego króla, brata naszego: sławnej pamięci wielkich królów Casymirza,<sup>y</sup> i brata jego Alexandra, i za króla Zigmunta, Augustowego ojca, przez swój zdrażliwy postępek, od państwa króla, brata naszego, co my też Pana Boga sobie na pomoc wzięwszy, z tych zamków którekolwiek z jego rąk weźmiem, ten zamek, włości, ziemie, wody, dochody, i wszelkie<sup>z</sup> pożytki jego my, Dawletgirey<sup>aa</sup> car, i syn nasz starszy gałą sołdan, i inisi wszyscy synowie nasi carowiczowie, ułani, kniaziowie, murzowie za bożą pomocą, czego nam Bóg dopomoże z rąk moskiewskiego wziąć, my te zamki

<sup>m</sup> Thus in A.; in B.: *Zwinihrod z ziemiemi, wodami, i ze wszystkimi dochody i pożytkami ich*.

<sup>n</sup> B. *Winnicza*.

<sup>o</sup> B. *wszystkiemi*.

<sup>p</sup> It should read *Snepruth* and *Hlyns'k*; these two place-names are also corrupt in earlier documents; cf. Document 32, notes b–c.

<sup>q</sup> B. *wszystkiemi*.

<sup>r</sup> Already in the document from 1552 two place-names: *Берынь/Бирин* and *Синецъ* were erroneously amalgamated into *Бринтежъ*; cf. Document 32, n. d. In the present document *Bryntež* turned into *Brunten* but arguably it refers to the same two localities.

<sup>s</sup> B. *Chotmien*.

<sup>t</sup> This fragment is corrupt and rendered with incorrect punctuation as if it referred to three place-names: *Sara, Aculiarn, Telmon*; in fact, it should read *Saraogul Jakoltaj tiumeń* where the word *Saraogul* reflects the Turkish patronymic *Sarayoglu*, i.e., “Saray’s son;” cf. *Сараягул Ёѡлѡтаи тѡмень* in Document 32.

<sup>u</sup> B. *wszystkim*.

<sup>v</sup> It should rather read *przynależące*.

<sup>w</sup> B. *wszystkiemi*.

<sup>x</sup> B. *prekopskimi, i nahayskimi*.

<sup>y</sup> B. *Kazimierza*.

<sup>z</sup> B. *wszelkie*.

<sup>aa</sup> B. *Dawletgirey*.

mamy bratu naszemu, wielkiemu królowi Zigmuntowi Augustowi podać. A gdy naprzeciwno nieprzyjacielowi jego będzie potrzeba, a da nam przez posła albo gońca swego wiedzieć, my sami naszą osobą, i syn nasz gałga sołdan, i wszyscy nasi carowiczowie, ze wszelkimi wojskami naszymi<sup>ab</sup> chcemy być pomocni, od tych terażniejszych czasów przystać, i na potym także będziemy pomagać.

A którzy źli ludzie między przodki naszymi i między nami przez przysięgę naszą inaczej czynili, i nas ku nieprzyjaźniej<sup>ac</sup> zwodzili, a szkody czynili, jako teraz, tak jako i przodkowie nasi, tak i my to na stronę odkładamy, i za to między sobą zawodzić się i w sercach tego dzierżyć nie mamy, i ze wszelkiego<sup>ad</sup> serca i myśli swej wypuścić mamy, aby przyjaciele nasi w tym się radowali i pocieszali, tę przyjaźń między nami widząc.

A tak my, Dawletgirey<sup>ae</sup> car, będąc na państwie naszym w mocy swej wielkiej, bratu naszemu, wielkiemu królowi Zigmuntowi Augustowi w dobrej a wiernej przyjaźni na wieczne czasy samiśmy z potomki naszymi być pozwolili, i pozwalamy na wszelkie<sup>af</sup> rzeczy przyjacielskie. A kupcy tak z Korony Polskiej, jak z Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego wolność mają w państwie naszym kupować, przedawać, i z tą wolnością przyjeżdżać i odjeżdżać, ni w czym nikogo się nie bać. Oddawszy myto starodawne<sup>ag</sup> ni w czym nie mają hamowani być. A do Koczebeya<sup>ah</sup> po sól iść, brać, i wedle starodawnego<sup>ai</sup> obyczaju myto dawać, z Kiiowa, Łuczka, i inszych<sup>aj</sup> zamków po sól przyjeżdżać mają, za strażą ludzi naszych. A jeśliby biorąc sól, od naszych ludzi która szkoda się stała, okrom kozaków waszych albo moskiewskich, tedy my tę szkodę poddanym waszym, i innym wszelkim<sup>ak</sup> kupcom, bądź Korony Polskiej albo Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, które by się im miały stać w państwie naszym, w ich kupiach, tak bogatemu, jako ubogiemu,<sup>al</sup> z skarbu naszego zapłacić rozkazem.

Gdy da Pan Bóg, naprzód my sami, Dawletgirey car, albo carowicz syn nasz, ułani, kniaziowie, murzowie, ze wszystkim<sup>am</sup> wojskiem naszym, za obsyłaniem brata naszego, wielkiego króla Zigmunta Augusta, na nieprzyjaciela jego pójdziemy, albo pošlemy carowiczów z wielkim wojskiem, a[by] jawną szkodę w ziemi nieprzyjacielskiej uczynili i nieprzyjaciela szablą dobywali <i w ziemi szkodę albo skazę gdyby uczynili>. A [w] państwa brata naszego, wielkiego króla Zigmunta Augusta, my sami, Dawletgirey car, i carowicz syn nasz, gałga sołdan, i insi carowiczowie, nasi synowie, i Rady nasze,

<sup>ab</sup> B. *wszystkimi wojskami naszymi*.

<sup>ac</sup> B. *nieprzyjaźni*.

<sup>ad</sup> B. *wszystkiego*.

<sup>ae</sup> B. *Dawletgirey*.

<sup>af</sup> B. *wszystkie*.

<sup>ag</sup> B. *starodawne*.

<sup>ah</sup> B. *Koczebeia*.

<sup>ai</sup> B. *starodawnego*.

<sup>aj</sup> B. *innych*.

<sup>ak</sup> B. *wszystkim*.

<sup>al</sup> In B. written erroneously: *tak bogatemi, jako ubogiem*.

<sup>am</sup> B. *wszystkim*.

caraczeiowie, ułani, kniaziowie, murzowie, i wszyscy ludzie nasi krimscy,<sup>an</sup> prekopscy, i nahaiscy,<sup>ao</sup> którzy nam wiernie służą, i kozacy byęłogrodzcy,<sup>ap</sup> oczakowscy, i ozowscy, jak z nami nie mają chodzić, tak też bez siebie ich posyłać nie mamy we wszelki[e]<sup>aq</sup> państwa brata naszego, wielkiego króla, do Korony Polskiej i Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. I na [ziemiach] ukraińskich, litewskich i ruskich żadna szkoda jako od nas samych, tak od ludzi naszych nie ma się dziać; jako zamki, włości ziem ukraińskich w wielkim pokoju od nas i od wszelkich<sup>ar</sup> poddanych naszych obiecujemy zachować, aby ta przysięga nasza<sup>as</sup> z bratem naszym, królem Zigmuntom Augustem na wieczne czasy była dzierzana, jakośmy przysięgli na wieczne czasy spokojnie dzierżyć i słowo nasze pełnić.

Co my, Dawletgirey car sami osobą naszą, i syn nasz, gałga sołdan, i wszyscy carowiczowie, synowie nasi, i wszelka<sup>at</sup> Rada nasza: caraczeiowie, ułani, murzowie, na tym przysiegamy i to obiecujemy, iż wszyscy ludzie nasi, wojska małe, także i wielkie, i lud pospolity z państwa naszego, wielkiego króla wojować nie będziemy.

A jeśliby ludzie nasi, crimscy,<sup>au</sup> prekopscy, w niewiadomości naszej zmieniwszy słowo, i zjednoczywszy się z kozakami białogrodzkimi, oczakowskimi, i ozowskimi,<sup>av</sup> w państwo albo ukraiń króla wielkiego wtargnąwszy, szkody by poczynili, czego im Bóg nie pomoże nad przysięgę naszą uczynić, my, Dawletgirey,<sup>aw</sup> takowe groźno będziem ujmować. I nie każemy państwa brata naszego wojować jako swym kozakom, tak też białogrodzkim, oczakowskim, i ozowskim, i swoim też ludziom z nimi<sup>ax</sup> złączywszy się, nie dozwolimy im tego mocą naszą, wielkiego króla państwa wojować; bo mamy moc od Jego Miłości cesarza tureckiego<sup>ay</sup> te kozaki białogrodzkie,<sup>az</sup> oczakowskie, i ozowskie od tego ich powściągać,<sup>ba</sup> i za nieposłuszeństwo kazać ich groźno karać.

A jeśliby też z naszych ludzi crimskich,<sup>bb</sup> i prekopskich, i nahaiskich,<sup>bc</sup> niektórzy mieliby poszedłszy w Białogrodzie,<sup>bd</sup> Oczakowie, albo w Ozowie mieszkać, a tam mieszkając mieliby oboim państwom brata naszego, wiel-

<sup>an</sup> B. krymscy.

<sup>ao</sup> B. nahayscy.

<sup>ap</sup> B. białogrodzcy.

<sup>aq</sup> B. wszystkie.

<sup>ar</sup> B. wszystkich.

<sup>as</sup> Missing in B.

<sup>at</sup> B. wszystka.

<sup>au</sup> B. krymscy.

<sup>av</sup> B. białogrodzkiemi, oczakowskimi, i ozowskimi.

<sup>aw</sup> B. Dawletgirey.

<sup>ax</sup> B. niemi.

<sup>ay</sup> B. tureckiego.

<sup>az</sup> B. białogrodzkie.

<sup>ba</sup> B. powściągać.

<sup>bb</sup> B. krymskich.

<sup>bc</sup> B. nahayskich.

<sup>bd</sup> B. Białogrodzie.

kiego króla, jak Koronie Polskiej, tak Wielkiemu Księstwu Lytewskiemu,<sup>be</sup> jakie szkody uczynić, my o takich dowiedziawszy się, ich samych jako winnych nalazwszy,<sup>bf</sup> przed posłem albo gońcem króla wielkiego mamy kazać ich na gardle karać, albo je zebrawszy, do ukraiennych zamków króla wielkiego mamy je odesłać.

A jeśliby osobliwie zły umysł wziąwszy ludzie nasi kr[i]mscy,<sup>bg</sup> i prekopsy, i nahaiscy<sup>bh</sup> w państwa wielkiego króla wtargnąć mieli i pobrali ludzi wiele, statków, i ruchomych rzeczy, szkodę jaką uczynić mieli, takowych przeciwników, którzy przeciwko przysiędze naszej to śmieli czynić, mamy srogim karaniem na gardłach i na ciałach ich, i w zabranii majątności wszystkich, ich karać, i plion wszytek<sup>bi</sup> zabraney bez żadnego okupu mamy wielkiemu królowi wracać, i szkodę wszelką,<sup>bj</sup> co się stanie w zabranii koni, bydła, ruchomych rzeczy, to oszacowawszy, summę groszmi albo złotymi z skarbu naszego. Wielkiemu królowi, bratu naszemu, przyjaźń i prawdę, <przyjaźń><sup>bk</sup> sprawiedliwie okazować będziem, i pokój między sobą wieczny mieć mamy, i obojgum<sup>bl</sup> państwom, jako Koronie Polskiej, tak Wielkiemu Księstwu Litewskiemu, chcemy na wieczne czasy, i będziem ten mir wedle tego dokończenia i przysięgi naszej mocno dzierżyć, jakośmy ślubili i przysięgę uczynili, nieodmiennymi<sup>bm</sup> być.

A żywiąc<sup>bn</sup> my, Dawletgirey car z bratem naszym, wielkim królem Zigmuntom Augustem w wiecznej a dobrej przyjaźni wedle dokończenia i przysięgi naszej, i upominków od naszego nieprzyjaciela, wielkiego kniazia moskiewskiego, do swego żywota, i carowiczom, synom naszym<sup>bo</sup> do ich żywotów nie brać, krom wiadomości i jednostajnego zezwolenia brata naszego, wielkiego króla.

A kupcy nasi ordobazarczy,<sup>bp</sup> Turczy,<sup>bq</sup> Frasy,<sup>br</sup> Ormyanie, Żydowye,<sup>bs</sup> ludzie kupieccy, nie mają w poselstwach, w goniectwach przyjmowani być. A jeśliby przy pośle naszym z państwa naszego takowi ludzie kupieccy z towary swymi<sup>bt</sup> chodziliby<sup>bu</sup> do państwa waszego, brata naszego, kupi swej używaliby

<sup>be</sup> B. *Litewskiemu*.

<sup>bf</sup> In B. written correctly: *nalazłszy*.

<sup>bg</sup> B. *krymscy*.

<sup>bh</sup> B. *nohayscy*.

<sup>bi</sup> B. *plon wszytek*.

<sup>bj</sup> B. *wszystką*.

<sup>bk</sup> Redundant repetition, missing in B.

<sup>bl</sup> B. *oboim*.

<sup>bm</sup> B. *nieodmiennemi*.

<sup>bn</sup> B. *żyjąc*.

<sup>bo</sup> In B. written erroneously: *naszych*.

<sup>bp</sup> In B. written erroneously: *ordokozaccy*.

<sup>bq</sup> B. *Turcy*.

<sup>br</sup> Missing in B.; apparently a loanword from Ruthenian, where *Frjazyn* means "Frank."

<sup>bs</sup> B. *Ormianie, Żydowie*.

<sup>bt</sup> B. *swemi*.

<sup>bu</sup> B. *chodzili*.

albo targowali, kupowali, przedawali, takowym nie ma być dana strawa ani pożałowanie od brata naszego, wielkiego króla, za upominki z skarbu; a zwłaszcza, jeśli by jeszcze po miescu<sup>bv</sup> zwyczajnym z kupi i towarów swych mają myto płacić wedle starego zwyczaju.

A który poseł brata naszego z Kiiowa<sup>bw</sup> do nas będzie odprawion, tych upominków z skarbu nie ma wieść, tylko do Precopu,<sup>bx</sup> drzwi<sup>by</sup> naszych; <a my mamy,><sup>bz</sup> i wy, brat nasz po temuż posłów naszych i gońców przez miesiąc, czterech niedziel przy drzwiach swych nie dzierżeć, a im<sup>ca</sup> pić i jeść z łaski swej dawać, jako i przedtym posłom i gońcom naszym, w dobrych poczywościach zachowani byli; a my mamy rozkazać skarby i upominki pobrać od niego, a mamy dla przyjaźni brata naszego, wielkiego króla, tego posła brata naszego w łasce naszej i poczywości mieć, i żywność jemu rozkazać dawać, i przez miesiąc, czterech niedziel nie mamy tego posła przy drzwiach naszych dzierżeć, tylko ma cztery niedziele przy drzwiach naszych być i mieszkać, dla odpocznienia koniom i wczasności jego. Ani my sami, Dawletgirei<sup>cb</sup> car, ani carowiczowie nasi, ani ułani, kniaziowie, murzowie, ani poddani nasi temu posłowi brata naszego żadnej przykrości czynić, i ni w czym go hamować nie mają, ale dobrowolnie bez wszelkiej szkody ma być odprawion.

A upominki z skarbu do nas od brata naszego każdy rok do Prekopu, do drzwi naszych odprawione być mają, na święto chrześcijańskie narodzenia Syna Bożego, 20 dnia<sup>cc</sup> miesiąca grudnia.

A kiedy co między nami potrzebnego będzie, tedy my, Dawletgirey car, przez gońce swoje mamy w tym bratu naszemu, wielkiemu królowi oznajmić, a gońce nie mają mieszkać, i bez mieszkania do nas odprawione być mają.

Ja, Dawletgirey car, i carowiczowie synowie nasi, i ze wszelkimi karaczeyami,<sup>cd</sup> ułani, kniaźmi, murzami, i z Nohaicy,<sup>ce</sup> którzy nam służą, to wszelko<sup>cf</sup> w każdy rok wedle dokończenia naszego wypełnim.<sup>cg</sup>

A brat nasz, król wielki, w taki każdy rok za tę naszą wierną a wierną<sup>ch</sup> przyjaźń, ma mnie dawać, Dawletgireiowi carowi, posyłać upominki machmetgireiowskie, a carowiczowi, synowi naszemu Machmetgireiowi gałdze, ma posyłać upominki Bohatir sołtanowskie. A którego by roku brat nasz do nas pisał, abyśmy w ziemię nieprzyjaciela moskiewskiego z wojskiem szli, albo carowiczów, synów naszych posłali, a my byśmy tego nie uczynili, tedy tego

<sup>bv</sup> B. *mieście*.

<sup>bw</sup> In B. written erroneously: *z Kowna*.

<sup>bx</sup> B. *Prekopu*.

<sup>by</sup> In B. written erroneously: *dzierży*.

<sup>bz</sup> See notes 25–26 below.

<sup>ca</sup> In B. written erroneously: *tym*.

<sup>cb</sup> B. *Dawletgirey*.

<sup>cc</sup> B. *dwudziestego dnia*.

<sup>cd</sup> B. *wszystkimi karaczeyami*.

<sup>ce</sup> B. *Nohacy*.

<sup>cf</sup> B. *wszystko*.

<sup>cg</sup> B. *wypełnim*.

<sup>ch</sup> B. *wierną a wierną*.

roku i upominki machmetgireiowskie, i bohartirsołdanowskie<sup>ci</sup> nam posłane być nie mają, a upominki roczne, które i do tych czasów, wedle pierwszego dokończenia nam każdego roku posyłane być mają.

A wszakże jeślibyśmy my, Dawletgirey car, albo carowicz nasz gałga sołdan, z wojskiem naszym bez obsyłania królewskiego którego roku w ziemie nieprzyjaciela naszego moskiewskiego weszli, a znacznie szablą naszą nieprzyjaźń temu nieprzyjacielowi naszemu moskiewskiemu w państwie jego szkodę uczynili, a zamek albo kilka za bożą pomocą z rąk moskiewskiego wzięwszy, ku państwu brata naszego, wielkiego króla podali, tedy w każdy takowy rok, za takowe wierne nasze przyjaźni, brat nasz król ma nam dawać, Dawletgireiowi carowi, upominki machmetgireiowskie, a carowiczowi, synowi naszemu Machmetgireiowi sołdanowi, bohartirgireiowskie<sup>cj</sup> [upominki]<sup>ck</sup> posłać.

A jeślibyśmy, Dawletgirey, albo carowicz, syn nasz gałga sołdan, i insi synowie carowiczowie nasi, tego dokończenia i słowa naszego, i przysięgi nie wypełnili, i którego roku ziemie moskiewskie<sup>cl</sup> nie wojowali, i znacznej szkody w ziemi nieprzyjacielskiej nie uczynili, albo w przyjaźń z wielkim kniazem moskiewskim wstąpili, albo państwa brata naszego, wielkiego króla koronnego, i Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, ruskiego etc., i pod zamki ukraińne wojowali, albo ludzie nasi krimscy,<sup>cm</sup> albo prekopsy, albo nohayscy, którzy nam służą, także kozacy białogrodzcy, oczakowscy, i ozowscy państwo królowi wojować chcieli, a my plon zawiedziony zebrawszy, do króla nie odesłali, i szkody oszacowawszy, które by się państwu króla wielkiego<sup>cn</sup> stały, z<sup>co</sup> skarbu naszego płacić nie kazali, i tych, którzy bez wiadomości naszej w państwo królewskie wtargnęli, gardły i srogim karaniem nie karali, tedy my przysięgę naszą naruszamy.

A jeśliby wy, brat nasz, te upominki machmetgereiowskie i bohatirsołdanowskie, brat nasz nam nie posłał, albo też z strony was, brata naszego, z ukraińnych zamków wodni i polni kozacy przyszedszy pod państwa nasze, jakie szkody by poczynili, tedy wy, brat nasz, takich złoczyńców karać byście nie kazali, i tych szkód nie powracali, albo popłacić nie kazali, tedy wy, brat nasz, takim obyczajem przysięgę swą naruszycie.

A rocznych upominków, które według pierwszego<sup>cp</sup> dokończenia naszego nam posyłałicie, wy brat nasz tedy nie macie posyłać póty, póki temu wszelkiemu<sup>cq</sup> dosyć nie uczynim, i wedle tego dokończenia naszego wszelko<sup>cr</sup> tak naprawim i wypełnim.

<sup>ci</sup> B. *bohatirsołdanowskie*.

<sup>cj</sup> B. *bohartirgireiowskie*.

<sup>ck</sup> Thus in B; in A. corrupt: *roczniki*.

<sup>cl</sup> B. *moskiewskiego*.

<sup>cm</sup> B. *krymscy*.

<sup>cn</sup> B. *wielkiego króla*.

<sup>co</sup> B. *ze*.

<sup>cp</sup> B. *pierwszego*.

<sup>cq</sup> B. *wszystkiemu*.

<sup>cr</sup> B. *wszystko*.



My sami, Dawletgirei<sup>cs</sup> car w głowach, i z synem naszym Machmetgirem<sup>ct</sup> gałą, i z synmi naszymi carowiczami, kniaźmi, caraczeyami,<sup>cu</sup> ułany, i inszymi<sup>cv</sup> murzami ile ich jest wszelkich,<sup>cw</sup> którzy przy nas są wierni a dobrzy słudzy nasi, przysięgę swą na tym czynimy i uczyniliśmy:<sup>cx</sup>

Przysięgamy na prawdę temu Bogu, który stworzył niebo i ziemię, na naszym Alkoranie, bratu naszemu iż wierność okazujemy, i potomkom naszym w sprawiedliwości i w dobrej wierności być chcemy; i obiecujemy wszelko<sup>cy</sup> wedle tego dokończenia naszego pełnić; i państwu waszym, brata naszego, jako Korony Polskiej, tak i Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, i wszelkim<sup>cz</sup> zamkom waszym, wsiom, włościom, i wszemu państwu i ludziom waszym, i wszelkim<sup>da</sup> ukrainom waszym, w żadnej rzeczy szkody się nie stanie;<sup>db</sup> z wami, bratem naszym, wielkim królem Zigmuntom Augustem, iż<sup>dc</sup> we wszem chcemy w braterskiej a dobrej przyjaźni być na wieczne czasy, jako w tym dokończeniu naszym znamieniem i jaśnie jest napisano.

Na tym wszystkim przysięgę uczynili na sprawiedliwości, a wspomniawszy na najwyższego jedynego Boga, i na proroka naszego Machmeta Mustafę, według zakonu naszego przysięgamy to wszelko<sup>dd</sup> dzierżeć wedle tego dokończenia naszego: wallahi we billahi<sup>de</sup> wi tellahi. Nasza przysięga na tym jest. Bratu naszemu, wielkiemu królowi Zigmuntowi Augustowi przysięgę swą mocno dzierżeć będziemy, i słowo nasze od tej przysięgi naszej nigdy odmienne nie będzie.

I posyłam do ciebie, brata naszego, ten nasz list złotem napisany, pieczęci złote<sup>df</sup> przyłożywszy. I to dokończenie w tym liście napisawszy, przez dobrego posła i sługę waszego wielkiego, od ciebie brata naszego przysłanego, pana Skumina Lwowicza<sup>dg</sup> Tyskowicza, marszałka i dzierżawcę czernobelskiego, i przez posła naszego, wiernego sługę na imię kniazia Chadzi Aleja,<sup>dh</sup> z posłem waszym, z tym dokończeniem odpuszczamy.

Pisan ten list na stolcu naszym w Kyrkyely,<sup>di</sup> na miescu naszym w Bakczy Szarayu, lata 1560.<sup>dj</sup>

<sup>cs</sup> B. *Dawletgerey*.

<sup>ct</sup> B. *Machmetgereiem*.

<sup>cu</sup> B. *caraczeiami*.

<sup>cv</sup> B. *inszemi*.

<sup>cw</sup> B. *wszystkich*.

<sup>cx</sup> B. *przysięgę swą na to uczyniliśmy*.

<sup>cy</sup> B. *wszystko*.

<sup>cz</sup> B. *wszystkim*.

<sup>da</sup> B. *wszystkim*.

<sup>db</sup> B. *nie staną*.

<sup>dc</sup> Missing in B.

<sup>dd</sup> B. *wszystko*.

<sup>de</sup> In B. written erroneously: *hillahi*.

<sup>df</sup> B. *pieczęć złotą*.

<sup>dg</sup> In B. written erroneously: *Larowicza*.

<sup>dh</sup> B. *Chadzi Aleia*.

<sup>di</sup> B. *Kirkieli*.

<sup>dj</sup> B. *na miejscu w Bakczy Szaraiu, lata tysięcznego pięćsetnego sześćdziesiątego*.

Translation:

*The pact of Khan Devlet Giray with [Sigismund] Augustus, etc., A.D. 1560:*

*As our late ancestor and father,<sup>2</sup> Mengli Giray Khan, had granted [the following lands] to Casimir, the king and grand duke of Lithuania, and then King Sigismund, son of Casimir, remained in brotherly friendship with our brother,<sup>3</sup> so in desire that the states of our brother, the great king Sigismund Augustus, may remain [in peace] according to the ancient custom, and in desire to keep the word [of our ancestors], we have given anew our letter written in gold, under our golden seals, letting our brother Sigismund Augustus, the great king and the grand duke of Lithuania, his sons and descendants, rightly hold:*

- firstly Kiev, Čerkasy, Kaniv, Ovruch, Žytomyr, and all the castles along the Dnieper, leaseholds, and waters along with all their revenues and profits;*
- Polack, Vicebsk, and all the castles along the Dnieper,<sup>4</sup> starting from its source to its mouth, along with lands, waters, and all their revenues and profits;*
- Sokolec<sup>5</sup> along with all lands, waters, and their revenues;*
- Zvynyorod<sup>6</sup> along with lands, waters, and all their revenues and profits;*
- Braclav and Vinnycja along with waters, lands, and all their profits;*
- Sneporod and Hlyn'sk;<sup>7</sup>*
- Žolvaž<sup>8</sup> and Putyvl'<sup>9</sup> along with lands, waters, and all their revenues;*
- Byryn, Synec,<sup>10</sup> Losyčy, Xoten', Kozel'sk, Xotmyšl,<sup>11</sup> and Oskol,<sup>12</sup>*
- the tümen of Jagoldaj, son of Saraj;<sup>13</sup>*

*—[in sum] either the castles and towns of our brother, the great king, that belong to his Crown [i.e., Polish], Lithuanian, and Ruthenian state, or the*

<sup>2</sup> Mengli Giray was Devlet Giray's grandfather and not his father.

<sup>3</sup> This passage apparently refers to Mehmed Giray, though he was Devlet Giray's uncle and not his brother; cf. Document 32, n. 2. The only former khans who could be referred to as Devlet Giray's brothers were his cousins Ghazi Giray (r. 1523) and Islam Giray (r. 1532), the sons of Mehmed Giray. Yet, they ruled very shortly and neither of them issued a *yarliq*, to which the present document might refer.

<sup>4</sup> Repeated, cf. above.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Document 8, n. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Document 8, n. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Sneporod and Hlyn'sk, cf. Document 8, notes 8–9.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Document 8, n. 10.

<sup>9</sup> Recorded in a corrupt form as Budula; cf. the earlier documents.

<sup>10</sup> On the spelling of the names Byryn and Synec, see n. 1 above.

<sup>11</sup> Erroneously recorded twice as Chotmyen and Chotmislen.

<sup>12</sup> Byryn, Synec, Losyčy, Xoten', and Xotmyšl were the estates situated in the region of Putyvl' and on the rivers Sula and Vorskla, cf. Document 8, notes 11–15. Oskol once belonged to the *tümen* of Jagoldaj (see Document 8, n. 19, and n. 13 below).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. n. 1 above; on this estate, extending between the upper Sejm and the upper Donec rivers, and its former owner, see Document 8, n. 18.

woods, forests, waters, and many lands, as well as the profits and revenues, wherever anything flows or comes in, [that] belong to the great king.

Having taken counsel in this matter with our older son, the *qalga* sultan,<sup>14</sup> with other sultans [Pol. *carowiczami*], the ulans, beys, and our mirzas, of the Crimea, of Perekop, and from among the Nogays, who loyally serve us, we have firmly sworn our oath in desire to remain for centuries in loyal, true, and good friendship with our brother Sigismund Augustus, the great king and the grand duke of Lithuania. And our sons should remain in mutual brotherly friendship with their descendants. And we should be a friend of his friends, and wherever his enemy appears, we should jointly face and fight this enemy.

And whichever castles, estates, and lands our enemy, the duke of Muscovy treacherously took under his hand in the times of the ancestors of the great king, our brother: Casimir and his brother<sup>15</sup> Alexander—the great kings of glorious memory, and King Sigismund, the father of Augustus, [thus taking them away] from the state of the king, our brother, if we—having invoked God's help—take any of these castles from his hands, [then] we, Devlet Giray Khan, our older son, the *qalga* sultan, and all of our other sons, the sultans, and the ulans, beys, and mirzas, should restore these castles, estates, lands, waters, revenues, and all their profits, taken with God's assistance from the hands of the Muscovian [duke], to our brother, the great king Sigismund Augustus. And when he needs help against his enemy and lets us know it through his envoy or courier, we personally, and our son, the *qalga* sultan, and all our sultans [i.e., other Giray princes], wish to assist him along with all our troops, from now on, and also in the future, we will assist [him].

And as some evil people have deviated from our oath, taken by our ancestors and us, stirring enmity between us and causing damages, now we leave it aside, as our ancestors used to, and we should not fret about it or hold it in our heart, and we should entirely release it from our heart, so that our friends may rejoice and be happy on seeing such a friendship between us.

And we, Devlet Giray Khan, having great authority in our state, have offered our brother, the great king Sigismund Augustus, to eternally remain in good and loyal friendship with us and our descendants, and we allow anything that is customary among friends. [Therefore] the merchants from the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania may freely buy and sell in our state, and freely come and depart, without any fear of anybody. Having paid the ancient toll, they should not be hampered in any matter. And they may travel to Kačybej to take salt, while paying the toll according to the ancient custom; and they may come for salt from Kiev, Luc'k, and other castles, guarded by our

<sup>14</sup> I.e., Mehmed Giray, the son of Devlet Giray and the future khan (r. 1577–1584); in 1555 he replaced in the post of *qalga* his younger brother, Ahmed, killed during a campaign against Muscovy (cf. Document 32, n. 15).

<sup>15</sup> Alexander was Casimir's son, and not brother; in the earlier *yarlıqs*, granted to Sigismund I, this fragment referred to Alexander as the king's late brother; it was mechanically copied in the instruments from 1552 (cf. Document 32, n. 16) and 1560, whose scribe tried to "correct" it by referring to Alexander as the brother of Casimir.

men. And if, while taking salt, they suffer any damage from our men, apart from your or Muscovian cossacks,<sup>16</sup> then we will compensate to your subjects and any other merchants, both from the Polish Crown and from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, either rich or poor, the damage that they might experience in their merchandise in our state, from our treasury.

And, God willing, upon notification from our brother, the great king Sigismund Augustus, we, either personally, Devlet Giray Khan, or our son, the sultan, the ulans, beys, and mirzas, along with all our troops, will set out against his enemy, or we will send the sultans along with great troops, so that they should cause apparent damage in the enemy's land, and conquer it with a saber. And we, Devlet Giray Khan, or our son and sultan, the qalga sultan, our other sons, the sultans, our Council members: the qaraçıs, ulans, beys, and mirzas, all our people of the Crimea, of Perekop, and from among the Nogays, who loyally serve us, and the cossacks of Akkerman, Očakiv, and Azov,<sup>17</sup> should not enter the states of our brother, the great king Sigismund Augustus; neither should they enter along with us, nor should they be sent by us to the [aforementioned] states of our brother, the great king, either the Polish Crown or the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. And no damage should be done by us or our people in the Polish, Lithuanian, and Ruthenian borderlands;<sup>18</sup> we promise to peacefully secure the castles and estates, situated in the borderlands,<sup>19</sup> from us and all our subjects, so that the oath [that we have taken along] with our brother, King Sigismund Augustus, be eternally kept, as we have sworn to keep it and fulfill our word forever.

And we personally, Devlet Giray Khan, and our son, the qalga sultan, and all the sultans, our sons, and our whole Council: the qaraçıs, ulans, and mirzas, swear and engage that we, along with all our men, troops—either small or large—, and common people from our state, will not raid [the domains of] the great king.

<sup>16</sup> On the interpretation of this clause, cf. Document 26, n. 3, and Document 27, n. 26. While the previous documents were more vague and could refer to either Turkic or Slavic vagabonds, the document from 1552 clearly referred to the royal subjects (cf. Document 32, n. 17), and in the present document the Muscovian subjects have been added, too. Hence, the phrase “apart from your or Muscovian cossacks” (*okrom kozaków waszych albo moskiewskich*) can have two different meanings: 1) the cossacks being unruly Polish-Lithuanian or Muscovian subjects are not protected by the present clause; 2) the khan is not responsible for the attacks against the royal merchants committed by the Ukrainian or Russian cossacks.

<sup>17</sup> The Polish phrase *kozacy byelłogrodzcy, oczakowscy, i ozowscy* refers to the Tatars and Turks dwelling around the towns of Akkerman (Ukr. Bil’horod, Pol. Białogród), Očakiv (Pol. Oczaków, Tat. Djankerman, Tur. Özü qal’esi), and Azov (Pol. Azów, Tur. Azaq), controlled by the Ottoman sultan; cf. Document 32, n. 20.

<sup>18</sup> The original meaning of the Slavic word *ukraina* is “frontier,” hence the phrase *na ziemiach ukraiennych* is translated as “in the borderlands;” in the 16th century, the term gradually acquired a more precise geographical meaning and began to refer to the southeastern borderlands of Poland-Lithuania (i.e., the Ukraine).

<sup>19</sup> This phrase can be also translated: “situated in the Ukrainian lands,” cf. n. 18 above.

And if some of our people of the Crimea and Perekop in deviation from [this] word unite with the cossacks of Akkerman, Očakiv, and Azov without our knowledge and, having entered the state or [Ukrainian] borderlands<sup>20</sup> of the great king, commit damages—may God prevent them from violating our oath!—[then] we, Devlet Giray, will severely restrain them. And we will not let our cossacks or those of Akkerman, Očakiv, or Azov raid the state of my brother, and with our power we will restrain our people from joining them and raiding the state of the great king; as we have the authority from His Majesty, the Turkish emperor, to restrain the aforementioned cossacks of Akkerman, Očakiv, and Azov, and to let them be severely punished for their transgressions.

And if some of our people of the Crimea, of Perekop, or from among the Nogays, set out and settle down in Akkerman, Očakiv, or Azov, and while dwelling there, they commit any damage to the two states of our brother, the great king, either the Polish Crown or the Grand Duchy, on hearing that, we should find the culprits and order to punish them by beheading in the presence of an envoy or courier of the great king, or having gathered them, we should send them to [any of the] border castles of the great king.

And if any of our people of the Crimea, of Perekop, or from among the Nogays, led by evil intentions, were to enter the states of the great king, capture numerous people, goods, and movables, or commit any damage, we should severely punish such enemies, who dared to commit such acts in violation of our oath, by beheading, bodily punishments, and confiscations of all property, and we should send back to the great king all the taken captives, without [demanding] any redemption, and restore from our treasury the whole damage done in captured horses, cattle, and movables, by estimating their value in groszes or florins.<sup>21</sup> And we will justly display friendship and sincerity towards our brother, the great king, we should remain [with him] in mutual eternal peace, and we wish to and we will strongly keep this peace with the two states, the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, forever, according to the present letter of agreement and our oath, as we have engaged and sworn to keep it without any variation.

And while remaining in eternal and good friendship with our brother, the great king Sigismund Augustus, according to our letter of agreement and oath, we, Devlet Giray Khan, should not accept gifts from our enemy, the grand duke of Muscovy, as long as we live, neither should [others] accept [such gifts]: the sultans, our sons, as long as they live, with the exception of a permission granted by our brother, the great king, upon a particular notification.

<sup>20</sup> The name *ukraina* is translated here as “[Ukrainian] borderlands;” cf. notes 18–19 above.

<sup>21</sup> Written in Polish ablative plural: *groszmi* or *złotymi*; *grosz* (<Lat. *grossus*) was a silver coin worth one-thirtieth of a Polish *złoty*, i.e., florin (Lat. *florenus polonialis*) or—in the mid-16th century—ca. one-fiftieth of a “red” (or rather “golden”) *złoty*, i.e., golden florin or ducat (Lat. *florenus aureus*, Pol. *czerwony złoty*); cf. Józef Andrzej Szwagrzyk, *Pieniądz na ziemiach polskich X–XX w.* (Wrocław, 1973), p. 102.

And our merchants from our military camp,<sup>22</sup> the Turks [i.e., Muslims], Franks [i.e., Latin Christians],<sup>23</sup> Armenians, or Jews, should not accompany embassies and couriers. And if such merchants travel with their merchandise along with our envoys from our state to your state, and trade, buy, and sell, they should not be given any food or travel allowance from the treasury of our brother, the great king, [that would be] deduced from the gifts [due to us]; moreover, they should pay toll from their transactions and merchandise in customary places, according to the old custom.

And when an envoy of our brother is sent from Kiev to us, he is not to carry the gifts from [your] treasury [further] than to our gate [i.e., stronghold]<sup>24</sup> of Perekop; <and we,><sup>25</sup> and you, our brother, should not detain our envoys and couriers longer than a month, or four weeks, at your gate [i.e., court], and you should give them drink and food out of your generosity, as [you used to give] formerly to our envoys and couriers, who used to be well treated; and we<sup>26</sup> should order to collect from him [i.e., the royal envoy] the treasures and gifts, and for the sake of the friendship with our brother, the great king, we should treat our brother's envoy generously and well, order to feed him, and not detain him at our gate [i.e., court] longer than a month, or four weeks; he should only stay at our gate [i.e., court] for four weeks in order to recover and give rest to his horses. And neither we, Devlet Giray Khan, nor our sultans, ulans, beys, mirzas, and subjects should do any harm to the envoy of our brother, or detain him, but we should let him go free without any damage.

The gifts for us from our brother's treasury should be sent each year to Perekop, to our gate [i.e., stronghold], by the Christian feast of the nativity

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<sup>22</sup> Pol. *kupcy nasi ordobazarczy>ordobazarcy*; the Tatar term *ordobazar* (<*ordu bazar*, "horde's bazaar") refers to the khan's mobile camp, typically inhabited not merely by household members and soldiers, but also bakers, various artisans, and merchants. Such camps, equipped with portable mosques and functioning as movable market places, served as the khan's residence not only during military campaigns, but also—especially in the 15th and 16th century—during summer seasons as the early Girays did not entirely abandon the custom of seasonal peregrination; see Syroec'kovskij, "Muxammed-Geraj i ego vassaly," p. 17; Maryna Kravets, "From Nomad's Tent to Garden Palace: Evolution of a Chinggisid Household in the Crimea," in: *History and Society in Central and Inner Asia. Papers presented at the Central and Inner Asia Seminar, University of Toronto, 16–17 April 2004*. Edited by M. Gervers, U. Bulag, G. Long (Toronto, 2005): 47–57, esp. p. 48.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. n. br above.

<sup>24</sup> The Polish term *drzwi* (lit. "door" or "gate") is an obvious calque of the Turkish term *bab* or *qapu*, referring either to a normal gate or to a monarchic court (hence the English term "Sublime Porte" referred to the Ottoman court). Here it apparently refers to the fortress of Perekop, sometimes referred to in Turkish as *Or qapu* (lit. "ditch gate"), but further in the same document (see below) it refers to the khan's residence in Qırq Yer, and also to the royal court.

<sup>25</sup> The sentence regarding the royal envoy is interrupted here (cf. n. 26 below).

<sup>26</sup> Here continues the interrupted sentence regarding the royal envoy (cf. n. 25 above).

of the Son of God<sup>27</sup> [i.e., Christmas], by the 20th [sic]<sup>28</sup> day of the month of December.

And when we need anything, then we, Devlet Giray Khan, should notify our brother, the great king, through our couriers, and the couriers should not be detained, but sent back to us without delay.

I, Devlet Giray Khan, along with our sons, the sultans, and all the qaraçıs, ulans, beys, mirzas, and the Nogays who serve us, will fulfill all the present [conditions] every year, according to our letter of agreement.

And in return for our truly loyal friendship our brother, the great king, every such year [when I fulfill my promise] should send me, Devlet Giray Khan, the gifts of Mehmed Giray [i.e., that used to be given to Mehmed Giray Khan], and he should also send our son, the sultan, Qalga Mehmed Giray, the gifts of Bahadır Sultan [i.e., that used to be given to Bahadır Giray].<sup>29</sup> And if some year our brother writes us requesting that we invade the land of the Muscovian enemy along with our troops, or that we send our sons, the sultans, and we do not fulfill it, then that year we will not be entitled to the gifts of Mehmed Giray and of Bahadır Sultan, but the [ordinary] annual gifts that used to be [sent] up till the present time should be sent to us each year according to the ancient letter of agreement.<sup>30</sup>

Yet, if some year we, Devlet Giray Khan, or our sultan, the qalga sultan, along with our troops, invade the lands of our Muscovian enemy without being requested by the king, display enmity to this enemy with our saber, cause damage in his state, and—with God's help—capture a castle or a few castles from the hands of the Muscovian [duke] and append to the state of our brother, the great king, then that year, in return for such a true friendship, our brother, the king, should give us, Devlet Giray Khan, the gifts of Mehmed Giray, and he should also send our son, Mehmed Giray Sultan, the gifts of Bahadır Sultan.

And if some year we, Devlet Giray, our son, the qalga sultan, and our other sons, the sultans, do not fulfill our word and oath, and refrain from raiding Muscovy and causing substantial damage to [our] enemy's land, or if we commence friendship with the grand duke of Muscovy, or raid the states of our brother, the great king of the [Polish] Crown, of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania,

<sup>27</sup> It is rather unlikely that the original document, issued in the khan's chancery, referred to Christ as "the Son of God," because the Muslims regarded Jesus as a prophet, but not the son of God. It is apparently an addition of a Lithuanian chancery clerk.

<sup>28</sup> Obviously it should read "25th."

<sup>29</sup> On Bahadır Giray, the son and qalga of Mehmed Giray Khan, see Document 17, n. 11.

<sup>30</sup> The present document introduces two categories of gifts expected by the khan from the royal side: ordinary gifts that should be sent each year as a form of tribute and extraordinary gifts, once received by Mehmed Giray and Bahadır Sultan, treated as a compensation for the Crimean assistance against Muscovy. The phrase *wedle pierwszego dokończenia* ("according to the first letter of agreement" or "according to the ancient letter of agreement") might refer either to the agreement between Mengli Giray and Sigismund I from 1513 (Documents 10–11), or to the document issued by Devlet Giray in 1552 (Document 32).

of Ruthenia, etc., or his borderland [Ukrainian] castles, or if our people of the Crimea, of Perekop, and from among the Nogays, who serve us, as well as the cossacks of Akkerman, Očakiv, and Azov, wish to raid the royal state, and we refrain from [confiscating and] gathering the abducted captives and sending them back to the king, restoring from our treasury the damages done to the state of the great king by estimating their value, and from punishing those, who have invaded the royal state without our knowledge, by beheading and severe penalties, then we will violate our oath.

And if you, our brother, do not send us the gifts of Mehmed Giray and of Bahadır Sultan, or if the cossacks from the borderland [Ukrainian]<sup>31</sup> castles come from your side to our states by water or by land<sup>32</sup> and commit any damage, and you, our brother, do not order to punish such wrongdoers and do not restore or compensate the damage, then you, our brother, will thus violate your oath.

And as regards the [ordinary] annual gifts that you used to send us according to the ancient letter of agreement, you, our brother, do not have to send them until we satisfy all the present [conditions], and restore and fulfill everything according to our present letter of agreement.

We, Devlet Giray Khan—to begin with, along with our son, the qalga Mehmed Giray, and our [other] sons, the sultans, [and] the beys, qaraçıs, ulans, and other mirzas—as many as there are—, who stand by us as our loyal and good servants, have taken our oath upon the present [conditions]:

We sincerely swear to God, who created heaven and earth, and by our Koran, that we display loyalty to our brother and wish to remain in justice and good fidelity with your descendants; and we promise to fulfill everything according to our present letter of agreement; and no damage will be done in any matter to the states of yours, our brother, either the Polish Crown or the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, or any of your castles, villages, estates, your whole state and people, and your entire borderlands;<sup>33</sup> [and we swear] that we wish to remain forever in brotherly and good friendship with you, our brother, the great king Sigismund Augustus, just as it is openly and clearly written in our present letter of agreement.

And we have taken oath upon the sincerity of everything [that has been written] above, and having invoked the supreme and one God, and our prophet Muhammad Mustafa,<sup>34</sup> we swear according to our law to keep it in accordance with our present letter of agreement: by God, with God, and through

<sup>31</sup> In this case the Polish term *ukrainnych zamków* can be translated as “borderland castles,” but also more precisely as “Ukrainian castles;” cf. notes 18–20 above.

<sup>32</sup> The Polish expression *wodni i polni kozacy* (lit. “water and field cossacks”) is translated here as “the cossacks [who come] by water or by land;” it can be also translated as “the cossacks, dwelling on the [Dnieper] river or in the steppe.”

<sup>33</sup> Here the term *ukrainom waszym* is written in plural, hence it is translated as “your borderlands;” cf. notes 18–20, and 31 above.

<sup>34</sup> Mustafa (lit. “the Chosen”) is the second name of Prophet Muhammad.



God!<sup>35</sup> Such is our oath. We will firmly keep our oath to our brother, the great king Sigismund Augustus, and our word will never deviate from our present oath.

And I send to you, our brother, our present letter written in gold, having stamped it with the golden seals. Having recorded the present agreement in the present letter, we dispatch it through your good envoy and great servant, Pan Skumin L'vovyč Tyškevyč,<sup>36</sup> the marshal and tenant of Čornobyl', whom you, our brother, have sent us, and through our envoy and loyal servant named Hadji Ali Bey,<sup>37</sup> attached to your envoy.

This letter has been written in our residence in Qırq Yer, in our place of Baghchasaray,<sup>38</sup> in the year 1560.

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<sup>35</sup> The Arabic formula *vallahi ve billahi ve tallahi* is almost correctly rendered in the Polish text.

<sup>36</sup> Skumin Tyškevyč (Pol. Tyszkiewicz), marshal and tenant of Čornobyl' since 1558, envoy to the Crimea in 1554, 1559–1560, and 1562; see Banionis, *LDK pasiuntinybių tarnyba*, pp. 112, 165, and 201–202; *Urzednicy centralni i dostojnicy WKL*, p. 246.

<sup>37</sup> Referred to as a Circassian (*Hadčy Alej Petyhorec*) in a letter by Sigismund Augustus from 1571; see *Kniga posol'skaja*, vol. 1, p. 310. Perhaps identical with Ali Hadji, a courtier (*ički bek*) of Sahib Giray Khan, who was sent in embassy to Cracow and Vilnius in 1541? Cf. Document 29, n. 2, and Document 30, n. 1.

<sup>38</sup> Baghchasaray is identified here with Qırq Yer, although these were initially two separate localities; cf. Document 15, n. 21.

DOCUMENT 34 (14 FEBRUARY–14 MARCH 1592)  
The *ahdname* sent by Khan Ghazi II Giray to King Sigismund III  
and his subjects [Facs. III]

Original paper<sup>1</sup> document in Turkish (Crimean Tatar mixed with Ottoman Turkish): AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 65, t. 126, no. 702.

125 × 30 cm. (3 sheets glued together)

upper invocation (gold): *nesih* script

lower invocation (gold): *nesih* script

proto-*tuğra* (gold): *divani* script

the golden *nişan* of Ghazi II Giray (5.7 × 5.7 cm.) is impressed at the top text (black with gold insertions, ornamented with scattered golden triple dots): *divani* script

the black almond-like seal of Ghazi II Giray (1.7 cm. in height) is impressed at the bottom

Published in a) *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, pp. 9–12; b) Akdes Nimet Kurat, *IV–XVIII. yüzyıllarda Karadeniz kuzeyindeki Türk kavimleri ve devletleri* (Ankara, 2002) [first published in 1972], pp. 385–391 (Arabic-script text based on *Materialy*, followed by a Latin-script transcription; the edition is not annotated and contains several omissions).

**Hüve**

**Bi`l-quvveti`l-ehadiye ve`l-mu`cizati`l-muhammediye**

**Uluğ O[r]du uluğ hanı Ğazi Ğerey Han sözüm**

**Bismillahi`r-rahmani`r-rahimi! La ilaha illa`llah Muhammadun rasul`llah!  
İslam!**

**Ğazi Ğerey Han bin Devlet Ğerey Han/<sup>a</sup> bin Mübarek Ğerey Sultan bin  
Mengli Ğerey Han<sup>b</sup>**

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<sup>1</sup> The white paper contains a watermark (5.2 cm. in height) depicting an anchor inscribed within a circle, topped with a trefoil with rhomboid leaves; identical paper was used in the same period by the Ottoman chancery; cf. Asparouh Velkov, *Les filigranes dans les documents ottomans—Divers types d'images* (Sofia, 2005), pp. 5 and 92–93. The watermark was typical for Venetian paper-mills; see Charles Briquet, *Les Filigranes. Dictionnaire Historique des Marques du Papier*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1923) [reprint: Hildesheim and New York, 1977], pp. 40–41.

<sup>a</sup> Here begins the inscription in the middle frame of the *nişan*.

<sup>b</sup> The whole inscription of the *nişan* is inverse and hardly legible; it can be read against the light.

- [1] Allah ve Hüday İzim<sup>c</sup> ve İzed ve uğan Təngri ta‘ala hazretlerinin vah-daniyeti ve ‘azameti birlen başlansun
- [2] ong qolning ve sol qolning uluğ ulusning tümen biylegen ming yüz on biylegen
- [3] oğlanlarına ve bekleringe ve mirzalarına ve Rus ve Prus kenazlarına ve şehir ve kermen
- [4] bəkləringe ve metropolitleringe ve ivladıqalarına ve aqbaşlı ve qara tonlarına mesçanlarına ve barça uluğ kengeş panlarına
- [5] ve içki ve tışqalarına ve köblik qara əlge barça tüzünce bilgeleringe basa mən ki sansız ve köblik Deşt-i Qıpçaqning uluğ
- [6] padişahı **Gazi Gərey Han**mən Haq sübhanehu ve ta‘alaning ‘ulüvv-i ‘ina-yetleri şan-i şerifimüzge muqarin ve mu‘avin bolub uluğ atalarımızın
- [7] uruqlarına taht-i haqanığa cülus müyesser ve nasib boldı ərse işbu yarlıg-i şerif-i haqanimiz birlen beyan ve aşikare qılargız kim
- [8] eva’ildin uluğ atamız uçmaqlıq Hacı Gərey Han ve önki havaqinü’l-‘uzam ve selatinü’l-kiram rahmetu’llah ‘aleyhim ecma’in zamanlarında vilayet-i İleh
- [9] memleketi qıralları olan Qazimir qıral ve Zigmat qıral ve Ahust qıral ve sair qırallar çağlarında biri birisi birlen dost muhabbet ve barış
- [10] ve yarış bolub eki curt arasında öksüz oğul ve tul hatun yarlı yırtca başlarına altun tac urub yürür bolsalar
- [11] ve asla meci-i tacir ve bazargan varub kélür bolsalar zarar ve ziyan körmey emin barub aman kélürler ərđiler amma Ahust qıral fevt
- [12] olduqda İleh memleketiğe qıral bolur oğlu qalmay İleh memleketi on eki yıl qıralsız bolub memleket içinde olan hırsuz ve haramileri
- [13] İleh memleketining voyvodaları ve panları ve kermen bekleri tirkemey ve zabt qılmay zahire azuq vərüb kemi<sup>d</sup> vərüb Özü suyına kélüb Tataruñ
- [14] tuvarcısın alub ve tuvar ve yılqısın sürüb song Macar qıralları uruğındın İştfan qıral İleh memleketiğe qıral bolub Özü suyında
- [15] olan qristyanning hırsuz harami qazaqlarına ri‘ayet etken üçün Özü suyında harami ve hırsuz qazaqlar köblik bolub Özü suyındın
- [16] inüb devletluğ ve sa‘adetluğ **padişah** hündkar hazretlerinin Özü suyu boyunda olan Cankermen ve Aqkermen ve Bender kermenning arasında
- [17] olan qoycı ve tuvarcı ve bazargan faqirleringe zarar ve ziyan körküzgen-leri üçün rahmetliq babamuz Devlet Gərey Han
- [18] ve ağaçlarımız hanlar ve özümüz ve sultanlar ve beş-baş Tatar qazaqları İleh memleketin her yıl ve her qış çabub eki curt

<sup>c</sup> For the old Turkish term *izi* (lit. “master,” in Muslim texts often referring to God), see Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish* (Oxford, 1972), p. 41, and Ananiasz Zajaczkowski (ed.), *Najstarsza wersja turecka Husrāv u Širin Qutba*, pt. 3: *Słownik* (Warsaw, 1961), p. 56; in the present document the expression *İzim* is translated as “my [divine] Master.” Once again, many thanks to Henryk Jankowski for his help in identifying this term.

<sup>d</sup> It can be also read *gemi*.

- [19] biri birine düşman olurğa Özü suyu içinde olan harami hırsuz qıstıyan qazaqları sebeb olunmuşlardır hala İleh memleketi
- [20] qıralı bolğan İsveške qıral oğlu qarındaşımız **Zigmut qıral** devlet-işikimizge uluğ elçisi Branovski<sup>e</sup>ni bölek hazinesi birlen yiberüb
- [21] burunğı barış ve yarış ve dost ve muhabbet yosunca eki curtumuz barış ve yarış bolub bazargan emin varub ve aman kélüb kim kimesnedin zarar ve ziyan
- [22] olmasın dédiler érse yibergen bölek hazinesin hoş körüb alub qabul qilındı ve qarındaşımız **Zigmut** birlen dahi dost ve muhabbet
- [23] ve barış ve yarışımızni dahi şol şart üzerine qılargız ki Özü suyu içinde olan harami ve hırsuz qıstıyan qazaqların barçasın
- [24] sürüb Özü suyındın çıkarub tirkeb zabt étkeyler ve taqı yibere turğan bölek hazinesin her yıl yibergeyler ve defterümüz
- [25] üzere kişilerimizning tiyışlerin bölek hazinesiyle bilge yibergeyler ve taqı qağılqa sultan olan qarındaşımız Feth Gérey
- [26] Sultaŋa dahi altmış postaf çekmen bölek hazinesiyle bilge yibe[r]geyler ve on eki kişiğe dahi tiyış yibergeyler bu üslub üzere
- [27] bölek hazinesin verüb ve tiyışlerin bilge yiberir bolsalar ve Özü suyu içinde qıstıyan qazaqların bir qoymay barçasın
- [28] çıkarır bolsalar barış ve yarış ve dost ve muhabbet bolub eger mèn özüm **Gazi Gérey Han** bulay ve uluğ kiçik qağılqa sultan
- [29] başlıq barça sultanlar bolğaylar ve bekler ve mirzalar bolsun Tatar çerüvmiz birlen çabargá ve yaqub yıqargá ve zarar ve ziyan qılargá
- [30] bir kimesne barmasın eger sèn qarındaşımız **Zigmut** bu ‘ahd ve şart üzerine turar bolsalar vallahi ve billahi ve tallahi dostunuzğa dost
- [31] ve düşmanınızğa düşman bolurmız ve taqı beş-baş qazaqlar barub el astındın salanız çabub esir keltürür bolsalar mèn qarındaşınız
- [32] Gazi Gérey **Han** keltürgen esirlerni qayta alub yiberirmiz ve beş-baş ve qazaqların taqı qatı haqlarındın keltürmiz Özü suyu
- [33] içinde turğan qıstıyan qazaqlarınızni çıkarımas bolsañız Tatar tuvarcısına ve tuvar qarağa zarar ve ziyan qılar bolsalar siz
- [34] qarındaşımız **Zigmut** bilmiş bolsun kim dostluq ve muhabbet ve barış ve yarış olmay eki curt emin-aman bolmaslar ve taqı siz **Zigmut** qarındaşımız
- [35] Özü suyu içinde qıstıyan qazaqlarınızni çıkarır bolsañız Özü suyu boyunda bolğan qara ra‘iyet-i el kişileriniz kelüb çorqa tuzumuzdan
- [36] aqçaları birlen eminümüzdin tuz satun alub ketsün sèn **Zigmut** qarındaşımızning memleketiğe ve bizim memleketimizge bazarganlar qorqmay
- [37] ve üşenmey emin varub aman kélgeyler hala uluğ elçiniz Branovskining közünce bu ant ve şart ve ‘ahd édüb bu ‘ahdname
- [38] yarlıg-i şerif-i haqanimüzge altun nişanlıg mührini basub özümüzning uluğ elçimiz olan içki begimiz olub vezirimüz

<sup>e</sup> Written with a final Arabic *he* (برانوسکه); its ending can be read—*ki* as in the word *ki* (که).

- [39] olan Qasımın bu ant ve şart ve ‘ahdimizni siz qarındaşımız **Zigmat** bildirir üçün yiberdik ve taqı sən **Zigmat** qarındaşımız Masqov düşmanınızğa
- [40] atlanganınızda mən **Ğazi Gërey Han** qarındaşınızda yardım üçün Tatar çerüvin tiler bolsanız harchıq filori yibergeysiz ki çerüvmizge vërüb
- [41] düşmanınız üstüne cibergeymiz ve taqı biz **Ğazi Gërey Han** qarındaşınızdan varan uluğ elçimüzi eki aydın artuq tutqar **qılmay**<sup>f</sup>
- [42] bölek hazinesi ve tiyişler birlen qayta têt-oq biz qarındaşınızğa yibergeysiz ve siz **Zigmat** qıral qarındaşımızdan bizge këlgen
- [43] uluğ elçinizni taqı eki aydın artuq tutqar qılmay sən **Zigmat** qıral qarındaşımızğa têt-oq ciberirmiz imdi sən **Zigmat** qıral
- [44] qarındaşımız bilmiş bolsunlar kim Özü suyu içindin qazaqlarınızın çıkar ve tirkemey zabt qılmas bolursanız biz qarındaşınızning tuvarcılarına
- [45] ve tuvar qarağa zarar qılub ve devletluğ sa‘adetluğ **padişah** hündkar hazretlerinin kermenlerine ve re‘ayasığa zarar ve ziyar qılar bolsalar
- [46] dostluq ve muhabbatlıq ve barış-yarış bolmay eki curtning re‘aya ve berayası zahmet körüb devletluğ **padişah** hündkar hazretlerindin
- [47] dahi uyat bolursız bu ‘ahd ve şart ve ant üzerine turulmaq kerekdir deyü ‘ahdname yarlıg-i şerif-i haqani bitildi fı şehri Cemaziyi’l-evvel
- [48] min şuhuri seneti elf

### bi-maqami

### Alma Saray dari’l-haqani

### Ğazi Gërey Han bin Devlet Gërey Han<sup>g</sup>

Translation:

*He!*

*By the strength of oneness [of God] and the miracles of Muhammad!*  
[proto-tuğra] *The great khan of the Great Horde, Ghazi Giray Khan: my word:*

[nişan] [outer frame] *In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful! There is no god but God! Muhammad is the Prophet of God! Islam! Ghazi Giray Khan, son of Devlet Giray Khan, [middle frame] son of Mübarek Giray Sultan, son of Mengli Giray Khan*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>f</sup> Apparently written in gold by mistake.

<sup>g</sup> Text of the seal.

<sup>2</sup> At the end there is the golden trident-shaped emblem of the Girays (*taraq tamğa*). The whole inscription is inverse, hardly legible, and can be read only against the light. According to Mirkasym Usmanov, these shortcomings demonstrate that by the time of Ghazi II Giray the tradition of using *nişans* went into oblivion, to be completely discontinued under his successors; see Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, pp. 152–154.

*Let us commence with [invoking] the oneness and greatness of God, Lord, my [divine] Master, Deity, and omnipresent Heaven—may He be exalted!*

*To those commanding over tens of thousands [tümens], and those commanding over thousands, hundreds, and tens of the right wing and the left wing of the great people [ulus], the ulans, beys, and mirzas, and to the princes<sup>3</sup> of Ruthenia and Prussia, the commanders of cities and towns, metropolitans and [Orthodox] bishops,<sup>4</sup> women [sic]<sup>5</sup> and monks,<sup>6</sup> townsmen,<sup>7</sup> all lords of the Great Council, those in the inner [i.e., courtiers] and outer service, and to all common people; they should all duly know:*

*I, who am the great padishah of the countless and numerous [inhabitants of the] Kipchak Steppe, Ghazi Giray Khan; as the greatness of favors of God—may He be glorified and exalted!—has joined and assisted our noble dignity, and our accession to the imperial throne, [duly belonging] to the offspring of our ancestors, has been facilitated and destined, we declare and announce with our present noble imperial *yarlıq* that formerly, in the times of our great ancestor, the heavenly [i.e., residing in heaven] Hadji Giray Khan, and [other] previous great emperors and munificent sultans (may the compassion of God be upon them all!), [and] in the age of the kings of the Polish Kingdom: King Casimir, King Sigismund, King Augustus, and other kings, there existed [between us] mutual friendship, affection, peace, and companionship, [so that] if an orphan, a widow, or a ragged beggar had traveled between the two countries wearing golden crowns on their heads, and especially with the arrival of traders and merchants, if they had gone and returned, they would not have experienced any harm or damage, going securely and returning safely.*

<sup>3</sup> In theory, it is also possible to translate the word *kenazlar* as “reverends” or “Catholic bishops” since the Ruthenian term *knjaz*’ referred either to “prince” or “[Catholic] priest.” Yet, albeit Catholic hierarchs were listed in the *şartname* sent to Poland in 1520, throughout the 16th century the Crimean chancery stuck to the customary formula, known from the earliest *yarlıqs* sent to Lithuanian rulers. The formula opened with addressing the Ruthenian princes, metropolitans, and Orthodox bishops, while it contained no reference to Catholic hierarchs. This subject is also discussed in Chapter 3 in Part II.

<sup>4</sup> Ruth. *vladyka* or Pol. *władyka* (i.e., “Orthodox bishop”) is rendered in the Turkish text as *ıvladıqa*.

<sup>5</sup> Pol. *białogłowa* (lit. “white head,” i.e., “woman”) is rendered in the Turkish text as *aqbaşlı* (lit. “[the one] with a white head”). The term itself was apparently entered in the present and earlier documents by misunderstanding; an earlier scribe, unfamiliar with the old Ruthenian term *beleć* (lit. “[the one] wearing white [garments]”), which referred to a layman living in a monastery, changed it into *belyholova*, i.e., “woman;” cf. Document 18, n. 5 and Document 27, n. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Ruth. *černec* (lit. “[the one] wearing black [garments],” i.e., “monk”) is rendered in the Turkish text as *qara ton* (lit. “[the one wearing] black garments”).

<sup>7</sup> Pol. *mieszczanin* (*mieszczan* in the genitive plural) is rendered in the Turkish text as *meşcan*.

Yet, when King Augustus had died, as he had left no son to reign over Poland, the Polish kingdom remained without a king for twelve years;<sup>8</sup> [during that period] the Polish palatines [voyvodalar], lords,<sup>9</sup> and town commanders<sup>10</sup> did not restrain and hold the thieves and robbers, living in the kingdom, but [instead] they provisioned them and gave them ships, so that [the latter] arrived at the Dnieper river, captured Tatar cowherds, and drove away Tatar cattle and horses; thereafter, King Stephan, from the household of Hungarian kings, became the king of Poland; as he protected the Christian cossacks who dwelled on the Dnieper river and who were thieves and robbers, the cossack robbers and thieves multiplied and [began to] set out from the Dnieper river; as it became apparent how much harm and damage they caused to poor shepherds, cowherds, and merchants [herding and traveling] between the towns of His Excellency, the sovereign, the illustrious and prosperous padishah: Djankerman [i.e., Očakiv], situated on the Dnieper's shore, as well as Akkerman and Bender, our late father, Devlet Giray Khan, our elder brothers, the khans,<sup>11</sup> as well as myself, the princes [sultans], and small groups [beş-baş]<sup>12</sup> of Tatar cossacks have been raiding Poland each year and each winter; the reason that made [our] two countries mutual enemies were the Christian cossacks who dwelled on the Dnieper river and who were robbers and thieves.

Now, the son of the king of Sweden, our brother King Sigismund, who is the king of Poland, sent to our prosperous gate [i.e., Porte] his great envoy Broniowski<sup>13</sup> along with his gifts [bölek hazinesi];<sup>14</sup> as they proposed that according to the formerly observed peace, companionship, friendship, and affection there should be [again] peace and companionship between our two countries, and merchants, while going securely and returning safely, should not experience any harm or damage from anybody, the sent gifts [bölek hazinesi] were looked at favorably, taken and accepted.

And we are going to keep friendship, affection, peace, and companionship with our brother Sigismund on the following conditions: they [i.e., the king] should banish all the Christian cossacks who are dwelling on the Dnieper river

<sup>8</sup> In fact the Polish interregna lasted much shorter: from the death of Sigismund Augustus till the accession of Henry de Valois (1572–1573), from the departure of the latter to France till the coronation of Stephan Báthory (1574–1576), and from the death of Stephan Báthory till the coronation of Sigismund III Vasa (1586–1587).

<sup>9</sup> The Turkish term *panlar* (in plural) derives from the Polish *pan*.

<sup>10</sup> The term *kermen bekleri* (lit. “beys of towns”) apparently refers to the *starostas*.

<sup>11</sup> I.e., Mehmed II Giray (r. 1577–1584) and Islam II Giray (r. 1584–1588).

<sup>12</sup> Lit. “[a group of] five heads.”

<sup>13</sup> Marcin Broniowski (alias Broniewski), a courtier and secretary of King Stephan Báthory, sent five times in embassy to the Crimea in 1578 (twice), 1584, 1587, and 1591; his first two embassies resulted in his famous description of the Crimea, published in 1595; see *Martini Broniovii de Biezdzfedeia bis in Tartariam nomine Stephani primi Poloniae regis legati Tartariae descriptio* (Cologne, 1595); cf. his biography by Kazimierz Chodynicky in *PSB*, vol. 2 (Cracow, 1936), pp. 461–462; on the uncertain dating of his fourth embassy, see Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, p. 59.

<sup>14</sup> On the term *bölek* (“gift”), cf. Document 20, n. 32; *hazine* means “treasure.” The whole expression is translated here as “gifts.”

and are robbers and thieves, and they should expel them from the Dnieper river, they should restrain and hold them. Also, each year they should send the gifts [bölek hazinesi] that used to be sent [previously], and according to our register [defter],<sup>15</sup> they should send presents [tiyiş]<sup>16</sup> to our dependants along with the gifts. Moreover, along with the gifts [bölek hazinesi], they should also send sixty pieces [postaws]<sup>17</sup> of cloth to our brother Feth Giray Sultan, who is the qalga sultan. And they should also send presents [tiyiş] to [his] twelve dependants.

If they [i.e., the king] give and send the gifts along with the presents in this fashion, and expel all the Christian cossacks from the Dnieper river, so that no one remains, there will be peace, companionship, friendship, and affection; while I personally, Ghazi Giray Khan, and—to begin with the qalga sultan—all the older and younger princes [sultans], beys, and mirzas, along with our Tatar troops, should likewise let nobody set out to raid, burn, destroy, or commit harm and damage [to your country], and provided that you, our brother Sigismund, keep this engagement [‘ahd] and stipulation [şart], by God, with God, and through God, we will be a friend to your friend and an enemy to your enemy.

Also, if a small group [beş-baş] of cossacks sets out, raids villages<sup>18</sup> under your hand, and abducts captives, I, your brother Ghazi Giray Khan, will take the abducted captives and send them back; and we will severely punish [such] perpetrators of small raids [beş-baş]<sup>19</sup> and cossacks.

[But] if you do not expel the Christian cossacks, dwelling on the Dnieper river, and if they commit any harm or damage to Tatar cowherds and cattle, you, our brother Sigismund, should know that there will be no friendship,

<sup>15</sup> Such a register (*defter*), sent by Ghazi II Giray to Sigismund III, is preserved in the Polish archives (see AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 65, t. 124, no. 700). It is dated 1 Shaban 996 A.H. (26 June 1588) and lists the khan himself along with his mother and four wives, the qalga, the nureddin, and further—male and female—Giray family members as well as a few dozen of court and retinue members. It is not certain whether the khan refers here to the above register, or to a more recent one, composed in 1592 and not preserved.

<sup>16</sup> In the given context the term *bölek hazinesi* (see n. 14 above) refers to the tribute sent to the khan while the term *tiyiş* to the presents for his retinue. For the discussion of the term *tiyiş* (or *teş’* in the Russian sources), see Aleksandr Samojlovič, “Tijiš’ (tiš’) i drugie terminy krymsko-tatarskix jarlykov,” *Izvestija Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk*, 6 series, vol. 11 (1917): 1277–1278; Mária Ivanics, “Entstehung und Quellenwert der krimtatarischen *tiyiş defters*,” p. 109; Matuz, *Krimtatarische Urkunden*, p. 12; Anna Xoroškevič, *Rus’ i Krym*, pp. 240–242.

<sup>17</sup> *Postaw* was a measure unit for cloth in Poland; according to the official tax regulations issued in 1565, a *postaw* of imported English cloth should have measured 40×3 ells, while a *postaw* of domestic cloth 30×2 ells; cf. Document 26, n. 5; this measure unit was also common in the Ottoman Empire and known as *pastav*; cf. Inalcık, “Introduction to Ottoman metrology,” *Turcica. Revue d’études turques* 15 (1983): 311–348, esp. p. 328.

<sup>18</sup> The Tatar term *sala* (earlier *sela*) derives from the Ruthenian *selo* (*sela* in plural).

<sup>19</sup> Lit. “[a raid committed by] five heads.”



affection, peace, or companionship, and [our] two countries will be neither strong nor safe.

And [yet], if you, our brother Sigismund, expel the Christian cossacks dwelling on the Dnieper river, your common subjects, dwelling on the shore of the Dnieper, may come and buy<sup>20</sup> salt from our salines from our intendant [emin], and go [free]. Merchants may go securely and return safely [both] to the kingdom of yours, our brother Sigismund, and to our kingdom, without being afraid or annoyed.

Now, in the sight of your great envoy, Broniowski, we have sworn, stipulated and engaged, we have stamped this ‘ahdname, our noble imperial yarlıq, with the golden nişan-like seal, and we have sent our courtier [ıçki bek] and vizier Qasım as our great envoy, so that he may communicate to you, our brother Sigismund, our present oath, stipulation, and engagement.

Also, if you, our brother Sigismund, mount a horse against your Muscovian enemy and you ask me, your brother Ghazi Giray Khan, to assist you with the Tatar troops, you should send me an allowance in florins so that I may give it to my troops and send them against your enemy.

Also, you should not detain longer than two months our great envoy, who arrives from the side of ours, your brother Ghazi Giray Khan, but you should quickly send him back to us, your brother, along with gifts [bölek hazinesi] and presents [tiyiş]. We, too, should not detain longer than two months your great envoy, who comes to us from the side of yours, our brother King Sigismund, but we should quickly send him to you, our brother, King Sigismund.

Now, our brother King Sigismund, you should know that if you do not expel your cossacks from the Dnieper river and do not restrain and hold them, and if they commit any harm to the cowherds and cattle of ours, your brother, or if they commit any harm or damage to the towns and subjects [re‘aya] of His Excellency, the sovereign, the illustrious and prosperous padishah, there will be no friendship, affection, peace, or companionship, the subjects<sup>21</sup> of the two countries will experience trouble and you will be also shamed by His Excellency, the sovereign, the illustrious padishah. [Hence] it is necessary to keep this engagement, stipulation, and oath;

—such is the tenor of the ‘ahdname, the noble imperial yarlıq, that has been written in the month Djumada I from among the months of the year 1000, in the place of Alma Saray,<sup>22</sup> the imperial abode.

[seal] Ghazi Giray Khan, son of Devlet Giray Khan<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Lit. “buy for their aspers [aqças].”

<sup>21</sup> Tur. *re‘aya ve beraya*, a bureaucratic formula used in the Ottoman chancery.

<sup>22</sup> One of the khan’s residences, situated to the north of Baghchasaray on the Alma river; later known as Almakerman or Almakermen; see Jankowski, *Historical-Etymological Dictionary*, pp. 158–161.

<sup>23</sup> In the middle of the seal there is the trident-shaped emblem of the Girays (*taraq tamğa*).

DOCUMENT 35 (14 FEBRUARY–14 MARCH 1592)  
The [oath-]yarlıq sent by Khan Ghazi II Giray to King Sigismund III  
[Facs. IV]

Original paper<sup>1</sup> document in Turkish (Crimean Tatar mixed with Ottoman Turkish): AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 65, t. 125, no. 701.

125 × 30 cm. (3 sheets glued together)

invocation (black): *nesih* script

proto-*tuğra* (gold): *divani* script

text (black with gold insertions, ornamented with scattered golden triple dots): *divani* script

the black almond-like seal of Ghazi II Giray (1.7 cm. in height) is impressed at the bottom

Published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, pp. 13–18.

Hüve

**Ebü'l-feth el-ğazi Ğazi Ğerey Han sözüm**

- [1] Uluğ ulusning ve köb Rusning ve Prusning ve İlehning ve Mazavşning ve Milyanıng ve Qraqovning ve barça qıstyanlarınıng
- [2] uluğ qıstyan padişahı qarındaşıımız **Zigmut qıral** köbdin köb selam-i merfu<sup>c</sup> degeç yahşımız ve hoşmız deb<sup>a</sup> haliniz ve hatırınız sorğanımızdın song
- [3] il'am-i yarlıg-i şerif-i muhabbet-i haqani oldur kim eger biz qarındaşıınız sarı sorar bolsaınız el-hamdü li'llah memleketimiz emin-aman bolub barça çerüvmüz tüz ve yasanlı
- [4] hoş-hal bilgeysiz hala siz **Zigmut** qarındaşıımız bilmiş bolsun kim mundin burun mên Gazi Ğerey Han köblik ve sansız Deşt-i Qıpçaqning
- [5] uluğ padişahınıng uluğ atamız uçmaqlıq Hacı Ğerey Hanning hanlıqları çağındın rahmetliq babamız Devlet Ğerey Hanning
- [6] hanlıqları zamanıga këlgince İleh qıralları bolğan Zigmut qıral ve Ahust qıral qarındaşılarımız dost ve muhabbet ve barış yarış bolub eki curtnıng
- [7] arasında öksüz oğul ve tul hatun ve yırtca yarlılar başlarınga altun tac urub yürür bolsa kim kimesnedin zarar ve ziyan körmey
- [8] ve asla meci-i bazarganlar eki curtnıng arasında emin varub ve aman kelib padişahlarga alqışlar qıla turur êrdiler ve taqı hanlar
- [9] ve sultanlar çerüv birlen **qıral** qarındaşılarımız memleketlerin çabmay ve aqın qılmay turur êrdiler eger beş-baş Tatar qazaqları yürütüb barub

<sup>1</sup> On the paper, on which this document is issued, see Document 34, n. 1.

<sup>a</sup> It can be also read *deyib*.

- [10] qarındaşlarımızning memleketlerin esir çıxarub Qırım memleketiğe keltürseler Qırım hanları ve sultanlar qayta yiberirler êrdiler ve eger satub
- [11] bazarganlar esirni satun alub İstanbula alub barsalar devletluğ uluğ padişah hündkar hazretlerinin hükm-i şerifleri birle esirni bazargandan
- [12] tartıb alub qayta yiberirler êrdiler Ahust qıral qarındaşımız ölgendin song İleh memleketiğe bolur oğlı qalmay barça İleh memleketi
- [13] on êki yıl çaqlı qıralsız ve padişahsız qalıb turğanda qırğavda<sup>b</sup> bolğan qıstyan voyvodaları ve panları ve kermen biylikleri hırsuz ve harami
- [14] bolğan qıstyan qazaqların tirkemey ve zabt qılmay azıq ve kemiler<sup>c</sup> vèrüp Özü suyığa yiberüp Tatarning tuvarcısın ve tuvarın alğanlarındın
- [15] song devletluğ uluğ padişah erkli kişi hündkar hazretlerinin qırğav kermenleri bolğan Cankermen ve Aqkermen ve Bender kermenı aralarında yürügen
- [16] qoyların ve tuvarların ve yılqıların alub müslümanlarğa zarar ve ziyanları üçün iki curt biri biringe düşman bolub uçmaqlıq babamuz Devlet Gèrey Han
- [17] ve ağacalarımız hanlar ve mèn Ğazi Gèrey Han ve uluğ kiçik sultanlar ve Tatar qazaqları ve beş-başları barub İleh curtın çabub yaqub yıqub
- [18] harab êdüb ve qıstyan kişilerin köblik esir êdüb keltürgenleringe harami ve hırsuz qıstyan qazaqları Tatarning burundın örüşı ve qışlavı
- [19] olan Özü suyındın kètmegenleri sebeb olunmuşdur ve taqı qarındaşımız bilmiş bolsun kim qıstyan harami hırsuz qazaqlarınız Özü suyındın
- [20] çıqmay Özü suyındın barub devletluğ uluğ padişah ayamuz erkli kişi hündkar hazretlerinin kermenleri arasında yürügen qoycı ve tuvarcı yarlı
- [21] faqirlerin incidüb üşendirgenlerin **padişah** hündkar hazretleri bilüb qahrga kèlib **men Ğazi Gèrey Han**ğa hükm-i şeriflerin çavuşları birlen yiberib
- [22] manga düşman bolub memleketimge zarar ve ziyan yetkürgen İleh memleketi qıstyanlarının halin ve aslın yahşı bilürsün senki
- [23] Deşt-i Qıpçaq hanı **Ğazi Gèrey Hansın** qapum qullarındın köblik qullarım ve toplar ve zarbuzanlar ve yengiçeriler ve Urum-êli pašasın ve Anadolu pašasın
- [24] barça köblik çerüvni sanga qoşub yiberirmin İleh memleketin yaqub ve yıqub ve zabt olunur uluğ şehirlerin ve kermenlerin alub içine
- [25] kişiler qoyub zabt êtkeysiz dèb hündkar hazretleri buyurmuşlar êrdiler **men Ğazi Gèrey Han** qarındaşınız taqı bulay sözüm söz ve cevab
- [26] qılıb devletluğ **padişah** hündkar hazretleringe kağıdım yiberüb bildirdim ki Ahust qıral ölgendin song İleh memleketi on êki yıl qıralsız
- [27] turub memleket tirkevsiz ve zabtsiz olungan üçün Özü suyına kelüb zarar ve ziyan êderler êrdi ve on êki yıldın song Macar qıralarındın
- [28] İştan qıral İleh memleketiğe qıral olub Macar qıraları burun ve burundın devletluğ **padişah** hündkar hazretlerinin eski düşmanları

<sup>b</sup> The term *qırğav* probably refers to the borderland; see also verse [15].

<sup>c</sup> It can be also read *gemiler*.

- [29] olğanları üçün Özü suyında bolğan qıstıyan qazaqların tirkemey artuğıyla harami ve hırsuz qazaq köblik boldılar hala bundın burun İleh
- [30] memleketi qıralı bolub ölgen Ahust qıralnıng çyanları ki İsveške qıral qarındaşımıznıng oğlu **Zigmut** qarındaşımız İleh memleketiğe qıral boldılar taqı kelmey
- [31] ve qıral tahtığa keçmey bu kün yarın kelüb tahta keçüb devletleriyle qıral olurlar **Zigmut** qarındaşımız kelib qıral tahtığa keçkendin song harami ve hırsuz
- [32] Özü suyında olğan barça qıstıyan qazaqların Özü suyındın çıqardub burunğı Zigmut ve Ahust qıralardı köblik devletluğ **padişah** hündkar
- [33] ve mên **Gazi Gërey Han** qarındaşlarına dostluq ve muhabbet ve barış ve yarış ve qarındaşlıqnı yahşı qırlarlar ve devletluğ **padişah** hündkar hazretlerige
- [34] ve mên **Gazi Gërey** qarındaşlarına ‘adet olan bölek hazinesin her yıl artuğıyla yiberüb dost ve muhabbet ve qarındaş ve barış ve yarış bolub curtlar **padişahlar**
- [35] devletlerinde emin-aman bolub yarlı faqirler zarar ve ziyan körmey du‘a ve alqış qırlarlar teb devletluğ **padişah** erkli kişi hündkar hazretleringe bildirübmin
- [36] devletluğ **padişah** hündkar hazretleri mên **Gazi Gëreyning** bu sözni yahşı kördiler imdi sen qarındaşımız **Zigmut** bilmiş bolsun kim Özü suyu içinde
- [37] bolğan harami ve hırsuz qıstıyan qazaqların bir qazaq Özü suyında qomay çıqargaysın yahşı yasaq ve tirkev étkeysin ve taqı mên **Gazi Han**
- [38] qarındaşınızğa bölek hazinesin her yıl tutqar qılmay berib yibe[r]geysin ve defter étken kişilerimiznıng tiyiş bernesin eksiksiz yibergeysin
- [39] ve taqı qağılqa sultanımız bolğan qarındaşımız qağılqa Feth Gërey Sultan her yıl altmış postaf çekmen bölek hazinesiyle yibergeysin imdi
- [40] sên ki **Zigmut** qıral qarındaşımızsız Özü suyında fesad étken hırsuz ve harami qıstıyan qazaqlarınıznı barçasın Özü suyından çıqarub
- [41] tirkeb qoycı ve tuvarcımız zarar ve ziyan qıldırma ve şartımız üzerine bölek hazinesin ve tiyişlerin berir bolsañız ve qağılqa sultan
- [42] Fethi Gërey Sultan qarındaşımızğa her yıl altmış postaf çekmen ve on eki kişisiğe tiyiş berür bolsañız vallahi ve billahi ve tallahi mên ki özüm Gazi Gërey Han
- [43] uluğ sansız Deşt-i Qıpçaqnıng uluğ **hanımên** ve qağılqa sultan Fethi Gërey Sultan başlıq ve nureddin sultan uluğ kiçik sultanlar
- [44] çerüvmiz birlen sen qarındaşımız **Zigmutning** İleh ve sair memleketleringe barmasmız ve çabmasmız ve yaqub yıgmasmız ve esir qılasmız
- [45] deb içki ve tışqı ve uluğ qarayçı ve ulan keyan ve bek ve mirza cınlıq üzerinde ant ve şart édüb ve Branovski<sup>d</sup> uluğ elçiniz birlen taqı

<sup>d</sup> Written with a final Arabic *he* (برائوسکه); its ending can be read—*ki* as in the word *ki* (که).

- [46] yibergengiz bölek hazinesin hoş körüb alub qabul qıldım ve Branovski uluğ elçiniz körünçe ‘ahd qıldıq ve ‘ahdnamemizni taqı yazub ve ant ve şart
- [47] qılıb siz qarındaşımız **Zigmüt** qıral huzurlarına yiberdim eger qristyan qazaqlarınızning barçasın Özü suyından çıxmay ve çıxarmay
- [48] zabt ve tirkev qılmas bolsanız hazine bölek yibermek ile dost ve qarındaş ve muhabbet ve barış ve yarış olunmas Təngri kimge berür bolsa ol alur
- [49] ve taqı şart üzerine turub qazaqlarınızdan tuvarcılarımızga zarar ve ziyan olmay Özü suyından çıkarır bolsanız Qırım vilayeti qazaqları
- [50] barub İleh memleketindin esir kəltürür bolsalar esirleri tutub ciberirmiz ve qazaq ve beş-başlarının haqlarındın kəlmürüz ve dostunuzğa dost
- [51] ve düşmanınız[ğa] düşman bolurmız ve taqı sen **Zigmüt** qarındaşımız bilmiş bolsun kim Masqov memleketi begi olan Yivan oğlu kenaz Fodor mən Ğazi Ğerey Han
- [52] Deşt-i Qıpçaq **hanığa** kağıdın ve elçisin yiberüb ve bölek hazinesin tondan ve aqcadın köb nime göndürüb bu kündin song əkevev dost ve barış yarış
- [53] bolalıq ve her yıl otuz kerre yüz bin nuqrat aqçasın ve naqd bölek hazinesin birlen berüb yibermin tēb söz qılmış ērdi siz Zigmüt qıral
- [54] qarındaşımızdan dostluq ēdüb bölek hazinesin vērürmiz tēb Hocam Berdi tilmaçı yibergengizde Masqov elçi ve sözün qabul ētmeyüb ve bölekin hoş körmey
- [55] Hocam Berdi tilmaçı közüncə Masqov elçisin tutdurub zindangə saldırub habs qıldırdım ve Qırım çerüvi ve Noğay çerüvi ve Çerkes qullarım çerüvi
- [56] barça üçyüz bin çerüv birlen Masqov tahta varub yolda qoyğan çerüvin ve qarağulun qırub öldürdüb tahtın bilge yaqub ve yıqub ve esirin ve malın
- [57] kəltürüb el-hamdü li’llah barça çerüvmiz sağ-esen keldik şöyle bilgeysin inşa’a’llahu ta’ala evvel baharda yaz olduqda taqı çerüvmiz ile varub
- [58] çabub cavlarımız sən **Zigmüt** qarındaşımızdın<sup>e</sup> köblik dilek qıalarmız sefer ve çerüv harcı üçün biz Ğazi Ğerey Han qarındaşınızga yoq
- [59] demey beş bin filori harçlıq çıxarub burun kəlgen bizim ve sizning çapqunlarımızdın qaldırmay cibergeysin
- [60] burun bolğan hanlarğa ve uçmaqlıq ağacamuz Mehmed Ğerey Hanğa beş bin filori sefer harcı üçün qıral qarındaşlarımız vərgerlerdir
- [61] sən Zigmüt qıral dahi yoq demey beş bin filorini vērüb tēz-oq çapqunlar ile burun cibergeysin hala siz
- [62] **Zigmüt** qıral qarındaşımız birlen bolğan dostluq ve muhabbet ve barış ve yarış ve qarındaşlıqımızni siz **Zigmüt** qıral qarındaşımızga berir aytlub bildirmek üçün
- [63] uluğ içki begimiz bolub vezirimiz bolğan yahşı kişimiz Qasım Bekni uluğ elçi biyimüz qılub sən **Zigmüt** qıral qarındaşımızning huzurlarına ciberdim

<sup>e</sup> Apparently written in gold by mistake.

- [64] tėti ve bahşısı birlen Təngri berse savlıq ve esenliq birlen barganda taqı  
öz sözlerimizi taqı sorar bolsanız barçasın aytıb sən **Zigmat**
- [65] qıral qarındaşımızğa aytıb bildirirler inşa'a'llah kélürde savlıq ve  
esenliqınızın mən qarındaşınız Gazi Gërey Hanğa bildirgeysiz kim  
süyünüb ve könenib
- [66] dostunuzğa dost ve düşmanınızğa düşman bolub köb yıllar barış ve yarış  
ve muhabbet ve tatuv-i qarındaş bolğanımız birlen eki curtımız emin-  
aman bolub
- [67] yarlı faqirler êkev qarındaş padişahğa alqış ertüre turgaylar teyü ağır  
selam ve yingil bölek birlen yarlıg-i şerif-i muhabbet-i haqani bitildi
- [68] ve's-selam 'ala men ittaba'a'l-Hüda fi şehri Cemaziyyi'l-evvel min şuhuri  
seneti biñ yılında tarihining

Alma Sarayında bitildi

### Gazi Gërey Han bin Devlet Gërey Han<sup>f</sup>

Translation:

He!

[proto-tuğra] *The conqueror and ghazi, Ghazi Giray Khan: my word:*

*Great Christian emperor [padişah] of the great people [ulus], of many [lands] of Ruthenia, Prussia, Poland, Mazovia, Sandomierz,<sup>2</sup> and Cracow, and of all Christians, our brother King Sigismund! Having expressed great many exalted salutations, and after we have inquired about your condition and health by asking: “do you feel well?” and “are you doing well?,” the message of the noble yarlıq [full] of imperial affection is that:*

*If you address the [same] question to us, your brother, you should be pleased to know that—thank God!—our kingdom [memleket] is strong and safe, and all our army is in good order and ready.*

*Now, our brother Sigismund, you should know that formerly, from the age of the reign of Hadji Giray Khan, the great heavenly [i.e., residing in heaven] ancestor of mine, Ghazi Giray Khan, [who am] the great padishah of the numerous and countless [inhabitants of the] Kipchak Steppe, until the time of the reign of Devlet Giray Khan, our late father, the kings of Poland, our brothers King Sigismund and King Augustus, remained in friendship, affection, peace, and companionship [with our ancestors], [and] if an orphan, a widow, or ragged beggars were to travel between the two countries wearing golden crowns on their heads, they would not experience any harm or damage from*

<sup>f</sup> Text of the seal.

<sup>2</sup> In the Turkish text *Milya*, apparently a corrupt rendering of *Sandomiria*, the Latin name of Sandomierz.

anybody; and by no means [did anything disturb] the arrival of merchants, who traveled securely and returned safely, constantly praising the rulers.

Also the khans and princes [sultans] along with their troops did not raid or attack the kingdoms of our brothers, the kings; and even when the Tatar cossacks committed a small raid [beş-baş],<sup>3</sup> abducted captives from the kingdoms of our brothers and drove them to the Crimean kingdom [memleket], the Crimean khans and princes sent [these captives] back. And when they [i.e., the Tatar cossacks] sold them to merchants, who purchased the captives and took them to Istanbul, upon the noble orders of His Excellency, the sovereign, the illustrious great padishah [i.e., the Ottoman sultan], after examination the captives were taken from the merchants and sent back.

After our brother, King Augustus had died leaving no son to [rule] the Polish kingdom, the whole Polish kingdom remained without a king or an emperor [padishah] for twelve years;<sup>4</sup> [during that period] the Christian palatines [voyvodalar], lords,<sup>5</sup> and town commanders,<sup>6</sup> [residing] in the borderland,<sup>7</sup> did not restrain and hold the Christian cossacks, who were thieves and robbers, but provisioned them, gave them ships, and sent them to the Dnieper river; after [the cossacks] captured cowherds and cattle of the Tatars, they [also] captured sheep, cattle, and horses moving [i.e., grazing] between the borderland towns of His Excellency, the sovereign, the illustrious great padishah, the master of power: Djankerman [i.e., Oçakiv], Akkerman, and Bender; and because of the harm and damage done to the Muslims there has been mutual enmity between the two countries; [hence] our heavenly father, Devlet Giray Khan, our elder brothers, the khans,<sup>8</sup> and I, Ghazi Giray Khan, and the older and younger princes [sultans], and the Tatar cossacks and small groups [beş-baş],<sup>9</sup> have been setting out and raiding, burning, destroying, and ruining Poland, and taking many Christians as captives; the reason that made them [i.e., us] enter [Poland] were the raids of the Christian cossacks—robbers and thieves, from the Dnieper river—the ancient pastureland and wintering area of the Tatars.

Also, our brother, you should know that as Christian robbers and thieves, your cossacks, without having gone out from the Dnieper river, set out from the Dnieper river,<sup>10</sup> injuring and annoying the poor and miserable from among the

<sup>3</sup> Lit. "[a raid committed by] five heads."

<sup>4</sup> In fact the Polish interregna lasted much shorter: from the death of Sigismund Augustus till the accession of Henry de Valois (1572–1573), from the departure of the latter to France till the coronation of Stephan Báthory (1574–1576), and from the death of Stephan Báthory till the coronation of Sigismund III Vasa (1586–1587).

<sup>5</sup> The Turkish term *panlar* (in plural) derives from the Polish *pan*.

<sup>6</sup> Apparently the author refers to the *starostas*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. n. b above.

<sup>8</sup> I.e., Mehmed II Giray (r. 1577–1584) and Islam II Giray (r. 1584–1588).

<sup>9</sup> Lit. "[a group of] five heads."

<sup>10</sup> *Özü suyındın çıqmay Özü suyındın barub*; this fragment seems contradictory; perhaps the author wanted to stress that the Cossacks did not go by sea, but by land, or perhaps the name Dnieper (*Özü*) was entered for the second time by error instead of the name of another river, for instance the Don or the Boh.

shepherds and cowherds moving between the towns of His Excellency, the sovereign, the illustrious great padishah, our lord, the master of power, on having learned this His Excellency, the sovereign, the padishah, got angry and sent to me, Ghazi Giray Khan, his messengers [çavuşes] with his noble order, saying:

"You, who are Ghazi Giray Khan, the khan of the Kipchak Steppe, you know well the condition and real state of the Christians of the Polish kingdom, who are my enemies and who cause harm and damage to my kingdom [memleket]. Hence I am sending a great number of my slaves from among the slaves of my Porte [qapu qulları], and guns, falconets, janissaries, the pasha of Rumelia and the pasha of Anatolia [with their retinues], so that all this great army may join you. You should burn and destroy the Polish kingdom, and, having seized large fortified cities and towns, you should garrison them and hold them!"—such were the orders of His Excellency, the sovereign.

I, your brother Ghazi Giray Khan, composed my response in the following words and sent my letter to His Excellency, the sovereign, the illustrious padishah, making known and saying that:

"After King Augustus had died, the Polish kingdom remained without a king for twelve years; because the kingdom lacked restraint and control, [some individuals] arrived at the Dnieper river and committed harm and damage. After twelve years King Stephan, from among the Hungarian kings, became the king of Poland; because from the ancient times the Hungarian kings had been old enemies of His Excellency, the sovereign, the illustrious padishah, he [i.e., King Stephan] did not restrain Christian cossacks, dwelling on the Dnieper river; moreover, the cossacks—robbers and thieves, multiplied. Now our brother Sigismund, the nephew of the former king of Poland—the late King Augustus, who is [also] the son of our brother—the king of Sweden, has become the king of Poland. Having not yet arrived and ascended the royal throne, he will soon arrive, ascend the throne, and successfully become the king. After our brother Sigismund arrives and ascends the royal throne, he will order to expel from the Dnieper river all Christian cossacks who dwell on the Dnieper and who are robbers and thieves, and he will agreeably demonstrate much friendship, affection, peace, companionship, and brotherhood, dating from the times of the ancient kings Sigismund and Augustus, towards his brothers: the sovereign, the illustrious padishah, and me, Ghazi Giray Khan. Moreover, he will send each year traditional gifts [bölek hazinesi] to his brothers: His Excellency, the sovereign, the illustrious padishah, and me, Ghazi Giray; when friendship, affection, brotherhood, peace, and companionship prevail and the countries and [their] rulers [padişahs] prosperously enjoy security and safety, the poor and miserable will not experience any harm or damage and will keep praying and praising;"—such was my announcement to His Excellency, the sovereign, the illustrious padishah and the master of power.

[And] His Excellency, the sovereign, the illustrious padishah looked favorably at these words of mine, of Ghazi Giray.

Now, our brother Sigismund, you should know that you should not allow even one cossack from among the Christian cossacks who dwell on the Dnieper river and who are thieves and robbers, to remain on the Dnieper; you should expel them and you should properly enforce prohibition and restraint.



Also, each year you should give and send gifts [bölek hazinesi] to me, your brother Ghazi Khan, and you should not detain them. And you should send *tiyiş* present[s]<sup>11</sup> to our dependants figuring in the register [defter],<sup>12</sup> without any omission.

Also, along with the gifts [bölek hazinesi], each year you should send sixty pieces [postaws]<sup>13</sup> of cloth to our brother, the *qalga* Feth Giray Sultan, who is my *qalga* sultan.

Now, “you, who are King Sigismund, our brother, if you expel from the Dnieper river all of your Christian cossacks, who are thieves, robbers, and mischief makers dwelling on the Dnieper, if you restrain them and not let them commit harm or damage to our shepherds and cowherds, and if, according to our stipulation [şart], you give the gifts [bölek hazinesi] and presents [tiyiş], and each year you give sixty postaws of cloth to our brother, the *qalga* sultan, Fethi<sup>14</sup> Giray Sultan, along with presents for his twelve dependants, by God, with God, and through God, I, who am Ghazi Giray Khan, the great khan of the countless [inhabitants of the] Kipchak Steppe, myself and—to begin with the *qalga* sultan, Fethi Giray Sultan, and the *nureddin* sultan—the older and younger princes [sultans], along with our troops, we will not set out against Poland and other domains of yours, our brother Sigismund, and we will not raid, burn, destroy, or take captives;”—having said that, I have [also] made those in the inner [i.e., court] and outer service, the great *qaraçıs*, the *ulan* princes [keys], the *beys*, and the *mirzas* to swear sincere oaths; and I have looked favorably at the gifts [bölek hazinesi] that you had sent with your great envoy, Broniowski, and I have taken them and accepted.

At the audience with your envoy Broniowski, we have made engagements [‘ahd] and written down our ‘ahdname, and we have sworn oaths; and I have sent [the ‘ahdname] to the presence of our brother, King Sigismund.

[Yet,] if you do not remove and expel from the Dnieper river all of your Christian cossacks, if you do not hold and restrain them, and if you do not keep friendship, brotherhood, affection, peace, and companionship by sending gifts [hazine bölek], whatever God gives one, one takes it.

[But] if you keep your stipulations and no harm or damage is done to our cowherds by your cossacks, whom you expel from the Dnieper river, if the Crimean cossacks set out and drive captives from Poland, we will stop their captives and send them [back]; and we will punish [such] cossacks and perpetrators of small raids [beş-başlar]. And we will be a friend to your friend and an enemy to your enemy.

Also, our brother Sigismund, you should know that Duke Fedor, son of Ivan, the ruler [bey] of the kingdom [memleket] of Muscovy, sent his letter and his

<sup>11</sup> On the term *tiyiş*, see Document 34, n. 16; mentioned for the first time in the present document, it is described as the “*tiyiş* present” (*tiyiş bernesi*; *tiyiş bernesin* in the accusative case); hereafter it is referred to merely as *tiyiş*.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Document 34, n. 15.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Document 34, n. 17.

<sup>14</sup> Feth and Fethi are two variants of the same name.

envoy to me, Ghazi Giray Khan, the khan of the Kipchak Steppe, and he sent many gifts [bölek hazinesi], half in furs<sup>15</sup> and half in akças [i.e., cash], saying: "From this day on let us both keep friendship, peace, and companionship; and I will give and send each year three million silver akças<sup>16</sup> along with the gifts [bölek hazinesi] in cash."

As you, our brother King Sigismund, kept friendship and sent the interpreter,<sup>17</sup> Khodjam Berdi, promising "we are going to give gifts [bölek hazinesi]," I did not accept the Muscovian envoy and his words, neither did I look at his gifts favorably; in the sight of [your] interpreter, Khodjam Berdi, I ordered the Muscovian envoy arrested, rushed to the dungeon, and imprisoned. And along with an army of 300,000, composed of the Crimeans, the Nogays, and my Circassian servants, we set out against the capital of Muscovy [i.e., Moscow], crushing and killing the troops and outposts stationing on the road, even burning and destroying the capital, and bringing back captives and booty. Thank God!—our whole army returned safe and sound. Thus you must know.<sup>18</sup>

God—may He be exalted!—willing, also in the spring, when the summer season comes,<sup>19</sup> we will set out along with our troops and raid our enemy; [yet] we strongly request that you, Sigismund, our brother, should—without any refuse—raise for us, your brother Ghazi Giray Khan, five thousand florins

<sup>15</sup> *Ton* means "garments" as well, but in the given context it rather refers to furs.

<sup>16</sup> Lit. "thirty times one hundred thousand;" if the text refers to the Ottoman *akça*, the promised sum of 3,000,000 *akça* would be equal to almost 25,000 golden florins; yet, if it refers to the local *kefevi akça* minted in the Crimea, it would be worth four or five times less; cf. Şevket Pamuk, *Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 106 and 136. It is not altogether clear whether the offered sum was to be paid in the frame of customary annual gifts as their part in cash (one half in value?), or extra. Besides, the genuineness of the Muscovian offer is disputable; the khans used to make the Polish and Muscovian rulers bid against each other by presenting the offer of another party as more attractive.

<sup>17</sup> The ancient Kipchak word *tilmaç*, recorded in the text, has been adopted into Slavic languages already in the Middle Ages (cf. Ruth. *tolmač* and Pol.  *tłumacz*); cf. also Germ. *Dolmetsch* which origins from Tur. *dilmaç*.

<sup>18</sup> The aforementioned Crimean invasion of Muscovy was instigated by John III Vasa, the king of Sweden and the father of Sigismund III, then in war against Muscovy himself. In July 1591, the Crimean army reached the village of Kolomenskoe on the outskirts of Moscow, while the city itself was successfully defended by Boris Godunov, the *de facto* regent during the reign of Fedor I (r. 1584–1598) and the future tsar. The results of the campaign were less glorious for the Tatars than it is described in this document and the khan himself was wounded in his left hand by a bullet; see Leszek Podhorodecki, *Chanat krymski i jego stosunki z Polską*, p. 121.

<sup>19</sup> I.e., when wetlands dry; two seasons were suitable for large campaigns in the steppe: the winter season, when wetlands and small streams were frozen, and the summer season (i.e., late spring and early summer), when wetlands were already passable but one could still find fresh grass and enough water to feed and water horses; cf. the military advices regarding campaigning in the steppe sent by the Cossack hetman Ivan Mazepa to the Russian commander-in-chief, Vasilij Golitsyn (Golitsyn), in his letter dated 20 September 1688; in: *Lysty Ivana Mazepy 1687–1691*, vol. 1. Edited by V. Stanislavs'kyj (Kiev, 2002), pp. 227–233.

of allowance towards the campaign and army expenses; and you should send it without delay, with one of our or your couriers, who used to come formerly.

As our brothers, the kings, used to give [allowances of] five thousand florins for the campaign expenses to the former khans, and to our heavenly elder brother, Mehmed Giray Khan,<sup>20</sup> also you, King Sigismund, should—without any refuse—promptly give and send five thousand florins through fast couriers.

Now, in order to communicate our friendship, affection, peace, companionship, and brotherhood with you, our brother King Sigismund, to you, our brother King Sigismund, I have appointed our worthy man Qasım Bey, being our vizier and great courtier [uluğ içki begimiz], our great envoy, and sent him along with his *tet* and *bahşı*<sup>21</sup> to the presence of yours, our brother King Sigismund. God willing, when he arrives safe and sound, he will communicate to you, our brother King Sigismund, our own words, and he will tell you everything that you ask. God willing, when he comes, you may inform me, your brother Ghazi Giray Khan, that you are safe and sound, so that we may rejoice and enjoy; and let us be a friend to your friend, and an enemy to your enemy, and keep peace, companionship, affection, and brotherly friendship for many

<sup>20</sup> Apparently a reference to the negotiations between King Stephan Báthory and Mehmed Giray II, successfully concluded in 1579 through the embassy of Marcin Broniowski. Mehmed Giray II ruled between 1577 and 1584. He was deposed and killed at the instigation of the Porte after having refused to continue the campaign against Persia, in which many Tatars had perished and Ghazi Giray had been taken prisoner. Having ascended to the throne, Ghazi Giray consciously continued the internal and external policy of his elder brother; see Hajvoronskyj, *Sozvezdie Geraev*, pp. 28–29 and 34–36. Interestingly, the khan's referring to a former Crimean alliance with King Stephan contradicts his earlier characteristic of the "Hungarian king" as a sworn enemy of the Muslims (see above).

<sup>21</sup> On the term *tet*, referring to the first retinue member of a khan's envoy, see Document 20, n. 27. The term *bahşı*, originating from Sanscrit, entered western Turkic languages in the Mongol period and came to refer to a scribe responsible for drawing official documents in Genghisid chanceries. In the 16th century it was gradually replaced by the Arabic term *katib*; cf. Vasilij Bartol'd, *Sočinenija*, vol. 5 (Moscow, 1968), p. 501; Usmanov, "Etapy islamizacii Džučieva ulusa i musul'manskoe duxovenstvo v tatarskix xanstvax XIII–XVI vekov," in: *Duxovenstvo i političeskaja žizn' na Bližnem i Srednem Vostoke v period feodalizma* (Moscow, 1985): 177–185, esp. p. 181; Maria Eva Subtelny, "'Ali Shīr Navā'i: Bakhshī and Beg," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3–4 (1979–1980) = *Eucharisterion: Essays presented to Omeljan Pritsak on his Sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students*, pt. 2: 797–807, esp. p. 799. Although both terms seemed anachronous already in the late 16th century, we encounter a *tet* and a *bahşı* as late as 1634 (see Document 49). After the *tet*, the *bahşı* was second in hierarchy among the envoy's retinue members and at times we encounter *bahşıs'* names in official correspondence. For instance, in 1508 a solemn oath was taken in Moscow by the khan's envoy, the *tet*, and the *bahşı* named Qaysım; see Malinovskij, "Istoričeskoe sobranie," p. 395. In the *šarname*, sent by Sa'adet Giray to Moscow in 1531, the khan referred to his great envoy, Avel Sheikh, accompanied by the *tet*, Ityak Tarkhan, and the *bahşı*, Abdulkhan, son of Khodja Tabib (*a s nim tetja Itjak tarxana i bakšēja svoego, Xozja Tabibeva syna Abdylxana poslali esmja*); cf. RGADA, f. 123, op. 1, no. 6, fol. 368a (cf. Malinovskij, "Istoričeskoe sobranie," p. 419, where the *bahşı*'s patronymic is rendered corruptly as *zjatja Bibova syna*).

years, while our two countries would be strong and safe, and the poor and miserable would constantly praise both brotherly rulers [padişahs];

—such is the tenor of the noble *yarlıq* [full] of imperial affection that has been written [and sent] along with a heavy salutation and a light gift.<sup>22</sup>

Salutation unto whomsoever has followed the right path [i.e., Islam]! Written at the date of the month *Djumada I* from among the months of the year 1000,<sup>23</sup> in *Alma Saray*.<sup>24</sup>

[seal] *Ghazi Giray Khan, son of Devlet Giray Khan*<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> On the customary formula *ağır selam ve yingil bölek*, see Kurat, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivindeki Altın Ordu, Kırım ve Türkistan hanlarına ait yarlık ve bitikler*, p. 51, and Zajączkowski, “Dyplomatyka Złotej Hordy i Krymu w XV w.,” p. 215.

<sup>23</sup> The standard Arabic formula is followed by a redundant Turkish word: *yılında* (“in the year”); also the year number is recorded in Turkish (*bin*) and not in Arabic (it would read *elf* like in Document 34).

<sup>24</sup> One of the khan’s residences, situated to the north of Baghchararay on the Alma river; later known as *Almakerman* or *Almakermen*; see Jankowski, *Historical-Etymological Dictionary*, pp. 158–161.

<sup>25</sup> In the middle of the seal there is the trident-shaped emblem of the Girays (*taraq tamğa*).

DOCUMENT 36 (21 APRIL 1598)

The letter of agreement (*list przemierny*) sent by King Sigismund III  
to Khan Ghazi II Giray

The original document is missing.

Polish copy: AGAD, Metryka Koronna, Libri Legationum, no. 27,  
fol. 101a–103a.

Kopia przymierza tatarskiego, które się posłało przez pana Kossakowskiego  
Anno Domini 1598 dnia 21 kwietnia:

Miłością bożą Zygmunt trzeci król polski i wielkie ksiązę lithewskie, ruskie,  
pruskie, mazowieckie, żmudzkie, inflantskie, kiiowskie, wołyńskie, podolskie,  
podlaskie, i szwedzki, gottski, wandalski dziedziczny król.

Oznajmujemy tym listem, którym to wiedzieć należy, niniejszym i na potym  
będącym, iż jakośmy za wolą bożą siedli na stolicy Korony Polskiej i Wiel-  
kiego Księstwa Lithewskiego, i ziem do niej należących, nastał też na carstwo  
Ordy Krimskiej po śmierci Aslangiereia Kazigierei Car, z którym acz pierw-  
szych czasów obraży mieliśmy, ale iż zjachawszy się w mołdawskiej ziemi z  
hetmanem i kanclerzem naszym Janem Zamoiskim, i wojskiem naszym na  
Czocorze, umysł swój obrócił do tego, aby naszą chęć ku sobie pozyskał, i  
żądał tegoż hetmana naszego, aby się przyczynił i starał o przyjaźń między  
nami, offiarując się nam nie tylko być przyjacielem, ale i przyjaciółom naszym  
być przyjacielem, a nieprzyjaciółom nieprzyjacielem, i stać i wojować prze-  
ciwko każdemu naszemu nieprzyjacielowi, w czym był do nas posłał do Kra-  
kowa, do stolice naszej, uczciwego Jana Achmeta Czelebeia posła swego.

My o tem porozumiewaliśmy się z Radami naszymi i tę chęć i offiarowanie  
Cara Kazigiereia przyjęliśmy wdzięcznie, i ten list nasz przemierny posłaliśmy  
jemu przez posła naszego wielkiego Nicodema Kossakowskiego, dworzanina  
naszego, obiecując jemu tego, i wszystkie rzeczy w nim opisane mocnie i nie-  
naruszenie dzierżeć, jeśli on nam takowyż list przemierny, słowo od słowa  
napisany pośle, i mocno to przymierze i wszystkie jego obowiązki trzymać  
będzie.

Napierwej tedy od nas i Senatorów Panów Koronnych, poddanych naszych,  
Carowi Kazigiereiowi, synom, bratom, ludziom, ziemie jego pokój obiecujemy  
pewny i nieodmienny. Także z swojej strony Car Kazigierey z syny, bracia  
swemi, murzami, książętą, karaccy, ułany, bejami, przełożonemi miejsc i ludzi  
tak wojennych, jako wszystkich innych, z tymiż ludźmi, i z ludźmi nahai-  
skimi z sobą sprzyjażnionemi i złączeni, będąc nam wiernym przyjacielem  
i prawdziwie mając nas i ludzie nasze za przyjaciela, a nieprzyjaciół naszych  
za nieprzyjaciela swoje, nie będzie żadnym naszym, z Panów Rad, ślachty,  
poddanych naszych zamkom, miastom, miasteczkom, wsiom, wołościami,

ludziom, stadom, towarom szkodził ani ich wojował, brał. I owszem z ludźmi naszymi on sam, synowie, bracia, murzowie, książęta, karacej, ułanowie, bejowie, i wszyscy przełożeni jego, i ludzie jego nahaiscy mają szczerzy i wierny pokój zachować, nie wojując ani nasyłając, ani żadnych szkód i krzywd czyniąc, i w grunty nasze nie wtargając aż do Morza Czarnego. I przez ziemie nasze ludzie ani wojska jego na inne wojny przechodzić nie mają, ani się o nie ocierać.

A co byli przodkowie powinni Cara Kazigiereia, carowie dawni tatarscy, wojować za potrzebą i za upomnieniem naszym do Moskwy, i zamki nam należące odbierać i oddawać nam ze wszystkimi grunty i pożytkami, także też przeciwko innym wszystkim nieprzyjaciołom naszym za potrzebą i napomnieniem naszym wojować, toż też car Kazigierey Car z syny, bracia, murzami, książętą, karaczey, ułany, bejami, i ludźmi swemi powinien czynić będzie, i będzie czynił szczerze i prawdziwie.

My także, jako przodkowie jego naszym,<sup>a</sup> i nasi przodkowie jego przodków nieprzyjaciół za swoich mając, nie będziemy im pomagać, ani ku szkodzie i złemu jego przechowywać.

On też ma przeciwko Ieremiemu gospodarowi wołoskiemu, i synom jego, i ziemi wołoskiej zachować się spokojnie i przyjacielskie, i przeciw niemu nie być, ani szkody żadnej jemu albo ziemi mołdawskiej czynić, i gospodarzyków innych na tę ziemię ani prowadzić, ani przechowywać, i owszem jemu ich wydać, i jako poczał, życzliwość jemu pokazywać i pomocnym być, gdyż Jeremia postanowiony jest dla zadzierżenia przyjaźni i przemierza starodawnego między nami a Cesarzem Jego Miłością tureckim, przyjacielem naszym.

Obrazy wszystkie i szkody, które się między nami aż do tego czasu stały odpuszczamy carowi dufając, że nam to stateczną chęcią i wiarą swą na potym nagrodzi. On też także u nas i u ludzi naszych żadnych szkód upominać się nie ma, i upominków żadnych przeszłych, gdyż odtąd przyjaźń między nami poczyna się.

Jako też bywało za przodków naszych, co się w dokończeniu króla Zygmunta świętej pamięci z Mielligiereiem Carem najduje, carowi Kazigiereiowi, albo synom jego, albo braciej za pozwoleniem naszym w poczcie pewnym od nas naznaczonym do nas, i do ziemi naszej gościem wezwanym, i pomocnikiem przeciwko nieprzyjaciołom naszym, a zwłaszcza gdybyśmy ich do czynienia z nieprzyjaciółami naszymi użyli, przyjechać wolno będzie. Także żadnej krzywdy ani w osobie, ani w ludziach, ani w rzeczach od nas i ludzi naszych cierpieć nie mają, i owszem uczciwie i dobrowolnie mają być od nas przyjęci.

I szanowani kupcy, kramarze nasi i państw naszych w ziemi carskiej, także carskie z ziemi jego w naszych ziemiach, mają wolną na obie stronie po kupiectwach jeździć i targować, zapłaciwszy wszystkie myta, a od nikogo nie mają być z żadnej miary krzywdzone i uszkodzone. A gdzie by jaka krzywda stała się, sprawiedliwość rychła i gruntowna ma być czyniona.

A żeby nasza szczodroliwość przeciw Carowi Kazigiereiowi i sługom jego pokazała się, żeby tym gotowszy i sposobniejszy do powinnej pomocy, jako

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<sup>a</sup> It should rather read *naszych*.

się wyżej opisało, nam przeciwko wszystkim naszym nieprzyjaciołom był, tedy obiecujemy jemu z szcudrośliwości i łaski naszej odtąd na każdy rok upominki dawać, tak jako stary król Zygmunt dawał w pieniądzech połowicę, a drugie w kupiech, posyłać do Białłogroda na dzień...<sup>b</sup> miesiąca novembra.

A car zachować ma przeciw poddanym naszym, zamkom, miastom, miasteczkom, wsiom, uchodom, i pastwiskom pokój prawdziwy i nieodmienny, te wszystkie rzeczy wyżej opisane. My co nam należy z naszej strony obiecujemy mocno i nienaruszono dzierżeć, i skutkiem wykonywać. Także też Car Kazigierey, z syny, bracią, murzami, książętą, karaczezy, ułany, bejami, i z przełożonemi i ludźmi wszystkiemi swemi powinien będzie dzierżeć i wykonywać skutkiem i rzeczą, bez wszech farb, chytróści, i wymówek, czego jeśli by nie czynił, tedy my będziemy wolni od tego, co jemu z strony naszej obiecujemy.

Do której rzeczy i pieczęć naszą koronną przycisnąćemy kazali. Pisan w Warszawie roku od narodzenia Syna Bożego tysiąc pięćset dziewięćdziesiąt ósmego, miesiąca aprila dwudziestego pierwszego dnia, panowania królestw naszych polskiego XXI [sic], szwedzkiego roku V°.

Translation:

*A copy of the Tatar agreement [i.e., treaty with the Tatars] sent through Pan Kossakowski<sup>1</sup> anno Domini 1598, on the 21st day of April:*

*Sigismund the third, by the grace of God the king of Poland and the grand duke of Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, Samogitia, Livonia, Kiev, Volhynia, Podolia, Podlachia [Podlasie], and the hereditary king of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals.*

*We announce with the present letter, to whom it may concern, presently and in the future, that as, with God's will, we ascended the throne of the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and of the lands belonging to it, also Ghazi Giray Khan became the khan of the Crimean Horde after the death of Islam Giray; and though initially transgressions happened between us and him [i.e., Ghazi Giray], having met our hetman and chancellor Jan Zamoyski, and our*

<sup>b</sup> Empty space was left to fill in the date.

<sup>1</sup> On the royal courtier Nikodem Kossakowski, see his biography by Jarema Maciszewski and Tadeusz Wasilewski in *PSB*, vol. 14 (Wrocław etc., 1968–1969), pp. 283–284; some biographic details are corrected in the article by Dariusz Skorupa, “Poselstwo na Krym Nikodema Kossakowskiego. Przyczynek do stosunków polsko-tatarskich w ostatnich latach XVI wieku,” *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 108 (2001), no. 2, pp. 25–42. Kossakowski left Poland in December 1598 but he never reached the court of Ghazi Giray as the latter assisted the Ottoman troops in Hungary in their campaign against the Habsburgs. The Polish envoy remained in Suceava, corresponding with the khan and the qalga, Selamet Giray, and negotiating with their envoys. Having spent almost a year in Moldavia, in November 1599 he delivered the royal gifts to the Tatar envoys and returned to Poland.

troops, in Țuțora [Cecora] in the Moldavian land, he set his mind on gaining our goodwill and asked the hetman to assist in acquiring mutual friendship, offering not merely to be our friend, but a friend of our friends and an enemy of our enemies, and to face and fight any of our enemies; in reference to this matter he sent his honest envoy, Djan Ahmed Chelebi,<sup>2</sup> to Cracow, our capital.

[And] having taken counsel in this matter with our Councilors, we have favorably received this wish and offer of Ghazi Giray Khan, and we have sent him our present letter of agreement [list *przemirny*] through our great envoy and courtier, Nikodem Kossakowski, promising him to firmly and invariably keep everything that is written there, on the condition that he sends us a similar letter of agreement, written word for word, and firmly keeps this agreement and all its clauses.

Thus, first of all we promise certain and inviolable peace on our part and on the part of the Lords Senators of the Crown, our subjects, to Ghazi Giray Khan, his sons, brothers, people, and land. And on his part, Ghazi Giray Khan along with his sons, brothers, and the mirzas, princes,<sup>3</sup> qaraçıs, ulans, beys, and those commanding over places and people (both military and other), and with these people, and the Nogay people who are allied and united with him, being our loyal friend and truly regarding us and our people as his friends, and our enemies as his enemies, will not harm, raid, or capture any castles, towns, boroughs, villages, estates, people, herds, or goods of ours and of our Lords Councilors, nobles, and subjects. On the contrary, he and his sons, brothers,

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<sup>2</sup> Djan Ahmed Chelebi first arrived at Cracow in November 1595, directly from the camp at Țuțora where a new agreement was reached between Poland-Lithuania and the Ottoman-Crimean side. He was sent to collect the customary gifts for the khan promised by the Poles during the negotiations. Yet, the Polish side postponed their delivery until a final confirmation of the peace by the Ottoman sultan, which occurred only in 1597. In 1597 Djan Ahmed was again sent to Poland and returned to the khan in 1598, followed by the great envoy Nikodem Kossakowski, who carried the present royal instrument of peace. In 1601, Djan Ahmed played a prominent role during the negotiations in the Crimea with the next Polish evoy, Ławryn Piaseczyński. Along with Piaseczyński, he traveled to Lithuania and delivered the khan's instrument of peace (Document 39) at a solemn audience in Vilnius in December 1601. In spring 1602, both Piaseczyński and Djan Ahmed again traveled to the Crimea, as Piaseczyński was commissioned with obtaining an "amended" document from the khan. To Djan Ahmed's resentment, the gifts expected by the khan were detained in Kamieniec Podolski, to be collected only in January 1603 by the next Crimean envoy, Ali Mirza. See Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 66, 76–77, 104–111, 117. In the summer of 1602, Djan Ahmed Chelebi departed with another mission to Moscow, entrusted with Ghazi II Giray's *şartname*, and witnessed the oath taken by Tsar Boris Godunov; see *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*.... Edited by F. Laškov, pp. 39–40 and Leonid Juzefovič, *Put' posla*, pp. 292–293. In 1604, he again traveled to Moscow but was detained until 1606, when he returned to the khan accompanied by a Russian envoy who represented False Dimitrij; see Lisejcev, "Russko-krymskie diplomatičeskie kontakty v načale XVII stoletija," pp. 250–252 and 256–258.

<sup>3</sup> The Polish term *książęty* (*książęta* in the nominative) apparently refers to the beys, traditionally referred to in Ruthenian sources as *knjazi*. Yet, beys are also mentioned below as *bejowie* (*bejami* in the ablative).



mirzas, princes, qaraçıs, ulans, beys, all commanders, and his Nogay people should keep sincere and loyal peace with our people, without raiding or sending raiders, causing damage or harm, and without invading our lands [extending] as far as the Black Sea. And his people and troops should not pass through our lands while heading for other wars, nor should they even graze them [i.e., touch the frontiers].

And as the ancestors of Ghazi Giray Khan, the former Tatar khans, were to raid Muscovy whenever we needed and requested, and retake and restore to us the castles that had belonged to us, along with all their lands and profits, and moreover, they were to raid our other enemies whenever we needed and requested, also [now] the khan Ghazi Giray Khan, along with his sons, brothers, mirzas, princes, qaraçıs, ulans, beys, and people should do likewise, and he will do it sincerely and truly.

And just as his ancestors regarded our [ancestors'] enemies [as their enemies], and as our ancestors regarded his ancestors' [enemies] as such, likewise, we will not assist them [i.e., such enemies], neither will we give them refuge to his [i.e., the khan's] detriment and harm.

And he should behave in a calm and friendly manner towards Jeremy,<sup>4</sup> the Moldavian<sup>5</sup> hospodar, his sons, and the Moldavian land; he should not act against him [i.e., Jeremy] or cause any damage to him or the Moldavian<sup>6</sup> land; and he should not bring along to this land any other pretenders to the hospodar's throne,<sup>7</sup> or give them refuge; on the contrary, he should deliver them to him [i.e., Jeremy]; and he [i.e., the khan] should display benevolence to him [i.e., Jeremy] and assist him, like he did initially, because Jeremy has been placed [on his throne] for the sake of cementing the friendship and ancient agreement between us and our friend, His Majesty, the Turkish emperor.

We forgive the khan all the transgressions and damages that have happened between us until the present time, in trust that in the future he will compensate them to us by his constant goodwill and good faith. Neither should he reclaim any indemnity or past gifts from us and our people, because our mutual friendship begins from now on.

<sup>4</sup> Ieremia Movilă, Moldavian hospodar in the years 1595–1606; his enthronement with the Polish support was acknowledged by the Ottoman-Crimean side in the agreement reached at Țuțora on 22 October 1595; see Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 126–127 and 298–302.

<sup>5</sup> In seventeenth-century Polish, the adjective *wołoski* (lit. “Wallachian” or “of Wallachia”) referred to either Wallachia or Moldavia. In the given case it refers to Moldavia.

<sup>6</sup> Here Moldavia is referred to more precisely by the Polish adjective *mołdawska* (“Moldavian” or “of Moldavia”); cf. n. 5 above.

<sup>7</sup> The Polish term *hospodarczyk* (*hospodarczyków* in the genitive plural) is a diminutive of the term *hospodar*; it either refers to a hospodar's son or is a pejorative reference to a hospodar. It is translated here as “pretender to the hospodar's throne” as in fact many pretenders to the Moldavian and Wallachian thrones were the sons of former hospodars.

Also, as it was practiced in the times of our ancestors and is recorded in the agreement between the late King Sigismund and Mengli Giray Khan, Ghazi Giray Khan, or his sons or brothers may come to us and our land as invited guests or allies against our enemies, especially if we make use of their services to fight our enemies, provided that we authorize it and set [the size of] their retinue. And they should not suffer any harm done to them, their people, or belongings by us or our people; on the contrary, we should receive them honestly and voluntarily.

Respected merchants and traders, both ours and from our states in the khan's land, as well as the khan's and from his land in our lands, may freely travel in both directions for the purpose of commerce and trade, having paid all tolls, and should not be hurt or harmed by anybody in any way. And if they suffer any harm, immediate and thorough justice should be administered.

And in order to display our generosity towards Ghazi Giray Khan and his servants, so that he be more willing and ready to bring us his due assistance against all our enemies, according to the above written [clauses], we promise to henceforth give him annual gifts out of our generosity and grace, half in cash and half in goods, just as the old king Sigismund<sup>8</sup> used to do, and send them to Akkerman by the...<sup>9</sup> day of the month of November.

And the khan should maintain true and inviolable peace towards our subjects, castles, towns, boroughs, villages, hamlets, and pastures in the above described manner. On our part, we promise to firmly and invariably keep and effectively execute our duties. Also Ghazi Giray Khan, along with his sons, brothers, and the mirzas, princes, qaraçıs, ulans, beys, commanders and all his people should effectively and materially keep and execute [his duties] without any falsity, deceit, or excuses; and if he does not fulfill it, then we will be free from our promise to him.

To this effect we have ordered to impress our Crown seal. Written in Warsaw in the year 1598 from the birth of the Son of God, on the 21st day of the month of April, in the 11th year<sup>10</sup> of our reign in Poland and the 5th year [of our reign] in Sweden.

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<sup>8</sup> I.e., King Sigismund the Old (r. 1506–1548), thus nicknamed in order to differentiate between him and his son, Sigismund Augustus.

<sup>9</sup> Empty space was left to fill in the date. Neither a precise date nor the gifts' value were entered by the royal chancery, who authorized Kossakowski to do it in a fitting time, depending on the result of his negotiations. Only in 1599, during his negotiations with Tatar envoys in Moldavia, the envoy entered the value of the gifts, namely 15,000 florins; see Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 80–81.

<sup>10</sup> Erroneously written "in the 21st year;" apparently the scribe confused the 21st day of April with the number of the year.

DOCUMENT 37 (CA. AUGUST 1599)  
The *‘ahdname* (*list przemirny*) sent by Khan Ghazi II Giray  
to King Sigismund III

The original document is missing.

Polish copies:

- A. AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 65, t. 126, no. 703 (erroneously stored along with the *‘ahdname* from 1592).
- B. AGAD, Metryka Koronna, Libri Legationum, no. 27, fol. 103a–105a.
- C. Biblioteka Narodowa, ms. III. 3086 “Księga poselstwa Ławryna Piaseczyńskiego,” fol. 10a–12a.
- D. Bibl. Ossol., ms. 3555, fol. 332b–337a.<sup>1</sup>

[Kopia rewersału przymierza od cara przez Dziantimir agę do Radomia dnia ósmego octobra roku 1599 Królowi Jego Mości przysłanego:]<sup>a</sup>

Car Kazigierye<sup>b</sup>

Z łaski i miłości bożej, Wielkiej Ordy wielki car Kazigierye<sup>c</sup>

Oznajmujemy<sup>d</sup> tym listem naszym niniejszym i na potym będącym, iż gdy po ześciu z tego świata cara Isłangiereia,<sup>e</sup> brata naszego, nad tym państwem destekupczackim krymskim,<sup>f</sup> na stolicy ojczyźnie naszej nam zasiadszy, tak też z woli i łaski<sup>g</sup> Boga miłościwego król polski i wielki książę<sup>h</sup> litewski, i innych wielu<sup>i</sup> państw hospodar na majestacie swym<sup>j</sup> będący.

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<sup>1</sup> This copy, entitled *List przymierny Kazygiereia, chana krymskiego, przez pana Kossakowskiego* and erroneously dated 1594, is a few decades later than copies A., B., and C.; it was copied by Samuel Otwinowski after the copy A. From a margin note by Otwinowski (*oryginału nie masz*) we learn that already in his times the original Tatar document was missing in the royal archives. Minor variations of this copy are not annotated in the present edition.

<sup>a</sup> In B. only.

<sup>b</sup> Missing in B.; in C. *Gazy Gyrey*.

<sup>c</sup> C. *Wielgiej Ordy wielgi car Gazy Girei*.

<sup>d</sup> C. *Oznajmujem*.

<sup>e</sup> C. *Islam Gireia*.

<sup>f</sup> B. corrupt *destekuperackiem krimskim*; C. *destykipczackim krimskim*.

<sup>g</sup> C. *z łaski i wolej*.

<sup>h</sup> C. *kniaź*.

<sup>i</sup> C. *wielia*.

<sup>j</sup> C. *swoim*.

Acz między nami obrazy byli, ale gdyśmy<sup>k</sup> z wojskiem naszym w ziemi wołoskiej nad Cocorą<sup>l</sup> z kanclerzem<sup>m</sup> i wielkim hetmanem króla<sup>n</sup> polskiego, i wojskiem<sup>o</sup> jego zjachawszy się, z którym hetmanem zgodliwie namówiwszy się, chęć naszą do przyjaźni króla polskiego obróciwszy, żądaliśmy o przyczynę, żeby nam miłość i przyjaźń króla polskiego zjednał, abychmy wedle<sup>p</sup> przodków dawnych z królem polskim sprzyjażnili się, o czymesmy i<sup>q</sup> posła naszego Dzian Achmet Czelebia<sup>r</sup> do miasta stołecznego<sup>s</sup> Krakowa posłali, który gdy przed osobą króla polskiego, <sup>t</sup>Zygmunta Trzeciego ofiarowanie nasze oznajmił, król też polski Zigmunt Trzeci<sup>u</sup> nie oddalając przyjaźni naszej od siebie<sup>v</sup> i porozumiawszy się z Pany Radami swemi,<sup>w</sup> chcąc też według przodków swych naszą<sup>x</sup> przyjaźń ku<sup>y</sup> sobie przychylić,<sup>z</sup> posła swego<sup>aa</sup> wielkiego, Nikodema Kosakowskiego<sup>ab</sup> z przyjaźnią swą<sup>ac</sup> i upominkami, także i list swój przemirny<sup>ad</sup> do nas posłał, przez którego abyśmy<sup>ae</sup> z królem polskim według<sup>af</sup> przodków naszych<sup>ag</sup> szczyrze<sup>ah</sup> i<sup>ai</sup> prawdziwie przyjaźń swoją przez list nasz przemirny utwierdzili. Który poseł nie mogąc do nas przybyć, żeśmy w ten czas w dalekich<sup>aj</sup> krajach byli, przeto ten poseł przez pisanie swe<sup>ak</sup> nam oznajmił, i z listu przemirnego<sup>al</sup> króla polskiego przepis do nas przesłał,<sup>am</sup>

<sup>k</sup> C. *gdychmy*.

<sup>l</sup> B. *Czoczorą*.

<sup>m</sup> C. *kanclierzem*.

<sup>n</sup> In C. here and further *królia* (in all grammar cases).

<sup>o</sup> B. *i z wojskiem*; C. *i wojski*.

<sup>p</sup> C. *wedlie*.

<sup>q</sup> Missing in C.

<sup>r</sup> B. *Dzian Achmet Czelebeia*; C. *Dżan Achmet Czeliebieia*.

<sup>s</sup> C. *stoliecznego*.

<sup>t-u</sup> Missing in B.; instead a redundant fragment is entered there: *i z wojskiem jego zjachawszy się, z którym hetmanem zgodliwie namówiwszy się*. In C. *Zygmuntha Trzeciego ofiarowanie nasze oznajmił, król też polski Zygmunth Trzeci*.

<sup>v</sup> C. *nie oddaliając od siebie przyjaźni naszej*.

<sup>w</sup> C. *swoimi*.

<sup>x</sup> C. *wedlie przodków dawnych naszą*.

<sup>y</sup> Missing in B.; instead written erroneously <*nasz*>.

<sup>z</sup> C. *nachylić*.

<sup>aa</sup> C. *swojego*.

<sup>ab</sup> B. *Nicodema Kossakowskiego*; C. *Nicodema Kosakowskiego*.

<sup>ac</sup> C. *swoją*.

<sup>ad</sup> In B. here and further *przemirny* while in C. *przymierny* (in all grammar cases).

<sup>ae</sup> C. *abychmy*.

<sup>af</sup> In C. here and further *wedlie*.

<sup>ag</sup> B. *nasych*.

<sup>ah</sup> B. *szczyrze*.

<sup>ai</sup> C. *a*.

<sup>aj</sup> C. *dalielich*.

<sup>ak</sup> C. *swoje*.

<sup>al</sup> Missing in C.

<sup>am</sup> B. and C. *posłał*.

żebyśmy<sup>an</sup> my swój list przemirny według listu przemirnego króla polskiego  
<sup>ao-</sup>słowo w słowo do nas pisanego królowi polskiemu posłali.<sup>-ap</sup>

<sup>aq-</sup>A tak my, wyrozumiawszy z listu przemirnego króla polskiego, i widząc  
sobie za rzecz słuszną i potrzebną,<sup>-ar</sup> także też porozumiawszy się z carewi-  
czem<sup>as</sup> Sałametgiereiem<sup>at</sup> gałgą, i z inszymi<sup>au</sup> carewiczami bracią<sup>av</sup> i synami  
naszymi, kniaziami i murzami, będąc<sup>aw</sup> wdzięczni woli króla polskiego,<sup>ax</sup> ten  
list nasz przemirny na wszystkie<sup>ay</sup> paragrafy według listu przemirnego króla  
polskiego do nas posłanego napisawszy, posłaliśmy.

A naprzód początkiem my, Kazigierey car,<sup>az</sup> i gałga carewicz Sałametgierey,<sup>ba</sup>  
i insi carewicze<sup>bb</sup> bracia i synowie nasi, i kniazi, murzy, przedniejsi ulani, i  
ludzie poddani państwa naszego krymskiego,<sup>bc</sup> także i nam podlegli ludzie  
nohaysczy,<sup>bd</sup> z strony naszej, królowi polskiemu Zigmuntowi<sup>be</sup> Trzeciemu,  
także i<sup>bf</sup> Panom Radom jego, i wszystkim<sup>bg</sup> ludziom<sup>bh</sup> poddanym jego, praw-  
dziwie i<sup>bi</sup> dostatecznie przyjaźń pokazywać powinni będziemy, i państwom  
króla polskiego, miastom, miasteczkom, wsiam, i wszystkim majątnościom<sup>bj</sup>  
ich pokój pokazywać.<sup>bk</sup> I ziemiom,<sup>bl</sup> [i]<sup>bm</sup> gruntom jego aż do Czarnego  
Morza wstępować się nie będziemy,<sup>bn</sup> a z<sup>bo</sup> wojskami wielkimi<sup>bp</sup> i małymi<sup>bq</sup> w

<sup>an</sup> C. *żebychmy*.

<sup>ao-ap</sup> B. *jemu posłali*.

<sup>aq-ar</sup> B. *Co my widząc sobie za rzecz słuszną i potrzebną*.

<sup>as</sup> In B. here and further *czarewicem* (in all grammar cases) unless otherwise stated.

<sup>at</sup> B. *Salametgiereiem*; C. *Salamet Gireiem*.

<sup>au</sup> B. and C. *inszemi*.

<sup>av</sup> C. *bracią naszą*.

<sup>aw</sup> C. *będący*.

<sup>ax</sup> B. *króla polskiego wolej*; C. *przyjaźni króla polskiego*.

<sup>ay</sup> B. and C. *wszystkie*.

<sup>az</sup> C. *Gazy Girei Car*.

<sup>ba</sup> C. *Salamet Girei*.

<sup>bb</sup> B. *czarawice*; C. *carewicz*.

<sup>bc</sup> B. *synowie nasi, kniazie, murzowie, przedniejsi ulani, i ludzie poddani państwa naszego krymskiego*; C. *syny, i insi kniaziowie, murzy, przedniejsze ulany, ludzie poddane państwa naszego krymskiego*.

<sup>bd</sup> B. *nahaiscy*; in C. corrupt: *także i nam podległe, liud i wszyscy*.

<sup>be</sup> B. and C. *Zygmuntowi*.

<sup>bf</sup> *Także i* is missing in C.

<sup>bg</sup> B. *wszystkim*.

<sup>bh</sup> In C. here and further *liudziom* (in all grammar cases).

<sup>bi</sup> C. *a*.

<sup>bj</sup> B. *miastom, miasteczkom, wsiom, i wszystkim majątnościom*; C. *miastom, miasteczkom, siółom, i wszystkim majątnościom*.

<sup>bk</sup> C. *pokazywać*.

<sup>bl</sup> B. and C. *ziemiom*.

<sup>bm</sup> In C. only.

<sup>bn</sup> C. *będziem*.

<sup>bo</sup> Missing in C.

<sup>bp</sup> B. *wielgiemi*.

<sup>bq</sup> C. *małymi*.

państwa jego wtargiwać, i szkody żadnej działać<sup>br</sup> nie będziemy. I każdemu przyjacielowi jego za przyjaciela być, a nieprzyjacielowi nieprzyjaźń oddawać będziemy.<sup>bs</sup>

A jeślibyśmy<sup>bt</sup> z wojskiem naszym do inszych<sup>bu</sup> państw nieprzyjaciół naszych mieli jachać,<sup>bv</sup> tedy przez państwa króla polskiego nie mamy jachać, ani się o granice<sup>bw</sup> jego ocierać<sup>bx</sup> [nie]<sup>by</sup> mamy. I każdego nieprzyjaciela<sup>bz</sup> króla polskiego my za swego nieprzyjaciela mamy mieć, i żadnej pomocy przeciw królowi polskiemu nie mamy jemu<sup>ca</sup> dodawać.

A jako przodkowie nasi za oznajmieniem przodków królów polskich ziemię moskiewską wojowali<sup>cb</sup> i zamki, miasta z gruntami królom polskim<sup>cc</sup> należące odbirając podawali,<sup>cd</sup> także też gdy król polski terazniejszy Zygmunt Trzeci, gdyby nam potrzeby swej<sup>ce</sup> oznajmił, tedy my z powinności przyjaźni naszej,<sup>cf</sup> ja,<sup>cg</sup> Kazigierey<sup>ch</sup> car, i carewicz<sup>ci</sup> gałga, i<sup>cj</sup> ze wszystkimi<sup>ck</sup> ludźmi naszymi potemuz jemu przyjaźń i pomoc<sup>cl</sup> czynić przeciwko każdemu nieprzyjacielowi jego powinni będziemy.<sup>cm</sup>

Potemuz i<sup>cn</sup> król polski z swojej strony od państw swych<sup>co</sup> przez ludzie i wojska swoje państwu naszemu krymskiemu,<sup>cp</sup> ludziom i poddanym naszym, i majątnościom, ziemiom,<sup>cq</sup> i gruntom ich, pokój i przyjaźń zachować ma.

<sup>br</sup> C. *czynić*.

<sup>bs</sup> C. *a każdemu przyjacielem jego przyjaciółom być, a nieprzyjaciółom nieprzyjaźń oddawać będziemy*.

<sup>bt</sup> C. *jeślibychmy*.

<sup>bu</sup> C. *innych*.

<sup>bv</sup> B. *jechać*.

<sup>bw</sup> C. *granicy*.

<sup>bx</sup> B. *ocierać*.

<sup>by</sup> In C. *only*.

<sup>bz</sup> In C. here and further *nieprzyjacielia* (in all grammar cases).

<sup>ca</sup> Missing in C.

<sup>cb</sup> C. *wojować*.

<sup>cc</sup> C. *królowi polskiemu*.

<sup>cd</sup> B. *odbierać podawali*; C. *odbierając oddawali*.

<sup>ce</sup> C. *swoje*.

<sup>cf</sup> C. *swej*.

<sup>cg</sup> Missing in C.

<sup>ch</sup> C. *Kazy Girei*.

<sup>ci</sup> B. *czarowic*.

<sup>cj</sup> Missing in C.

<sup>ck</sup> B. *wszystkiemi*; C. *wszytkiemi*.

<sup>cl</sup> B. *naszemi potemuz im przyjaźń i pomoc*; in C. corrupt: *i naszemi potężności przyjaźni i pomoc jemu*.

<sup>cm</sup> C. *będziem*.

<sup>cn</sup> Missing in B.

<sup>co</sup> C. *z swej strony i państw swoich*.

<sup>cp</sup> In B. written erroneously: *państwu naszemu ziemskiemu*.

<sup>cq</sup> B. *poddanym naszym, majątnościom, ziemiom*; C. *poddanym naszym, i majątnościom, ziemiom*.

I źli<sup>cr</sup> ludzie, zwłaszcza zdrajcy<sup>cs</sup> w obojgu państwach przechowywane<sup>ct</sup> być nie mają, za czym aby przyjaźniom<sup>cu</sup> naszym przeszkoda nie była.

Wojewodzie wołoskiemu Jeremijowi<sup>cv</sup> i potomkom jego, także państwowym, ludziom, i poddanym jego my, Kazigierey<sup>cw</sup> car, i carewicz gałga, i insi carewiczowie<sup>cz</sup> bracia i synowie nasi, z ludźmi poddanymi naszymi<sup>cý</sup> według staradawnego<sup>cz</sup> przyjaźniostwa jemu i państwu jego mamy przyjaźniemi<sup>da</sup> być i szkód żadnych nie czynić;<sup>db</sup> i żadnych wojewodzców wołoskich w państwie naszym [nie]<sup>dc</sup> przechowywać, ani ich<sup>dd</sup> na państwo wołoskie wsadzać nie mamy. I owszem, takowych Jeremijowi<sup>de</sup> wojewodzie i potomkom<sup>df</sup> jego mamy odsyłać i<sup>dg</sup> wydawać, gdyż z strony wojewody wołoskiego i państw jego król polski z Cesarzem Jego Miłością tureckim pokój i przemierze<sup>dh</sup> postanowił.

A iż za przodków króla polskiego, za<sup>di</sup> Zygmunta<sup>dj</sup> Starego przodek nasz, car Megligierey<sup>dk</sup> dla<sup>dl</sup> pomocy przeciw nieprzyjaciółom<sup>dñ</sup> króla polskiego będąc<sup>dn</sup> naonczas gościem wezwany do państw jego, był od króla polskiego uczczony i uszanowany,<sup>do</sup> i z wojskiem swym<sup>dp</sup> nazad w cale<sup>dq</sup> się zwrócił, także i za terazniejszego króla Zygmunta<sup>dr</sup> Trzeciego, gdyby ja, Kazigierey<sup>ds</sup> car, albo carewicz gałga, i insi carewicze bracia i synowie nasi, za oznajmieniem jego w pewnym poccie<sup>dt</sup> wezwani byli, tedy aby także osoba nasza i insi<sup>du</sup>

<sup>cr</sup> C. *złe*.

<sup>cs</sup> B. *zdrajce*.

<sup>ct</sup> B. and C. *przechowywani*.

<sup>cu</sup> C. *przyjaźniom*.

<sup>cv</sup> C. *Hieremiiewi*.

<sup>cw</sup> C. *Kazy Girei*.

<sup>cx</sup> C. *carewiczy*.

<sup>cý</sup> B. *poddanymi naszymi*; C. *i poddanymi naszymi*.

<sup>cz</sup> B. and C. *staradawnego*.

<sup>da</sup> C. *przyjacielem*.

<sup>db</sup> C. *działać*.

<sup>dc</sup> In C. *only*.

<sup>dd</sup> In C. *erroneously jego*.

<sup>de</sup> B. *Jeremiowi*; C. *Hieremiiewi*.

<sup>df</sup> In B. *written erroneously państwom*.

<sup>dg</sup> Missing in C.

<sup>dh</sup> C. *przymierze*.

<sup>di</sup> Missing in B.

<sup>dj</sup> C. *Zygmuntha*.

<sup>dk</sup> C. *Menli Girei*.

<sup>dl</sup> C. *dlia*.

<sup>dñ</sup> B. and C. *nieprzyjaciółom*.

<sup>dn</sup> C. *będący*.

<sup>do</sup> C. *uczczon i uszanowan*.

<sup>dp</sup> C. *swoim*.

<sup>dq</sup> C. *w calie*.

<sup>dr</sup> C. *Zygmuntha*.

<sup>ds</sup> C. *Kazy Girei*.

<sup>dt</sup> C. *poccie*.

<sup>du</sup> B. *insze*; C. *te*.

pomienione osoby, ludzie i wojska nasze, uczczone i uszanowane będąc<sup>dv</sup> nazad się w całości wrócili.<sup>dw</sup>

A będąc<sup>dx</sup> nam w dobrej przyjaźni z królem polskim,<sup>dy</sup> tedy z państwa naszego do państw<sup>dz</sup> króla polskiego, a z państw<sup>ea</sup> króla polskiego do państwa naszego kupcom, kramarzom ze wszelakimi<sup>eb</sup> kupiami przyjeżdżać i odjeżdżać wolno będzie, a myta<sup>ec</sup> zwykle oddawszy, żadna krzywda ni od kogo się im dziać nie ma.<sup>ed</sup> Jeśliby im od kogo się krzywda stała,<sup>ee</sup> tedy nieodwłoczna i sroga<sup>ef</sup> sprawiedliwość uczyniona, i szkoda nagrodzona być ma.

A które się obrazy między nami działy, tedy my z swej strony królowi polskiemu odpuszczamy,<sup>eg</sup> także też i<sup>eh</sup> król polski nam odpuścić ma.<sup>ei</sup> I upominków przeszłych,<sup>ej</sup> nam nieposyłanych, już się upominać nie mamy, gdyż teraz między nami znowu przemierze<sup>ek</sup> [już]<sup>el</sup> się postanowiło i utwierdziło.

Tedy ja, Kazigierey<sup>em</sup> car, i carewicz Salametgierey<sup>en</sup> gałga, ludzie poddani nasi<sup>eo</sup> z królem polskim i z Pany Radami, ludźmi i poddanymi,<sup>ep</sup> i państw jego, mamy w dobrej i prawdziwej przyjaźni być na wieczne czasy, i żadnych szkód i krzywd nie czynić, i przeciw każdemu nieprzyjacielowi<sup>eq</sup> króla polskiego pomocnym<sup>er</sup> być. Za co król polski, Zigmunt<sup>es</sup> Trzeci, z woli<sup>et</sup> i miłości swej<sup>eu</sup> braterskiej ma nam upominki, jak<sup>ev</sup> przodek jego Zygmun<sup>ew</sup>t posyłał, to jest połowicę pieniędzmi gotowemi,<sup>ex</sup> a drugą połowicę w kupi albo w towarach

<sup>dv</sup> C. *ucczeni i uszanowani będący*.

<sup>dw</sup> C. *zwrócili*.

<sup>dx</sup> C. *będący*.

<sup>dy</sup> C. *polskiem*.

<sup>dz</sup> B. and C. *państwa*.

<sup>ea</sup> C. *państwa*.

<sup>eb</sup> B. *wszelakiemi*; C. *wszeliakimi*.

<sup>ec</sup> C. *myto*.

<sup>ed</sup> C. *ni od kogo się im krzywda żadna dziać ni ma*.

<sup>ee</sup> C. *A jeśliby się im od kogo krzywda działa*.

<sup>ef</sup> C. *skora*.

<sup>eg</sup> C. *tedy my królowi polskiemu z swojej strony odpuszczamy*.

<sup>eh</sup> Missing in C.

<sup>ei</sup> B. *odpuścić nam ma*; C. *nam odpuszczać ma*.

<sup>ej</sup> In B. written erroneously *przysłych*.

<sup>ek</sup> B. *przemierze*; C. *przymierze*.

<sup>el</sup> In C. only.

<sup>em</sup> C. *Kazy Girei*.

<sup>en</sup> C. *Salamet Girei*.

<sup>eo</sup> C. *liudzie i poddane nasze*.

<sup>ep</sup> B. *ludźmi i poddanymi*; C. *liudźmi poddanymi*.

<sup>eq</sup> C. *a przeciw każdemu nieprzyjacieliu*.

<sup>er</sup> B. *pomocnemi*.

<sup>es</sup> B. and C. *Zygmun*t.

<sup>et</sup> B. *wolej*; C. *woliej*.

<sup>eu</sup> C. *swojej*.

<sup>ev</sup> B. *jako*; C. *tak jako*.

<sup>ew</sup> C. *Zygmun*t.

<sup>ex</sup> C. *gotowymi*.



posyłać na każdy rok miesiąca novembra<sup>ey</sup> do Białogroda,<sup>ez</sup> do pewnych i wiernych sług naszych oddawane być mają. A gdy nam będą oddawane, tedy my za taką chęć króla polskiego powinni będziemy,<sup>fa</sup> jako się wyżej pomieniło,<sup>fb</sup> we wszystkim stale i statecznie,<sup>fc</sup> krom wszelakiego<sup>fd</sup> pochybienia, przyjaźń zachować i mocno dodzierżywać na wieczne czasy.<sup>fe</sup>

Jakoż my przez przysięgę naszą czynimy<sup>ff</sup> przyrzekanie swoje<sup>fg</sup> królowi polskiemu, przez imię Boga<sup>fh</sup> jedyne i proroka Machometa, iż prawdziwie a szczyrze<sup>fi</sup> [mamy]<sup>fj</sup> przy słowach i przyrzekaniach naszych mocno stać. Także i król polski według listu swego<sup>fk</sup> przemirnego do nas posłanego ma we wszystkim<sup>fi</sup> wypełniać według wiary swej prawdziwej.

Który to list nasz przemirny przez wiernego radę naszego Dziantemeragę<sup>fm</sup> posyłamy, któremu listu naszemu wiara ma być zupełna dana.

A iż wielkiej pieczęci naszej,<sup>fn</sup> która bywa u przemirnych listów przykładana, na ten czas przy nas jako w drodze nie było, tedyśmy sygnet nasz do niego przycisnęli.

Translation:

*A copy of the agreement's reverse confirmation [Pol. rewersał] sent by the khan to His Royal Majesty through Djan Temir Agha,<sup>2</sup> [who arrived] at Radom on the 8th day of October in the year 1599:*

<sup>ey</sup> C. w miesiącu novembru.

<sup>ez</sup> B. Białłogroda; C. Białogrodu.

<sup>fa</sup> C. będziem.

<sup>fb</sup> B. jako się wyżej pomieniło; C. tak jako wyżej pomieniono.

<sup>fc</sup> B. we wszystkim stale i statecznie; C. we wszem stale i statecznie.

<sup>fd</sup> C. wszeliakięgo.

<sup>fe</sup> C. przyjaźni pokazować i mocno dodzierżywać wiecznemi czasy.

<sup>ff</sup> B. czyniemy.

<sup>fg</sup> C. nasze.

<sup>fh</sup> C. Pana Boga.

<sup>fi</sup> B. and C. szczyrze.

<sup>fj</sup> In C. only.

<sup>fk</sup> C. swojego.

<sup>fi</sup> B. wszystkim.

<sup>fm</sup> B. Dziantimir age; C. Dżan Timir Aę.

<sup>fn</sup> B. wielkiej pieczęci naszej; C. wielkiej pieczęci naszej.

<sup>2</sup> Probably a different person than his namesake sent as great envoy to Poland in 1576 (cf. Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, p. 57) as the time span seems too large. In the summer of 1599, Djan Temir Agha was sent in embassy to King Sigismund from Ghazi Giray's camp in Hungary, along with the khan's letter of agreement. In September 1599 he met the Polish envoy Kossakowski in Suceava, and then continued his trip to Poland. On 8 October 1599, he delivered the khan's document at a solemn audience in Radom. As the document's contents slightly deviated from the Polish expectations, Djan Temir was made to give a solemn promise that the khan would issue a corrected version after his return from Hungary. Then the envoy was sent back to the khan and the king ordered Kossakowski (who was still in Moldavia waiting for royal orders) to release the gifts, prepared for the Tatars. In 1602, Djan Temir was

*Ghazi Giray Khan*<sup>3</sup>

*By the grace and love of God, the great khan of the Great Horde, Ghazi Giray:*<sup>4</sup>

We announce with our present letter to those living now and in the future that after our brother, Islam Giray Khan, left this world, we ascended the throne of our fatherland, of the state of the Kipchak Steppe<sup>5</sup> and of the Crimea; and likewise [ascended the throne] by the will and favor of the gracious God the majestic king of Poland, grand duke of Lithuania, and lord of many other states [i.e., Sigismund].

Though initially transgressions happened between us, when we, along with our troops, met the chancellor and grand hetman of the king of Poland, along with his troops, in Țuțora [Cecora] in the Moldavian<sup>6</sup> land, we peacefully negotiated with this hetman and set our mind on gaining the friendship of the king of Poland, and we asked him to assist in winning the king's affection and friendship for us, so that we may commence friendship with the king of Poland, as our ancestors had done formerly; and in reference to this matter we sent our envoy, Djan Ahmed Chelebi,<sup>7</sup> to [your] capital city of Cracow; when he announced our commitment in the presence of the king of Poland, Sigismund the Third, also the king of Poland, Sigismund the Third, not wishing to reject our friendship and having taken counsel with his Lords Councilors, in desire to acquire our friendship as was between our ancestors, sent us his great envoy, Nikodem Kossakowski,<sup>8</sup> along with [the announcement of] friendship and gifts, and his letter of agreement, so that through him [i.e., Kossakowski] we may sincerely and truly confirm our friendship with the king of Poland by our letter of agreement, as our ancestors did. As the said envoy could not reach us, because at that time we were in distant countries, he notified us in writing and sent us a copy made from the royal letter of agreement, so that we send the

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sent to the Ottoman sultan with an unsuccessful mission to arrange the delivery of the former qalga, Selamet Giray, who had rioted against the khan and was imprisoned in Istanbul. The envoy died on his way home. See Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 87–90, and 112.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently a partial translation of the inscription of Ghazi Giray's proto-*tuğra*; cf. Document 35.

<sup>4</sup> This inscription resembles one of Ghazi Giray's other proto-*tuğra*; cf. Document 34. Yet, it should be rather treated as an *intitulatio* opening the main text; on this issue, cf. the paragraph on the *intitulatio* in Part II.

<sup>5</sup> The Turkish term *Deşt-i Qıpçaq* (the Kipchak Steppe) is rendered in Polish by an adjective *destekupczackim* (copy A.) or *destykipczackim* (copy C.).

<sup>6</sup> In seventeenth-century Polish, the adjective *wołoski/wołoska* (lit. "Wallachian" or "of Wallachia") referred to either Wallachia or Moldavia. In the given case it refers to Moldavia.

<sup>7</sup> On Djan Ahmed Chelebi, see Document 36, n. 2. Here his embassy from the years 1597–1598 is mentioned.

<sup>8</sup> On Nikodem Kossakowski and his embassy from the years 1598–1599, see Document 36, n. 1.

king of Poland our letter of agreement, written word for word in accordance with his letter of agreement.

And we, having inspected the royal letter of agreement and having found it just and necessary, and having taken counsel with the qalga Selamet Giray Sultan,<sup>9</sup> and with other sultans, our brothers and sons, [and] the beys and mirzas, complying with the wish of the king of Poland, we have sent our present letter of agreement, written clause by clause according to the royal letter of agreement that was sent to us.

First of all we, Ghazi Giray Khan, and the qalga Selamet Giray Sultan, and other sultans, our brothers and sons, and the beys, mirzas, prominent ulans, and subjects from our Crimean state, as well as the Nogays who obey us, engage to sincerely and fully display friendship towards the king of Poland, Sigismund the Third, his Lords Councilors, and all his subjects, and to act peacefully towards the states of the king of Poland, towns, boroughs, villages, and all their estates. We will not enter his lands and soils [extending] as far as the Black Sea, or invade his states along with large or small troops, or cause any damage. And we will be a friend to any of his friends, and display enmity towards his enemy.

And if we, along with our troops, are to go to the states of our enemies, we should not pass through the states of the king of Poland, nor should we even touch their frontiers. And we should regard any enemy of the king of Poland as our proper enemy, and should not give him any assistance against the king of Poland.

And as our ancestors used to raid the Muscovian land whenever requested by the ancestors of the kings of Poland, retake the castles and towns, along with [their] lands, that had belonged to the kings of Poland, and restore to them, also if the present king of Poland, Sigismund the Third, notifies us his need, then we: I, Ghazi Giray Khan, and the qalga sultan, along with all our people, should likewise display friendship and assist him against any of his enemies, thus fulfilling the requirements of our friendship.

Likewise, the king of Poland, on his part and on the part of his state, along with his people and troops, should keep peace and friendship towards our Crimean state, our people and subjects, their estates, lands, and soils.

And evil people, especially traitors, should not be given refuge in either of the two states as that would be an obstacle to our friendship.

We, Ghazi Giray Khan, and the qalga sultan, and other sultans, our brothers and sons, along with our subjects, should display friendship and not cause any damage to Jeremy,<sup>10</sup> the Moldavian palatine,<sup>11</sup> his descendants, and his domains, people, and subjects, in accordance with the ancient friendship; and

<sup>9</sup> Pol. *carewicz* is rendered here as *sultan*. Selamet Giray was Ghazi Giray's brother and the qalga in the years 1597–1601. After he escaped from the Crimea in September 1601, the Ottomans imprisoned him for seven years, but in 1608 they assisted him to ascend the khan's throne. He reigned until his death in 1610.

<sup>10</sup> Ieremia Movilă, Moldavian hospodar in the years 1595–1606; cf. Document 36, n. 4.

<sup>11</sup> The Polish adjective *woloski* refers here to Moldavia (cf. n. 6 above).

we should not give refuge in our state to any sons of [former] Moldavian palatines, or impose them [as rulers] to the Moldavian land. On the contrary, we should send and deliver such individuals to Palatine Jeremy and his descendants, because the king of Poland established friendship and agreement with His Majesty, the Turkish emperor, regarding the Moldavian palatine and his domains.

And as in the times of the ancestors of the king of Poland, [precisely] in the time of Sigismund the Old, our ancestor, Mengli Giray Khan, was called as guest to his states in order to assist against the royal enemies and was esteemed and respected by the king of Poland, and safely returned home along with his troops, also in the present time of King Sigismund the Third, if I, Ghazi Giray Khan, or the qalga sultan, or other sultans, our brothers and sons are called [by the king], provided that he authorizes it and sets [the size of] our retinue,<sup>12</sup> then our person and other aforementioned persons, our people and troops, should be likewise esteemed and respected and should safely return home.

And as we remain in good friendship with the king of Poland, merchants and traders along with all kinds of merchandise may travel and return from our state to the states of the king of Poland, and from his states to our state, and having paid the customary tolls, they should not suffer any harm from anybody. And if they suffer any harm from anybody, immediate and severe<sup>13</sup> justice should be administered, and [their] damage should be restored.

And whatever transgressions have happened between us, on our part we forgive the king of Poland, and he should also forgive us. And we should not request any more the past gifts [i.e., due for the previous years] that have not been sent to us, because from now on a new agreement is established and confirmed between us.

Thus I, Ghazi Giray Khan, and the qalga Selamet Giray Sultan, and our subjects should eternally remain in good and true friendship with the king of Poland, his Lords Councilors, people, subjects, and states, and we should not cause any damage or harm [to them], and should assist the king of Poland against any of his enemies. In return the king of Poland, Sigismund the Third, should send us gifts out of his will and brotherly love, as his ancestor Sigismund used to send, namely half in cash and another half in merchandise and goods, each year, by the month of November, to Akkerman, [where] they should be delivered to our trustful and loyal servants. And as long as they are delivered to us, in return for such a goodwill of the king of Poland we will be obliged to constantly and stably keep friendship in all the aforementioned respects, without any omission, and firmly maintain it forever.

Hence we engage to the king of Poland, with our oath by the name of the one God and Prophet Muhammad, that we should firmly keep our words and promises in truth and sincerity. Also the king of Poland should fulfill everything

<sup>12</sup> The Polish text is somewhat unclear; cf. Document 36: *za pozwoleniem naszym w poczcie pewnym od nas naznac[zo]nym*.

<sup>13</sup> In C. "immediate and prompt justice."

*according to his letter of agreement that was sent to us, in conformity with his true<sup>14</sup> faith.*

*We send our present letter of agreement [list przemirny], which should be entirely trusted, through our loyal councilor, Djan Temir Agha.*

*And because we lacked our great seal, which is normally impressed on letters of agreement, as we were in route [i.e., campaign in Hungary], therefore we have impressed our signet ring.*

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<sup>14</sup> It is rather unlikely that the original document, issued in the khan's chancery, referred to the Christian faith as "true." It is apparently a translator's addition.

DOCUMENT 38 (OCTOBER 1599)<sup>1</sup>

The instrument of Djan Temir Agha, the Crimean envoy, containing  
his pledge on behalf of Khan Ghazi II Giray to keep peace with  
King Sigismund III

The original document is missing.

Polish translation:

A. AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 65, t. 127, no. 704.

B. AGAD, Metryka Koronna, Libri Legationum, no. 27, fol. 106a.

C. AGAD, Teki Naruszewicza, no. 12, p. 203 [fol. 102a].<sup>2</sup>

Ja, Dziantamir<sup>a</sup> aga, poseł do Króla Jego Miłości polskiego od pana mego cara<sup>b</sup> Kazigiereia, ręczę się i wyznawam, skoro przyjadę do Cara Jego Miłości bądź do Węgier, albo skoro się zwróci Car Jego Miłość do państwa swego, tedy wedle kopii<sup>c</sup> z listu przemirnego<sup>d</sup> Króla Jego Miłości list swój przemirny<sup>e</sup> zgodliwy ma zarazem do Króla Jego Miłości dać. I do tego czasu jako od Cara Jego Miłości samej osoby, tak też od ludzi i poddanych jego państwowi Króla Jego Miłości, ludziom, poddanym żadnej<sup>f</sup> krzywdy i szkody dziać się nie będzie, i owszem pokój obwarowan<sup>g</sup> będzie. Do którego listu mego własnymi rękami memi pisanego<sup>h</sup> dla lepszej pewności pieczęci swe<sup>i</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The instrument, preserved in Polish translation, is dated on 3 Rebi I 1008 A.H. (*miesiąca po naszej liczbie Rebel Avela die 3 roku 1008*), i.e., 23 September 1599, yet apparently it was issued in October, after or shortly before the audience in Radom that took place on 8 October; cf. Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, p. 88. Possibly, being far away from the Crimea, the Tatar envoy lost track of time or the error should be attributed to a Polish translator or scribe who confused Rebi I (*Rebi'ü 'l-evvel*) with Rebi II (*Rebi'ü 'l-ahir*).

<sup>2</sup> This copy, erroneously entitled *Zaręczenie Dziantamira posła tureckiego Królowi Jego Miłości polskiemu* ("The pledge of Djan Temir, a Turkish [*sic*] envoy, to His Majesty, the king of Poland"), is almost two centuries' later hence its minor variations are not annotated.

<sup>a</sup> B. *Dziantimir*.

<sup>b</sup> Missing in B.

<sup>c</sup> B. *kopiej*.

<sup>d</sup> B. *przemiernego*.

<sup>e</sup> B. *przemierny*.

<sup>f</sup> B. *i żadnej*.

<sup>g</sup> B. *obwarowany*.

<sup>h</sup> B. *Do którego listu mego i własnymi rękami podpisanego*.

<sup>i</sup> C. *pieczęć swą*.

rękami swemi przycisnąłem, miesiąca po naszej liczbie Rebel Avela die 3 roku 1008.<sup>j</sup>

I podpisem ręki mej<sup>k</sup> [...].<sup>l</sup>

Translation:

*I, Djan Temir Agha, the envoy from my lord, Khan Ghazi Giray, to His Majesty, the king of Poland, pledge and engage that as soon as I reach His Majesty, the khan, either in Hungary or when His Majesty, the khan, returns to his state, he should promptly issue [and send] His Royal Majesty his letter of agreement, being in accordance with [the present] copy of His Royal Majesty's letter of agreement. Until that time neither His Majesty, the khan, nor his people and subjects should commit any harm or damage to the domains, people and subjects of His Royal Majesty; on the contrary, the peace will be strengthened. In order to render my present letter, written with my own hands, more trustworthy, I have impressed my seals with my hands, on the 3rd day of the month of Rebi I of the year 1008, according to our calendar.*

*[I have confirmed the above statement] with the signature [made] by my hand.*

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<sup>j</sup> B. *miesiąca po naszej liczbie Rebelwiella dnia trzeciego roku 1008*; C. *miesiąca Rabel Anela [sic] 3 roku 1008, po polsku roku 1599*.

<sup>k</sup> Missing in B; C. *Z podpisem ręki mojej*.

<sup>l</sup> The A. copy contains an authentication by the royal chancery translator: *Machiin Czyr tłumacz Króla Jego Miłości własną ręką*, followed by an illegible signature. The C. copy, based on the A. copy, contains a corresponding note on the reverse side (p. 204 [fol. 102b]): *ta kopia pisana die 9 Decembris 1785 z kopii tłumaczonej na papierze przez Machiin Chir, tłumacza Jego Królewskiej Miłości bez oryginału* ("this copy was executed on the 9th day of December 1785 after a paper copy translated by Machin Chir, His Royal Majesty's translator, in the absence of the original").

DOCUMENT 39 (20 MARCH 1601)

The letter of agreement (*list przemirny*) sent by King Sigismund III  
to Khan Ghazi II Giray

The original document is missing.

Polish copy: Biblioteka Narodowa, ms. III. 3086 "Księga poselstwa Ławryna Piaseczyńskiego," fol. 15a–16b.

Przymierze od Króla Jego Miłości carowi przekopskiemu anno 1601:

Miłością bożą Zigmunt III król polski i wielki kniaź litewski, ruski, pruski, mazowiecki, żmuidzki, inflantski, kiiowski, wołyński, podliaski, i też szwedzki, gotski, wandalski dziedziczny król.

Oznajmujemy tym listem, którem tego wiedzieć należy, niniejszym i na potym będącym, iż jakośmy za wolią bożą siadшы na stolicy Polskiej Korony i Wielkiego Księstwa Lithewskiego, i ziem do niej nalieżących, nastał też na carstwo Ordy Krymskiej po śmierci Hsłamgiereia [sic] Kazigierei car, z którem acz pierwszych czasów obraży mieliśmy, alie iż zjachawszy się w ziemi wołoskiej na Cocorze z Jaśnie Wielmożnym Janem Zamoiskim, kanclierzem naszym i hetmanem wielgim, i wojskiem naszym, starał się, aby chęć i łaskę naszą pozyskał, i żądał tegoż hetmana naszego, aby się przyczynił i starał o to, offiarując się nam nie tylko być przyjacieliem, alie <alie> i przyjaciółom naszym przyjaciółem, a nieprzyjaciółom nieprzyjacieliem, i stać i wojować przeciw każdemu naszemu nieprzyjacielowi, w czym był do nas posłał do Krakowa, do stolicy naszej, uczciwego Dzian Achmet Czelebeia posła swego.

My o tym porozumiewaliśmy się z Radami naszymi i tę chęć i ofiarowanie cara Kazigiereia wdzięcznie przyjęliśmy, i ten list nasz przemirny posłaliśmy jemu przez posła naszego, obiecując mu wszystkie rzeczy w nim opisane mocno i nienaruszno dzierżeć, jeśli on nam takowyż list przemirny, zgodliwy z naszym listem napisany pośle, i mocno to przymierze i wszystkie jego obowiązki trzymać będzie.

Alie że cara na ten czas w ziemi jego nie było, zatem też ten poseł nasz u niego nie był i przymirza nam nie przyniósł, które acz potem car przez posła swego Dzian Temir agę do nas przysłał, alie że nie według tego, jakoby się na obie stronie do gruntownej przyjaźni zgadzało w tem carskim przemirnym liście napisano było, przeto przez posła naszego wielkiego, Ławryna Piaseczyńskiego podkomorzego braclawskiego, sekretarza naszego, list ten nasz przemirny napisawszy posłaliśmy carowi Kazigiereiowi, i od niego drugi taki z naszym zgodliwy wziąć kazaliśmy.

Najpierwej tedy od nas i Senatorów Panów Koronnych, poddanych naszych, carowi Kazigiereiowi, synom, bratom, ludziom, ziemie jego pokój obiecujemy pewny i nieodmienny. Także z swojej z strony car Kazigierei, i gałga carewicz Salamatgirei, i inni gałgowie po nim będący, i z syny, bracią swemi,



murzami, kniaziami, karaczey, <karac> ulany, bejami, przełożonemi miejsc i ludzi tak wojennych, jako i wszech innych ludzi swoich, i ze wszystkimi ludźmi swemi, i z ludźmi nahaiskimi z sobą sprzyjażnionemi i złączonemi, będąc nam wiernem przyjacielem i prawdziwie mając nas i ludzkie nasze za przyjaciela, a nieprzyjaciół naszych za nieprzyjaciół swoje, nie będzie żadnem naszym, Panów Rad, szlachty, poddanych naszych zamkom, miastom, miasteczkom, wsiom, wołosciom, ludziom, stadom, towarom szkodzie ani ich wojował, brał. I owszem z ludźmi naszymi on sam, i gałga czarewic Salamatgirei, i inni gałgowie po nim będący, synowie, bracia, murzowie, kniaziewie, karaczey, ulanowie, bejowie, i wszyscy przełożeni jego, i wszyscy zgoda ludzie jego, i nahaiscy, którzy pod nim są, mają szczery i wierny pokój zachować, nie wojując ani nasyłając na państwa nasze, ani żadnych szkód i krzywd czyniąc, i w grunty się nasze nie wtargiwając, aż do Morza Czarnego. I przez ziemie nasze ludzie ani wojska jego na jakiegokolwiek swe i czyjekolwiek potrzeby i wojny idąc przechodzić nie mają, ani się o nie ocierać.

A co beli powinni przodkowie cara Kazigiereia, carowie dawni tatarscy, za potrzebą i napomnieniem Ich Miłości królów polskich dawnych, i wielkich kniazów litewskich, wojować ziemię moskiewską, i zamki należące odbierać i oddawać ze wszystkimi grunty i pożytkami ich, także też przeciwko innym wszem nieprzyjaciółom naszym za potrzebą i napomnieniem naszym wojować, toż też car Kazigierey, i gałga czarewic Salamatgirey, i inni gałgowie po nim będący z syny, bracią, murzami, kniaziami, karaczey, ulany, bejami, i ludźmi swemi powinien czynić będzie. I będzie czynił szczerze i prawdziwie, że moskiewskiego i każdego nieprzyjaciela naszego za napomnieniem naszym wojować ma i powinien będzie.

My także, jako przodkowie jego nasze, i naszy przodkowie jego przodków nieprzyjaciół za swoich mając, nie będziemy im pomagać.

Też ma przeciwko gospodarowi wołoskiemu, za wolą naszą postanowionemu, i ziemi wołoskiej zachować się spokojnie i przyjacielskie, i przeciw jemu nie być, ani szkody żadnej jemu albo ziemi mołdawskiej czynić, i gospodarów innych na tę ziemię ani prowadzić, ani przechowywać, i owszem ich wydać, i jako począł, życzliwość pokazywać i pomocnem być, także i gospodarowi i ziemi multańskiej, gdyż takowi gospodarowie przyjaźń i przymirze starodawne między nami a Cesarzem Jego Miłością tureckim, przyjacielem naszym, mają zadzierżywać i pomnażać.

Obrazy wszystkie i szkody, które się aż do tego czasu między nami stały odpuszczamy carowi dufając, że nam to stateczną chęcią i wiarą swą na potym nagrodzi. On też także u nas i u ludzi naszych żadnych szkód swych własnych i ludzi swych upominać się nie ma, i upominków żadnych przeszłych, gdyż odtąd przyjaźń między nami poczyną się.

<sup>a</sup>Jako też bywało za przodków naszych, co się w dokończeniu króla starego Zygmunta świętej pamięci z Meligieriem carem najduje,<sup>b</sup> carowi

<sup>a-b</sup> The punctuation has been corrected here as this fragment apparently belongs to the following paragraph and not the preceding one; cf. Documents 36, 37, 41, 42, and 46.

Kazigiereiowi, abo synom jego, albo braciej, za pozwoleniem naszym w poczcie pewnym od nas zamierzonym, do nas i ziemie naszej jako gościem wezwanem do pomocy przeciwko nieprzyjaciołom naszym, gdybyśmy ich do czynienia z nieprzyjacioły naszymi użyli, przyjechać wolno będzie. Także żadnej krzywdy ani w osobie, ani w ludziach, ani w rzeczach od nas i ludzi naszych cierpieć nie mają, i owszem uczciwie i dobrowolnie mają być od nas przyjęci i szanowani.

Kupcy, kramarze naszy i państw nasych w ziemi carskiej, także carskie z ziemie jego w naszych ziemiach, mają wolno na obie stronie po kupiectwach jeździć i targować, zapłaciwszy zwykłe myta, a od nikogo nie mają być z żadnej miary krzywdzeni i szkodzeni. A gdzie by jaka krzywda stała się, sprawiedliwość rychła i gruntowna ma być czyniona.

A żeby nasza szczodrobliwość przeciw carowi Kazigiereiowi i sługom jego pokazała się, żeby tym gotowszy i sposobniejszy do powinnej pomocy, jako się wyżej napisało, nam przeciw wszystkim naszym nieprzyjaciołom być, tedy obiecujemy jemu [z] szczodrobliwości i łaski naszej odtąd na każdy rok upominki dawać, tak jako stary król Zygmunt dawał, w pieniądzech połowicę, a drugie w kupiach, i poselać do... na dzień...<sup>c</sup>

A car Kazigierei, i gałga czarewic Salamatgirei, i inni gałgowie po nim będący z syny, bracia, murzami, kniaziami, karaczei, ulany, bejami, i z przełożonemi i ludźmi wszystkimi swemi zachować ma przeciwko nam i poddanym naszym, zamkom, miastom, miasteczkom, wsiom, uchodom, i pastwiskom pokój prawdziwy i nieodmienny, i wszystkie rzeczy w tym liście przemirnym wyżej opisane nienaruszenie trzymać, pełnić i wykonywać skutkiem i rzeczą, bez wszech farb, chytrości, wymówek, na wieczne czasy. Czego jeśli by nie czynił, tedy my będziemy wolni od tego, co jemu z strony naszej obiecujemy.

Do której rzeczy pieczęć naszą koronną przycisnąćśmy kazali. Pisan w Warszawie roku od narodzenia Syna Bożego tysiąc sześćsetnego pierwszego, miesiąca marca XX dnia, a panowania królestw naszych polskiego czternaściego, a szwedzkiego ósmego roku.

Translation:

*The [instrument of] agreement [sent] from His Royal Majesty to the khan of Perekop [i.e., Crimea] anno 1601:*

*Sigismund the third, by the grace of God the king of Poland and the grand duke of Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, Samogitia, Livonia, Kiev, Volhynia, Podlachia [Podlasie], and also the hereditary king of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals.*

*We announce with the present letter, to whom it may concern, presently and in the future, that as, with God's will, we ascended the throne of the Polish*

<sup>c</sup> Empty spaces were left to fill in the place and date.

Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and of the lands belonging to it, also Ghazi Giray Khan became the khan of the Crimean Horde after the death of Islam Giray; and though initially transgressions happened between us and him [i.e., Ghazi Giray], having met his excellency Jan Zamoyiski, our chancellor and grand hetman, and our troops, in Țuțora [Cecora] in the Moldavian<sup>1</sup> land, he endeavored to gain our goodwill and favor and asked the hetman to assist in acquiring this aim, offering not merely to be our friend, but a friend of our friends and an enemy of our enemies, and to face and fight any of our enemies; in reference to this matter he sent his honest envoy, Djan Ahmed Chelebi,<sup>2</sup> to Cracow, our capital.

[And] having taken counsel in this matter with our Councilors, we favorably received this wish and offer of Ghazi Giray Khan, and we sent him our present letter of agreement [list przemirny] through our envoy,<sup>3</sup> promising him to firmly and invariably keep everything that is written there, on the condition that he sends us a similar letter of agreement, written in accordance with our letter, and firmly keeps this agreement and all its clauses.

Yet, as at that time the khan was absent from his land, our envoy did not meet him and did not bring us the [instrument of] agreement; even though the khan sent us one subsequently through his envoy Djan Temir Agha,<sup>4</sup> as the contents of his letter of agreement did not conform with mutual requirements of sound friendship, we have [again] written our present letter of agreement and sent it to Ghazi Giray Khan through our great envoy and secretary, Ławryn Piaseczyński,<sup>5</sup> the chamberlain [Pol. podkomorzy] of Braclav, and we have

<sup>1</sup> In seventeenth-century Polish, the adjective *wołoski/wołoska* (lit. "Wallachian" or "of Wallachia") referred to either Wallachia or Moldavia. In the given case it refers to Moldavia.

<sup>2</sup> On Djan Ahmed Chelebi, see Document 36, n. 2. Here his embassy from the years 1597–1598 is mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., Nikodem Kossakowski; on his embassy from the years 1598–1599, see Document 36, n. 1 and the paragraph below. The present royal document, issued in 1601, is similar to the one from 1598 taken by Kossakowski, but of course it is not the same document.

<sup>4</sup> On Djan Temir Agha, see Document 37, n. 2. Sent from Ghazi II Giray's camp in Hungary, he brought the khan's letter of agreement to Poland in October 1599. As the document's contents deviated from the Polish expectations, Djan Temir was made to give a solemn promise that the khan would issue a corrected version after his return from Hungary (see Document 38). Yet, no other document by Ghazi Giray was issued until the summer of 1601 (see Document 39).

<sup>5</sup> On Ławryn (Wawrzyniec) Piaseczyński, see his biography by Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz in PSB, vol. 25 (Wrocław etc., 1980), pp. 805–808, and Petro Kulakovs'kyj, *Kanceljarija Rus'koji (Volyns'koji) metryky 1569–1673 rr. Studija z istoriji ukrajins'koho regionalizmu v Reči Pospolytij* (Ostroh-L'viv, 2002), pp. 140–146; on his three embassies to the Tatars in the years 1601–1603, see also Pułaski, "Trzy poselstwa Piaseczyńskiego," and Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 96–117. Piaseczyński left Warsaw in April and was received by Ghazi Giray on 23 August 1601. In the following days he negotiated the clauses to be inserted in the khan's instrument along with Djan Ahmed Chelebi, the Crimean diplomat entrusted to deliver the khan's document to Poland (on Djan Ahmed, see Document 36, n. 2). Both envoys left the Crimea in October 1601 and

ordered him [i.e., the envoy] to take from him [i.e., the khan] another one [i.e., letter of agreement], being in accordance with our [letter of agreement].

Thus, first of all we promise certain and inviolable peace on our part and on the part of the Lords Senators of the Crown, our subjects, to Ghazi Giray Khan, his sons, brothers, people, and land. And on his part, Ghazi Giray Khan, and the qalga Selamet Giray Sultan,<sup>6</sup> and other qalgas who will come after him, along with his [i.e., the khan's] sons and brothers, and the mirzas, princes,<sup>7</sup> qaraçıs, ulans, beys, and those commanding over places and people (both military and all his other people), and with all his people, and the Nogay people who are allied and united with him, being our loyal friend and truly regarding us and our people as his friends, and our enemies as his enemies, will not harm, raid, or capture any castles, towns, boroughs, villages, estates, people, herds, or goods of ours and of our Lords Councilors, nobles, and subjects. On the contrary, he, and the qalga Selamet Giray Sultan, and other qalgas who will come after him, and his sons, brothers, mirzas, princes, qaraçıs, ulans, beys, all commanders, and in short, all his people, and the Nogays who are his subjects, should keep sincere and loyal peace with our people, without raiding or sending raiders to our states, causing damage or harm, and without invading our lands [extending] as far as the Black Sea. And his people and troops should not pass through our lands while heading for any campaigns or wars of their own or anybody else's,<sup>8</sup> nor should they even graze them [i.e., touch the frontiers].

And as the ancestors of Ghazi Giray Khan, the former Tatar khans, were to raid the Muscovian land whenever Their Majesties, the ancient kings of Poland and the grand dukes of Lithuania, needed and requested, and retake and restore [to them] the castles that had belonged [to them], along with all

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arrived at Vilnius after ca. 2 months (Piaseczyński in November, Djan Ahmed in December). As the royal side was not satisfied with the khan's instrument, in March 1602 Piaseczyński again left for the Crimea in order to receive an "amended" document. Also in this trip he was accompanied by Djan Ahmed Chelebi. As the Polish court detained the gifts expected by the Tatars, Piaseczyński's reception in the Crimea in June 1602 was very cold. In August 1602, he returned to Cracow and in October 1602 was once more sent to the khan. Since the latter was campaigning in Hungary, Piaseczyński did not reach him and traveled only as far as Jassy. There in January 1603 he finally released the gifts to the Tatar envoy, Ali Mirza, and in February returned to Poland.

<sup>6</sup> Pol. *carewicz* or *czarewicz* is rendered here as *sultan*. Selamet Giray was Ghazi Giray's brother and the qalga in the years 1597–1601. In September 1601, shortly after he gave a solemn audience to Piaseczyński, Selamet escaped from the Crimea to the Ottoman lands, apparently fearing for his life (cf. Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 104–105). Since he got involved in the Anatolian *celali* rebellion, he was imprisoned in the Istanbul castle of Yedi Kule. In 1608 he became khan with the Ottoman support and reigned until his death in 1610.

<sup>7</sup> The Polish term *kniaziami* (*kniaziewie* in the nominative) apparently refers to the beys, traditionally referred to in Ruthenian sources as *knjazi*. Yet, beys are also mentioned below as *bejowie* (*bejami* in the ablative).

<sup>8</sup> A plain reference to the long Ottoman-Habsburg war of the years 1593–1606. Regularly called to join the Ottoman troops in Hungary, the Tatars often crossed the Ukrainian lands of Poland-Lithuania.

their lands and profits, and moreover, they were to raid our other enemies whenever we needed and requested, also [now] Ghazi Giray Khan, and the qalga Selamet Giray Sultan, and other qalgas who will come after him, along with his sons, brothers, mirzas, princes, qaraçıs, ulans, beys, and people should do likewise. And he will do it sincerely and truly by raiding our Muscovian and any other enemy on our request.

And just as his [i.e., the khan's] ancestors regarded our [ancestors'] enemies [as their enemies], and as our ancestors regarded his ancestors' [enemies] as such, likewise, we will not assist them [i.e., such enemies].

And he should behave in a calm and friendly manner towards the Moldavian<sup>9</sup> hospodar,<sup>10</sup> who has been placed [on his throne] according to our will, and towards the Moldavian land; he should not act against him or cause any damage to him or the Moldavian<sup>11</sup> land; and he should not bring along to this land any other pretenders to the hospodar's throne,<sup>12</sup> or give them refuge; on the contrary, he should deliver them [to the current Moldavian hospodar]; and he [i.e., the khan] should display benevolence and assist [the Moldavian hospodar], like he did initially, and likewise [he should display benevolence and assist] the hospodar and the land of Wallachia,<sup>13</sup> because such hospodars [have been placed on their thrones]<sup>14</sup> to cement and strengthen the friendship and ancient agreement between us and our friend, His Majesty, the Turkish emperor.

We forgive the khan all the transgressions and damages that have happened between us until the present time, in trust that in the future he will compensate them to us by his constant goodwill and good faith. Neither should he reclaim

<sup>9</sup> The Polish adjective *wołoski* refers here to Moldavia (cf. n. 1 above).

<sup>10</sup> I.e., Ieremia Movilă, the Moldavian hospodar in the years 1595–1606. Enthroned with the Polish support in 1595 (cf. Document 36, n. 4), Movilă lost almost his entire principality in May 1600 in result of the invasion of the Wallachian hospodar, Mihai Viteazul (Michael the Brave). Yet, in October 1600 the Polish troops led by Hetman Jan Zamoyski entered Moldavia and reinstalled Ieremia Movilă on its throne.

<sup>11</sup> Here Moldavia is referred to more precisely by the Polish adjective *mołdawska* ("Moldavian" or "of Moldavia"); cf. notes 1 and 9 above.

<sup>12</sup> The Polish term *hospodaryk* (*hospodaryków* in the genitive plural), or rather *hospodarczyk* like in Document 36, is a diminutive of the term *hospodar*; it either refers to a hospodar's son or is a pejorative reference to a hospodar. It is translated here as "pretender to the hospodar's throne" as in fact many pretenders to the Moldavian and Wallachian thrones were the sons of former hospodars.

<sup>13</sup> Here Wallachia is referred to more precisely (cf. n. 1 above) by the Polish adjective *multańska* ("Muntenian" or "of Muntenia"). In early modern Polish sources the geographical term *Multany* (Muntenia, i.e., eastern Wallachia) referred to the whole principality of Wallachia.

<sup>14</sup> The Polish intervention of 1600 not only resulted in the reintroduction of Ieremia Movilă to the throne of Moldavia (cf. n. 10 above), but also in the enthronement of his brother, Simion Movilă, in Wallachia. In the summer of 1601 Simion lost his throne, but a few months later was again installed by the Poles, to be finally replaced by Radu Șerban in the summer of 1602.

any indemnity in his name or in the name of his people, or any past gifts from us and our people, because our mutual friendship begins from now on.

Also, as it was practiced in the times of our ancestors and is recorded in the agreement between the late King Sigismund the Old and Mengli Giray Khan, Ghazi Giray Khan, or his sons or brothers may come to us and our land as guests invited to help us against our enemies, if we make use of their services to fight our enemies, provided that we authorize it and set [the size of] their retinue. And they should not suffer any harm done to them, their people, or belongings by us or our people; on the contrary, we should receive them honestly and voluntarily, and we should respect them.

Merchants and traders, both ours and from our states in the khan's land, as well as the khan's and from his land in our lands, may freely travel in both directions for the purpose of commerce and trade, having paid the customary tolls, and should not be hurt or harmed by anybody in any way. And if they suffer any harm, immediate and thorough justice should be administered.

And in order to display our generosity towards Ghazi Giray Khan and his servants, so that he be more willing and ready to bring us his due assistance (as it has been described above) against all our enemies, we promise to henceforth give him annual gifts out of our generosity and grace, half in cash and half in goods, just as the old king Sigismund<sup>15</sup> used to do, and send them to... by the day...<sup>16</sup>

And Ghazi Giray Khan, and the qalga Selamet Giray Sultan, and other qalgas who will come after him, along with his sons, brothers, mirzas, princes, qaraçıs, ulans, beys, commanders, and all his people should maintain true and inviolable peace towards us and our subjects, castles, towns, boroughs, villages, hamlets, and pastures, and invariably keep, fulfill, and effectively and materially execute all the conditions described above in the present letter of agreement, without any falsity, deceit, or excuses, and forever. And if he does not fulfill it, then we will be free from our promise to him.

To this effect we have ordered to impress our Crown seal. Written in Warsaw in the year 1601 from the birth of the Son of God, on the 20th day of the month of March, in the 14th year of our reign in Poland and the 8th year [of our reign] in Sweden.

<sup>15</sup> I.e., King Sigismund the Old (r. 1506–1548).

<sup>16</sup> Empty spaces were left to fill in the place and date. The value of the gifts is also not given; cf. Document 36, n. 9.

DOCUMENT 40 (30 AUGUST–28 SEPTEMBER 1601)  
The *ahdname* (list *przemirny*) sent by Khan Ghazi II Giray  
to King Sigismund III

The original document is missing.<sup>1</sup>

Polish copy: Biblioteka Narodowa, ms. III. 3086 “Księga poselstwa Ławryna Piaseczyńskiego,” fol. 76a–77b.

Przymierze od cara przez Dżan Achmet Czeliebieia, posła jego:

Za pomocą bożą, a za prorocstwem Machometowym!

Kazy Gireia Cara słowa:

Wielkiej Ordy wielki car, distkypczacki, petihorski, nohaiski, i nad niezliczonymi Tatary wolny gospodar, Car Kazy Girei.

Wielkiemu kniaziowi litewskiemu, ruskiemu, pruskiemu, mazowieckiemu, żmodzkiemu, kiowskiemu, podolskiemu, szwedzkiemu, wandalskiemu, i nad innymi państwami chrześcijańskimi dziedzicznemu gospodarowi będącemu, królowi, bratu naszemu, Trzeciemu Zigmuntowi, wielkie pozdrowienie!

Z łaski i szczodroblewości cara oznajmujemy, iż pierwiej tego, po ześciu nieboszczyka brata naszego Islam Gireia Cara, co między nami obraży były, za czym posłowie i ludzie kupieckie między nami chodzić byli poprzestali, a iż wedle zwyczaju przodków obnowić przyjaźń, wielkiego posła swego Ławrina Piaseczyńskiego, wiernego sekretarza do nas przysławszy, pewny list przemirny pod zwykłymi pieczęciami żądał. My tedy porozumiawszy się z bratem naszym, gałą Sałamet Gireiem carewiczem, i z synami naszymi carewiczami, kniaziami, karaczaiami, murzami, ulanami, i wiernymi sługami naszymi, którzy zawsze dworu naszego pilnują, prośbę i żądanie was, brata naszego, wdzięcznie przyjąwszy, z dobrej chęci naszej ten list nasz przemirny wedle obyczaju dawnego napisawszy, i przyłączywszy do pomienionego posła waszego, przez posła naszego do was posłaliśmy, pod takimi warunkami, jako z dawnych przodków naszych, sławnych pamięci Chaczy Gireia Cara, a Menli Gireia Cara i Mahmet Gireia Cara, a sławnej pamięci nieboszczyka ojca naszego Dawliet Gireia Cara, wziętego do chwały światłości bożej, które

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<sup>1</sup> In fact, the original document was returned to the khan at the audience in Közlev on 30 June 1602 by the Polish envoy, Ławryn Piaseczyński, who demanded that it should be emended; see Pułaski, “Trzy poselstwa Piaseczyńskiego,” pp. 758–759.

przyjaźni aż do tego czasu trwali. My tedy według tego listu naszego przemirnego oznajmujem:

Naprzód, gdy upominki zwykłymi pierwszymi miejscami przez Dniepr poliem posłowie waszy do nas tak, jako za przodków przyprowadzali, i teraz tymże sposobem do nas przysłane być mają. A które upominki pierwiej tego do nas oznajmiliście, mianując ich być w Kamieńcu, których spodziewaliśmy się przez posła waszego przy poście naszym Aly Murzie, te upominki nas nie doszły. A niniejszego roku upominki na czas naznaczony przy poście naszym Dżan Achmet Czeliebieiu przez posła swego do nas przysłiecie.

A wedlia oznajmienia od was nam, wojewodzie wołoskiemu i państwu jego my sami i ludzie naszy, będąc życzliwymi, żadnej krzywdy czynić nie będziemy; i z strony naszej wojewodów na państwo wołoskie nadawać nie mamy; według żądania waszego przyjaźń i życzliwość nasza im dźiać się będzie. I jeśli by jaki z ziemie wołoskiej, mieniąc się być potomkiem wojewod wołoskich, a chcąc powstać na wojewodę wołoskiego, do nas by się udał, takowego nie chowając my u siebie, do wojewody wołoskiego odeśliem; i każdemu przyjacielowi waszemu mamy być przyjacieliem, a nieprzyjaciółom nieprzyjacieliem.

I gdzie by była potrzeba od nas na pomoc wojska z potrzebę<sup>a</sup> wam, tedy na czas naznaczony za oznajmieniem waszym wojska posyłać będziemy. Także i nam czasu potrzeby pomoc być ma.

A Kozaki waszy z Dniepra państwu naszemu szkody czynić nie mają. Także też z strony naszej bezbaszowie, kozacy naszy państwu waszym żadnej szkody czynić nie będą. Wedlie dawnych czasów powściągnięni i z Dniepra zwiedzeni żeby byli, aby obum państwu pokój się dźiał.

Jakoż list nasz przemirny posłaliśmy z tym upewnieniem, iż—naprzód wspomniawszy imię boże i wyznawając, że od Boga czterzy księgi zesłane, tak też i proroka prawdziwego, posła bożego Machometa, za ostatniego proroka przyrzeczenie swoje czynim—chcąc zdzierzeć według tego listu przemirnego, napisanego do was przez posła naszego wielkiego, nam wiernie zasłużonego Dżan Achmet Czeliebieia, mamy i będziemy pełnić, a każdemu przyjacielowi waszemu być przyjacieliem. A nieprzyjacielowi nieprzyjacieliem będąc, z wami w dobrej przyjaźni, żadnych krzywd i szkód państwu i ludziom waszym czynić nie będziemy. Jako ja sam, car, tak i carewicy gałgowie, i synowie naszy carewicy, kniaziowie, ułani, kozacy, bezbaszowie przeciwko was na konie wsiadać i w państwa waszy wtargiwać, dobrać i majątnościom szkody czynić, i zabierać nie będziem wszeliakiej rzeczy. Z strony naszej pokój zachowywać państwu i ludziom waszym będziemy tak, żeby z strony waszej nam i państwu naszemu, i ludziom naszym był pokój. Aby ludziom ubogim, a na ostatek białym głowam, wdowam między obiema państwami bezpiecznie chodzić wolno by było za szczęśliwymi panowaniami naszymi.

Także też kupcom na obie stronie przyjeżdżać i odjeżdżać wolno będzie, we wszeliakich postępkach ich według dawnych obyczajów zachowani będą.

<sup>a</sup> It should rather read *z potrzebą*, though in seventeenth-century Polish the vowels *q* and *ę* were used interchangeably.



O czym ten list przemirny z łaski naszej przez posła naszego posłany, któremu wiara dodana będzie. Pisan z Bachczysaraiu miesiąca rebeia, a roku tysiącnego i dziesiątego.

Translation:

*The [instrument of] agreement [sent] by the khan through his envoy, Djan Ahmed Chelebi:<sup>2</sup>*

*By the assistance of God and the prophecy of Muhammad!*

*Ghazi Giray Khan's words:<sup>3</sup>*

*The great khan of the Great Horde, the free lord<sup>4</sup> of the Kipchak Steppe,<sup>5</sup> of the Circassians,<sup>6</sup> Nogays, and innumerable Tatars, Ghazi Giray Khan.*

*[Let] a great salutation [be pronounced] to the grand duke of Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, Samogitia, Kiev, and Podolia, being [also] the hereditary lord of the Swedes, Vandals, and of other Christian states, our brother, King Sigismund the Third!*

*We announce, out of monarchic favor and generosity, that as regards the former transgressions that had happened between us after the death of our late brother, Islam Giray Khan, and turned the mutual movement of envoys and merchants into a standstill, in desire to renew [our] friendship in accordance with the custom of our ancestors, he [i.e., King Sigismund] sent us his great envoy and loyal secretary, Ławryn Piaseczyński,<sup>7</sup> requesting [from us] a formal letter of agreement, sealed with ordinary seals. And having taken counsel with*

<sup>2</sup> On Djan Ahmed Chelebi, see Document 36, n. 2. Here his embassy from the years 1601–1602 is mentioned. The present document was delivered to the king at a solemn audience in Vilnius on 27 December 1601; see Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently a partial translation of the inscription of Ghazi Giray's proto-*tuğra*; cf. Document 35.

<sup>4</sup> The expression *wolny hospodar* ("free lord"), also found in Ruthenian sources (cf. Document 10, n. 3), reflects the ancient Mongol-Tatar notion of sovereignty.

<sup>5</sup> The Turkish term *Deşt-i Qıpçaq* (Kipchak Steppe) is rendered in Polish by an adjective: *distkypczacki*.

<sup>6</sup> The Polish and Ruthenian term *Petyhorcy* (i.e., "those of the Five Mountains") was analogous to the Russian term *Pjatororcy* (cf. the name of the modern town of Pjatigorsk) and referred particularly to the Kabardinians, inhabiting the region extending between the Elbrus range and the Kuma river. Nevertheless, it sometimes applied to other Circassian tribes as well; cf. Aleksandr Nekrasov, *Meždunarodnye otnošenija i narody Zapadnogo Kavkaza*, pp. 27–29.

<sup>7</sup> On Ławryn Piaseczyński, see Document 39, n. 5. Here his first embassy from the year 1601 is mentioned. Piaseczyński was received by the khan at a solemn audience on 23 August 1601 and left the Crimea in October.

our brother, the *qalga* Selamet Giray Sultan,<sup>8</sup> and our sons, the sultans, and the beys, *qaraçıs*, mirzas, ulans, and our loyal servants, who always guard our court [i.e., courtiers], we have complied with your request, our brother,<sup>9</sup> and having written our present letter of agreement out of our goodwill and in accordance with the ancient custom, we have sent it to you through our envoy,<sup>10</sup> who has joined your envoy,<sup>11</sup> [the present letter] containing the same conditions as were in the times of our ancient ancestors of glorious memory: Hadji Giray Khan, Mengli Giray Khan, Mehmed Giray Khan, and [also] our late father of glorious memory, taken to the glory of divine light, Devlet Giray Khan, whose friendship [towards your ancestors] has lasted until the present time. And according to our present letter of agreement we announce [as follows]:

Firstly, as your envoys used to bring us gifts taking the customary old route across the Dnieper and through the field [i.e., steppe],<sup>12</sup> also now [the gifts] should be sent to us in the same manner as they used to in the times of our ancestors. And regarding the gifts that, according to what you had stated earlier, were reportedly in Kamieniec, we expected them to be brought by your envoy who would join our envoy, Ali Mirza,<sup>13</sup> but we have not received them.

<sup>8</sup> Pol. *carewicz* is rendered here as *sultan*. On Selamet Giray, the *qalga* in the years 1597–1601 and the future khan in the years 1608–1610, cf. Document 39, n. 6. Twelve days after his audience with the khan, on 4 September 1601 Piaseczyński was solemnly received by Selamet Giray in the latter's camp. Yet, a few days later, on 10 September, the Polish envoy recorded in his diary that the *qalga* escaped from the Crimea to the Ottoman lands; see Pułaski, "Trzy poselstwa Piaseczyńskiego," pp. 365–366 and 467; cf. Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 104–105. In the following years Selamet was imprisoned in Istanbul until the Porte promoted him to the post of khan in 1608. On 20 September 1601 Piaseczyński recorded in his diary that Ghazi Giray's twelve-year-old son, Tokhtamish Giray, was promoted from the post of nureddin to the post of *qalga*; see Pułaski, "Trzy poselstwa Piaseczyńskiego," p. 469. It is interesting that though Piaseczyński remained in the Crimea until October, the khan's chancery did not try to emend the present document and replace the name of Selamet by that of Tokhtamish.

<sup>9</sup> Here the king is addressed in the second person while previously he was referred to in the third person.

<sup>10</sup> I.e., Djan Ahmed Chelebi; cf. n. 2 above.

<sup>11</sup> I.e., Piaseczyński.

<sup>12</sup> The Polish term *pole* ("field") or *dzikie pola* ("wild fields") referred to the barely inhabited steppe area extending to the north from the Black Sea.

<sup>13</sup> Ali Mirza, probably identical with the great envoy sent to Poland already in 1585. In June 1601, in exactly the same time when Piaseczyński was traveling to the Crimea, Ali Mirza was sent to Poland to collect the gifts. As their routes almost crossed in Podolia, Piaseczyński sent a courier to Ali Mirza trying to persuade him to return and travel along with him to the Crimea, but the Tatar envoy decided to continue his trip. As the Polish court did not want to release the gifts before Piaseczyński's return, to his disappointment Ali Mirza returned with empty hands. The envoys met during their return journeys in Akkerman in October 1601. Apparently the news of Ali Mirza's failure reached the khan before the present document was issued. In December 1602 Ali Mirza again arrived at Cracow. This time his mission was successful as in his return journey he was accompanied by Piaseczyński, who collected the previously stored gifts in Kamieniec and in January 1603 released them to the Tatar envoy in

Therefore you should send us the gifts this year in due time through your envoy who would join our envoy, Djan Ahmed Chelebi.<sup>14</sup>

And according to your request, we, and our people, will behave favorably and will not commit any harm to the Moldavian palatine<sup>15</sup> and his state; and we should not impose any [other] individuals as palatines of Moldavia; according to your wish, we will act in a friendly and favorable manner towards them [i.e., the current Moldavian palatine and his subjects]. And if any individual from Moldavia seeks our protection, pretending to be a descendant of Moldavian palatines and intending to raise against the [current] Moldavian palatine, we will not give him refuge but will send him to the Moldavian palatine; and we should be a friend of any of your friends and an enemy of any of your enemies.

And wherever you need our assistance in troops, we will send you troops in due time upon your request. Also whenever we need, we should be given help.

And your Dnieper cossacks should not cause any damage to our state. Also from our side, those committing small raids [beş-baş]<sup>16</sup> and our cossacks should not cause any damage to your states. They should be restrained and removed from the Dnieper so that both [our] states may experience peace.

Hence we have sent our letter of agreement with the assurance that—having firstly invoked the name of God and confessing that we make our engagement by the four Books<sup>17</sup> sent by God, and by the true prophet, God's messenger Muhammad, [being] the last prophet—in desire to keep [the above conditions] according to the present letter of agreement, written [and sent] to you through our great envoy, Djan Ahmed Chelebi, who has rendered us loyal services, we should and we will fulfill them and be a friend of any of your friends. And

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Jassy; cf. Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 57, 101, 105–106, and 116–117, and Document 39, n. 5.

<sup>14</sup> Djan Ahmed Chelebi indeed traveled to Vilnius along with the present document and in the company of Piaseczyński, and they both returned to the Crimea in the spring of 1602, but the gifts were delivered only in January 1603 to the next Crimean envoy, Ali Mirza, cf. Document 36, n. 2, and n. 13 above.

<sup>15</sup> In seventeenth-century Polish, the adjective *wołoski* (lit. “Wallachian” or “of Wallachia”) referred to either Wallachia or Moldavia. In the given case it refers to Moldavia. On Ieremia Movilă, the hospodar of Moldavia in the years 1595–1606, see Document 36, n. 4, and Document 39, n. 10.

<sup>16</sup> Lit. “[a raid committed by] five heads;” the Turkish term *beşbaş* is reflected in the Polish plural noun *be[s]zbaszowie* (a Turkish equivalent of the latter would be *beşbaşlılar*).

<sup>17</sup> According to a Muslim tradition (*hadith*), recorded in the collection by Ibn Hibban, rearranged by the medieval Muslim scholar Ali bin Balban, God sent to humanity 100 leaves of Holy Scripture (50 to Seth, 30 to Noah, 10 to Abraham, and 10 to Moses before the Torah), and four Holy Books, namely the Torah, the Gospel, the Zabur, and the Koran; see al-Amir ‘Ala’addin ‘Ali bin Balban al-Farsi, *al-Ihsan fi taqribi sahih Ibn Hibban*, vol. 2, p. 77. The term Zabur probably refers to the Psalms of David; cf. J. Horowitz and R. Firestone, “Zabūr” in: *EP*, vol. 11, pp. 372–373 (for a direct reference to the Psalms of David, see Document 41, n. 12). A reference to 104 Holy Books (i.e., 100 minor and 4 larger ones) can be found already in Mengli Giray’s oath recorded in a document from 1478; cf. Document 6, n. 5.

*[while] being an enemy of your enemy and remaining in good friendship with you, we will not commit any harm or damage to your states or people. Neither I, the khan, nor the qalga sultans,<sup>18</sup> our sons, the sultans, and the beys, ulans, cossacks, and those committing small raids [beş-baş] will mount horses and set out against you, invade your states, cause damage to [your] estates and goods, nor will we capture anything. On our part we will keep peace with your states and people so that you keep peace with us, our state, and our people. So that during our felicitous reigns the poor, and even women and widows may safely travel between the two states.*

*Also the merchants will be allowed to travel and return between the two sides, and in any matter they will be treated according to the ancient customs.*

*In reference to everything [that has been written above] the present letter of agreement [list przemirny], which should be trusted, has been sent out of our favor through our envoy.*

*Written in Baghchasaray in the month of Rebi, in the year 1010.<sup>19</sup>*

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<sup>18</sup> Either the passage referring to the qalga is erroneously written in the plural or it refers to the present as well as future qalgas; on the change in the post of qalga that occurred on 20 September 1601, cf. n. 8 above.

<sup>19</sup> It is not stated whether the document was issued in Rebi I or Rebi II. Yet, from Piaseczyński's diary it is evident that it was issued in Rebi I 1010 A.H. that lasted from 30 August till 28 September 1601.

DOCUMENT 41 (THE FALL OF 1604)  
The *'ahdname* (przymierze) sent by Khan Ghazi II Giray  
to King Sigismund III

The original document is missing.

Polish copy: Bibl. Jagiell., ms. 43, fol. 186b–189b.

Published in *Žerela do istoriji Ukrajiny-Rusy*, vol. 8/1: *Dokumenty po rik 1631*. Edited by I. Krypjakevyč (L'viv, 1908), pp. 105–109.

Kopia przymierza cara prekopskiego przez Dervissa bejowego syna:

Wielkiej Ordy wielgi car, czerkaski, nogaiski, saneski,<sup>a</sup> i inszych wszystkich narodów tatarskich dziedziczny cham [*sic*], Gazi Gierey sułtan.

Wszystkiej Rusi, pruskiemu, z łaski bożej Trzeciemu Zygmunтови, wielgiemu książęciu litewskiemu, żmudzkiemu, kijowskiemu, podolskiemu, szwedzkiemu, gottskiemu, wandalskiemu, mazowieckiemu, inflanckiemu, i inszych wiele państw samodzierżawcy, dziedzicznemu z dziadów i pradziadów wielgiemu cesarzowi i królowi polskiemu, po zaleceniu wszelakiej życzliwości i chęci naszej carskiej i braterskiej, przyjacielskie oznajmienie:

Jeśli się Wasza Królewska Miłość o nas, bracie swem Gazi Gierciu pytać raczysz, tedy Wasza Królewska Miłość masz wiedzieć, żeśmy z łaski Boga wszechmogącego barzo dobrze zdrowi, zaczem abyśmy też mogli wiedzieć i słyszeć o dobrem Waszej Królewskiej Miłości, brata swego, umyślnie posła naszego wielkiego, z pośrzedku Panów Rad naszych zacnego i wszelakiej czci godnego pana Derviss begowego syna, pana Kazi bega, na wielkie poselstwo naznaczyliśmy, którego do Waszej Królewskiej Miłości, brata naszego, ze wszystkim dobrem i z szczyrą uprzejmą przyjaźnią poselamy.

A iż niedawnego czasu posłałeś był Wasza Królewska Miłość do nas, brata swego, zacnego i znakomitego człeka, pana Ławryna Piasoczyńskiego, posła swego, dlatego aby był między temi społecznymi państwami przymierze i przyjaźń stateczną zatrzymał i potwierdził, chcąc od nas i żądając, abyśmy mu statecznie opisane przymierze i artykuły w nim opisane wydali, ja, sułtan Gazi Kiercy i cham, aczem nie miał nigdy inszego przedsięwzięcia i umysłu, jedno abym mógł zawsze stateczne przymierze z Waszą Królewską Miłością, bratem naszym, mieć, mocno dzierżąc i zachowując starowieczne przymierze, które dziadowie i pradziadowie nasi z pradziadami i przodkami Waszej Królewskiej Miłości mieli i mocno dzierżeli, tedy pokazując to skutkiem i

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<sup>a</sup> It should read *nad niezliczonymi Tatary* (“[the lord] of innumerable Tatars”) like in Document 40. The Polish translator apparently did not understand the Turkish word *sansız* (“innumerable,” hence *sansız Tatarını*, “of innumerable Tatars”), so he invented a nonexistent Polish adjective *saneski* (“of the Sans”).

zabiegając temu, aby ubodzy poddani obojga państw mogli być bezpieczni zdrowia i majątności swych, tedy podług starowiecznych pakt, artykułów w nich opisanych, przez tegoż posła wzwyż mianowanego, Piaseczyńskiego <wzwyż mianowanego> Waszej Królewskiej Miłości posłaliśmy przymierze, za którym od onego do terażniejszego czasu rachując, z strony naszej w namniejszym punkcie przeciwko przymierzui uczynionemu i postanowionemu nic się nie wykroczyło ani zgrzeszyło, i żadna się zdrada albo oszukanie nie pokazało, i owszem we wszystkim się dosyć stało, i na potem nigdy się nie wykroczy. A przymierze i pierwsze i terażniejsze takie jest:

Iż jeśli Król Jego Miłość podług przymierza w liście swem opisanego i nam posłanego pany karacze i murzy, i poddane nasze dobre i złe, nas z syny nasze, także wsi, majątności, i dobytki nasze i wszystkich karaczów i murzów, i wszystkich poddanych naszych od wielkiego do małego poczawszy, także i Tatary nohaiskie nam i władzy naszej podległe, w statecznej przyjaźni i pokoju zachowa, pokazując nam szczerą a niezmyślną przyjaźń i spokojne sąsiedztwo, tak żebyśmy nie mieli ani ponosili namniejszej szkody w państwach naszych ze wszystkimi poddanymi naszymi, ale owszem, żebyśmy ze wszystkimi poddanymi naszymi mogli wszelakiego wczasu zażywać, i żeby poddani nasi społeczni w zgodzie i miłości sąsiedzkiej handle swoje odprawować mogli, tedyśmy też, Gazi Kierey cham, społecznie z star[s]zem synem naszym, sułtan Tochtimssem gałą, i ze wszystkimi inszemi synmi naszymi, sułtanami, z karaciami, z murzami, i ze wszystkimi poddanymi naszymi pod rozkazaniem i władzą naszą carską będącemi, i ze wszystką ordą Tatarów nogaiskich chcemy być wiernymi, życzliwymi, i statecznymi w przyjaźni naszej Królowi Jego Miłości, bratu naszemu, i Panom Radom jego, także i poddanem jego wszystkim.

A gdy tego będzie potrzebował Król Jego Miłość, brat nasz, żebym wojował nieprzyjaciela jego, tędym ja gotów być każdemu nieprzyjacielowi Króla Jego Miłości nieprzyjacielem jawnem, a przyjacielowi [sic] przyjacielem, szanując przyjaciela, a wojując nieprzyjaciela. Tymże też sposobem i Król Jego Miłość przeciwko nam ma się zachować, nie pomagając, ani ratunku dając nieprzyjaciółom naszym przeciwko nam.

A gdybyśmy za rozkazaniem, wiadomością i upomnieniem Króla Jego Miłości którego nieprzyjaciela wojowali i przez państwa albo blisko państw Jego Królewskiej Miłości z wojskiem naszym szli, tedy mamy i powinni jesteśmy wszystkich miast, zamków, miasteczek, dworów, i wsi, i wszelakich włości, tak samego Króla Jego Miłości, jako i poddanych jego, Panów Rad, kniaziów, szlachty, ochraniać i bronić, namniejszych szkód i żadnego najazdu nie czyniąc we wszystkie państwa Jego Królewskiej Miłości, ale owszem w pięknem pokoju one zachowując, tak samego Króla Jego Miłości, jako też i wszystkich poddanych jego.

I nie mamy ani małego, ani żadnego wielkiego wojska do państw Króla Jego Miłości posyłać, i żadnego najazdu czyniąc, namniejszego więźnia brać i w niewolą przedawać, także ani żaden z poddanych moich brać i przedawać nie będzie; i owszem, ja sam z synmi i ze wszystkimi poddanymi swemi wzwyż mianowanymi stateczne przymierze i całą przyjaźń chcę zupełnie zachować, i wiary dotrzymać.

A jeślinbym ja, Gazi Kierey cham, także gałga sułtan Tochtmisz, syn mój starszy, albo insi sułtanowie, synowie moi, albo wojsko moje na posługę jaką w nieprzyjacielskiej ziemi byli za wiadomością i oznajmieniem Króla Jego Miłości, i uczynieli jaką znaczną i dobrą posługę Królowi Jego Miłości, tedy Król Jego Miłość, i Panowie Rady jego, za tę posługę naszą, synów albo wojska naszego wszelaką chęć i łaskę swą ma nam pokazać i nagrodę uczynić. A według starego zwyczaju przodków naszych wolno się mamy wrócić ze wszelaką zdobyczą naszą z nieprzyjacielskiej ziemi do Krymu, państwa naszego, bez przenagabania wszelakiego i hamowania tak samego Króla Jego Miłości, jako i Panów Rad jego, i wszelakiego wojska, poddanych Króla Jego Miłości; i owszem nas spokojnie przepuszczają mają do ziemi naszej. A my obiecujęm, że żadnej namniejszej szkody nie uczynięm, tak jako to czynili i przodkowie nasi, już z tego świata zesłi.

Do tego kupcom wszelakim, poddanem Króla Jego Miłości będzie wolno z kupiami i majątnością ich dla odprawowania i odbytu kupii i handlów swych w ziemi naszej być, i jeździć, i chodzić, zapłaciwszy starożytnie zwykłe myto. A jeślinby który z kupców do jakiej szkody, bądź przez zgubę, bądź z inszej miary przyszedł, a majątność i kupię swoją stracił, tedy mu powinni jesteśmy sprawiedliwość skuteczną uczynić i jego majątność przywrócić, przestrzegając tego, aby ludzie ubodzy żadnej krzywdy i szkody nie mieli.

A iż z dawnych czasów upominki Królowi Ich Miłości, przodkowie Króla Jego Miłości, brata naszego, powinni nam byli posłać przez posły swe i oddawać je na tę stronę Dniepru, jakoż i do tego czasu oddawali, temże sposobem i potem każdego roku przez swego posła ma nam Król Jego Miłość upominki posyłać.

A iż przedtym, ilekroć się trafiło, że na Dnieprze Kozaków nie było, tedy się żadna szkoda w państwie Króla Jego Miłości nie działa i najmniej się przymierze nie naruszało, tedy i teraz, zawsze [i] na potem, gdy ich nie będzie, najmniej się przymierze nie będzie wzruszało. A teraz, iż ci Kozacy na Dnieprze będący ustawiczne szkody i złości w Krimie czynią, wiele złego broją, zaczynając zwadę i przymierze łamiąc, przeto aby ci źli ludzie z Dniepru beli spędzeni i sprowadzeni, żeby już więcej szkód żadnych w Krimie i państwach naszych <szkody> nie czynieli.

K temu też, iż żadnych najazdów na państwo wołoskie i do ziemi wojewody wołoskiego gwoili Waszej Królewskiej Miłości nie czyniemy, folgując w tej mierze przyjaźni i łasce Waszej Królewskiej Miłości, tedy i na potem toż czynić będziemy, ochraniając ziemię i poddanych jego dotąd, póki się z nami i z Waszą Królewską Miłością szczyrze i prawdziwie obchodzić będzie, i póki się z jaką zdradą swą nie odkryje i nie pokaże.

To tedy przymierze napisawszy dostatecznie, przez posła naszego wielkiego i zacnego, z Panów Rad naszych <sup>b</sup>Derwiss begowego syna, pana Kazi bega, jednego z niewolników naszych <sup>c</sup>Waszej Królewskiej Miłości, bratu naszemu posyłamy, któreśmy sami usty swemi powiadali i pisać kazali. Przeto na imię najwyższego, który ani początku ani końca nie ma Boga wszechmogącego,

<sup>b-c</sup> Omitted in Krypjakewyč's edition.

stworzyciela nieba i ziemie, także i najchwalebniejsze księgi Alkoran, i na Psalmy albo Księgi Dawida proroka, i na najświętszego i prawdziwego proroka naszego Muhammeda Mustaphę, od Boga posłanego przysięgamy, że to przymierze i artykuły opisane szczerze zachować i strzypać chcemy, i obiecujemy dotąd, dokąd z strony Waszej Królewskiej Miłości przeciwko przymierzmu i artykułom nic się nie wykroczy, a do tego gdy zwykle upominki będą zupełna oddawane, i żadna szkoda w państwie naszym się nie stanie, tedy też my z strony naszej przestrzegać tego będziemy, jakobyśmy najmniej przeciwko temu świętobliwemu przymierzmu naszemu od nas danemu w najmniejem punkcie nie wykroczyli, ale owszem stateczną przyjaźń i braterstwo w cale zachowali, gdyż inszej myśli ani przedsięwzięcia w siebie nie mamy; i owszem o to się starać będziemy, jakobyśmy przez wszytek czas żywota swego i tę pamiątkę po sobie zostawili, jakoby ubodzy ludzie, kupcy i poddani społeczni nasi za nas i szczęśliwe zdrowie, i długo fortunne społeczne panowanie nasze Pana Boga prosili.

Zalecamy przy tem powolną chęć i przyjaźń naszą łasce Waszej Królewskiej Miłości, życząc od Pana Boga wszytkiego dobrego.<sup>d</sup>

Translation:

*A copy of the [instrument of] agreement [sent] by the Crimean khan<sup>1</sup> through Dervish Bey's son:<sup>2</sup>*

*The great khan of the Great Horde, the hereditary khan of the Circassians, Nogays, innumerable [Tatars],<sup>3</sup> and all other <Tatar> nations, Ghazi Giray Sultan.<sup>4</sup>*

<sup>d</sup> Krypjakewyč's edition contains a *locatio*: "issued in Baghchasaray" (*Datum w Bachciesaraiu*) that is missing in the manuscript copy; apparently the *locatio* origins from another document.

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "the khan of Perekop."

<sup>2</sup> I.e., Sefer Ghazi Bey (cf. n. 5 below). The envoy's father, Dervish Bey, can be identified as the leader of the Külük clan, known in the Muscovian sources as *Derbyš*, who acted at the khan's court as the protector (*hami* > Pol. *hamiat*; Rus. *amijat*) of the Polish king during the reigns of Devlet Giray, Mehmed II Giray, and Islam II Giray. In the first years of Ghazi II Giray's reign, he still performed this function but also made overtures to Muscovian diplomats and tried to replace the leader of the Sulesh-oghlu clan as the mediator between the khan and the tsar; see Aleksandr Vinogradov, "<<Moskovskaja partija>> v Krymu v 70-90-x gg. XVI v.," in: *Mininskie čtenija. Trudy učastnikov meždunarodnoj naučnoj konferencii* (Nizhny Novgorod, 2010): 403–416, esp. p. 404. Perhaps Dervish Bey should be also identified with the Crimean envoy to Poland in 1552, referred to as Dervish Mehmed Mirza (before attaining the title of the bey, a Crimean noble would be titled as *mirza*).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. n. a above.

<sup>4</sup> The title of *sultan* was entered apparently by mistake. While in the Ottoman Empire it referred to the ruler, in the Crimea it referred to the princes but not to the khan himself.



After we have pronounced our monarchic, brotherly goodwill and inclination to Sigismund the Third, [the lord] of the whole Ruthenia and Prussia, the grand duke of Lithuania, Samogitia, Kiev, Podolia, [the lord] of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, the autocratic ruler of Mazovia, Livonia, and numerous other states, the hereditary great emperor from the times of his grandfathers and great grandfathers, and the king of Poland, we [hereby] announce in a friendly way:

If you, Your Royal Majesty, kindly inquire after us, your brother Ghazi Giray, then you should know that—through the grace of Almighty God—we are in very good health; and in desire to learn and hear about the welfare of our brother, Your Royal Majesty, we have appointed our great envoy, entrusting the great embassy to Ghazi Bey,<sup>5</sup> the son of Dervish Bey, a worthy and respectable one from among our Lords Councilors, and we send him to our brother, Your Royal Majesty, along with our whole kindness and true friendship.

And as recently you, Your Royal Majesty, sent us, your brother, a worthy and illustrious man, your envoy, Pan Ławryn Piaseczyński,<sup>6</sup> so that he should prolong and confirm the agreement and solid friendship between [our] two states, and you asked that we give him a properly worded [instrument of] agreement with proper articles, I, the sultan<sup>7</sup> and khan Ghazi Giray, as I had never aimed or intended anything else but to always firmly keep and respect the ancient solid agreement with our brother, Your Royal Majesty, that [also] our grandfathers and great grandfathers had firmly kept with the great grandfathers and ancestors of Your Royal Majesty, in desire to fulfill this [wish] and ensure that the poor subjects of [our] two states be safe in their health and property, we sent through the aforementioned envoy of Your Royal Majesty, Piaseczyński, an [instrument of] agreement, [composed] according to the ancient treaties and their articles; counting from that time until the present, we have not violated or infringed the concluded and resolved agreement in the least, no treason of deceit has occurred; on the contrary, it has been entirely fulfilled and it will never be violated. And the previous and current agreement is as follows:

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<sup>5</sup> Sefer Ghazi Bey, also referred to as the son of Dervish Bey and ranked as the Crimean great envoy, arrived at Cracow on 14 November 1604. His arrival had been earlier announced by a courier, Biy Timur. On 16 November, Sefer Ghazi was received by Sigismund III and delivered the present document. As the king was not satisfied with its contents, he decided to postpone the payment of the customary “gifts” and send another embassy to the Crimea, headed by Florian Oleszko (on Oleszko and his embassy of 1607, see Document 42, n. 7). Disappointed Sefer Ghazi left Cracow on 7 January 1605. In December 1609, Sefer Ghazi was again sent to King Sigismund by the new khan, Selamet Giray. He was received in a military camp near Smolensk on 24 April 1610 and delivered a new treaty document (see Document 44). Again, the king delayed the payment of the gifts until future negotiations. During Oleszko’s second mission to the Crimea in 1619–1621, Sefer Ghazi was still active in the khan’s service and participated in the negotiations; see Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 125–127, 157–158, 228. In his last mission, he delivered to Poland the *ahdname* issued in 1624 by Mehmed III Giray (see Document 48) and died in an accident at sea on his return; see n. 399 in Part I.

<sup>6</sup> On Ławryn Piaseczyński, see Document 39, n. 5. Here his first embassy from the year 1601 is mentioned.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. n. 4 above.

If—according to the [conditions of] agreement, written down in his letter and sent to us—His Royal Majesty keeps solid friendship and peace towards the qaraçıs and mirzas, our good and bad subjects,<sup>8</sup> and us and our sons, towards the villages, estates, and properties belonging to us, all the qaraçıs and mirzas, and all our subjects of either high or low status, and towards the Nogay Tatars subject to our rule, and if he displays honest and genuine friendship and calm neighborliness to us, so that we, along with all our subjects, do not suffer [even] a smallest damage in our states, but—on the contrary—that we may enjoy a complete relief, and so that the subjects of our both sides may conduct their trade in neighborly concord and amity, then also we, Ghazi Giray Khan, along with our elder son, the qalga Tokhtamish Sultan,<sup>9</sup> all the other sons, the sultans, and the qaraçıs, mirzas, and all our subjects remaining under our orders and monarchic rule, and with the entire horde of the Nogay Tatars, want to remain loyal, well-disposed, and resolute in our friendship with our brother, His Royal Majesty, his Lords Councilors, and all his subjects.

And when our brother, His Royal Majesty, asks me to raid his enemy, then I will be ready to be an open enemy of any of his enemies, and a friend of his friend, respecting [his] friend and raiding [his] enemy. His Royal Majesty should act likewise in respect to us, giving our enemies neither aid nor help against us.

And if we raid any enemy on the order, notice, and urge of His Royal Majesty and pass through or near the states of His Royal Majesty along with our troops, then we should protect and defend all towns, castles, boroughs, manors, villages, and any estates of His Royal Majesty and his subjects: Lords Councilors, princes, and nobles; we should not bring [even] a smallest damage or raid any of the domains of His Royal Majesty; on the contrary, we should preserve them in peace, both [domains] of His Royal Majesty, and of all his subjects.

And we should not send any—even small—troops to the states of His Royal Majesty; neither should we, or any of my subjects, raid, capture any prisoners and sell them into slavery; on the contrary, I, along with my sons and all the aforementioned subjects, want to preserve the solid agreement and friendship in their entirety, and to keep the [present] engagement.

And if I, Ghazi Giray Khan, or my elder son, the qalga Tokhtamish Sultan, or my other sons, the sultans, or my troops, enter an enemy's land on the notice

<sup>8</sup> The phrase thus recorded in the Polish translation (*poddane nasze dobre i złe*) might refer to the subjects of either high or low status. Yet, it would be redundant as the text further reads “and all our subjects of either high or low status (*i wszystkich poddanych naszych od wielkiego do małego poczynszy*).” Hence, it is likely that this seemingly strange phrase reflects a genuine customary formula encountered in the Crimean documents; for a similar phrase, in which the khan refers to “all bad or good people of our country” (*yaman yahşı barça vilayetimiz kişilerin*), cf. Djanibek Giray's instrument from 1632, which is preserved in the Turkish original (Document 49).

<sup>9</sup> Tokhtamish Giray, the oldest son of Ghazi Giray Khan, replaced his uncle Selamet Giray in the post of qalga in 1601 (cf. Document 40, n. 8). After his father's death in early 1608 he was elected the khan. Yet, the Porte introduced to the throne Selamet Giray and Tokhtamish was killed in a battle against the new qalga, Mehmed Giray (future Mehmed III Giray Khan); see Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 147–149.

and request of His Royal Majesty, and render a substantial and good service to His Royal Majesty, then His Royal Majesty, along with his Lords Councilors, should display us his goodwill and favor, and reward us in return for the service rendered by us, our sons, or troops. And according to the old custom of our ancestors, we may freely return along with all our spoils from the enemy's land to our state, the Crimea, without being harassed or retained by His Royal Majesty, his Lords Councilors, any troops or subjects of His Royal Majesty; on the contrary, they should peacefully let us go to our land. And we promise that we will not bring [even] a smallest damage, just as our ancestors, who already departed from this world, did not.

Moreover, all merchants being the subjects of His Royal Majesty will be able to stay and travel in our land with the aim of conducting their trade and selling their goods, having paid the ancient customary toll. And if any of the merchants suffers a damage due to the loss of his property and goods or for another reason, then we should render effective justice and restore him his property, ensuring that the poor [people] should not suffer any damage or harm.

As from the ancient times Their Royal Majesties, the ancestors of our brother, His Royal Majesty, were obliged to send us gifts through their envoys and deliver them to the hither side of the Dnieper, and they have done so accordingly until the present time, also hereafter His Royal Majesty should send us gifts through his envoy, each year, in the same manner.

Previously, whenever the Cossacks were absent from the Dnieper, no damage was done in the state of His Royal Majesty and the agreement was not violated in the least; hence also now and forever, if they are absent, the agreement will not be violated in the least. Now, as these Cossacks, who dwell on the Dnieper, bring constant damages and harm in the Crimea, doing much mischief, commencing quarrels and breaking the agreement, therefore these evildoers should be expelled and removed from the Dnieper, so that they should not bring any more damage in the Crimea and our states.

Moreover, as [currently] for the sake of the friendship and favor of Your Royal Majesty we do not commit any raids to Moldavia and the lands of the Moldavian palatine,<sup>10</sup> we will act likewise also in the future, protecting his lands and subjects as long as he acts sincerely and truly in regard to us and Your Royal Majesty, and as long as a treacherous act on his part is not disclosed and made manifest.

Having completed the present [instrument of] agreement [przymierze] that we dictated from our lips and ordered to write down, we send it to our brother, Your Royal Majesty, through one of our slaves,<sup>11</sup> the worthy great envoy Ghazi

<sup>10</sup> In seventeenth-century Polish, the adjective *wołoski* (lit. "Wallachian" or "of Wallachia") referred to either Wallachia or Moldavia. In the given case it refers to Moldavia. On Ieremia Movilă, the hospodar of Moldavia in the years 1595–1606, see Document 36, n. 4, and Document 39, n. 10.

<sup>11</sup> Pol. *jednego z niewolników naszych*; the term *niewolnik* ("slave") is apparently a translation of the Turkish term *qul*, which must have appeared in the original. It is noteworthy that the khan referred with this term to a member of the Tatar nobility.

*Bey, the son of Dervish Bey, from among our Lords Councilors. Hence we swear by the name of the highest Almighty God, who has no beginning and no end, the creator of heaven and earth, by the most glorious book of Koran and the Psalms or Books of Prophet David,<sup>12</sup> and by our most holy and true prophet sent by God, Muhammad Mustafa,<sup>13</sup> that we want to sincerely preserve and keep the present agreement and [its] recorded articles, and we engage that as long as no deviation from the agreement and [its] articles happens on the part of Your Royal Majesty, and, moreover, the customary gifts are delivered in full, and no damage occurs in our state, also on our part we will ensure that we should not trespass in the least our holy [instrument of] agreement that we have issued; on the contrary, we should entirely preserve the solid friendship and brotherhood, as we have no other intention or aim; indeed, we will endeavor through our entire life to leave a [good] memory, so that the poor, our merchants and subjects of both sides may pray to God for us, our prosperous health, and long fortunate reign of both of us.*

*Wishing you all the best from God, we dedicate our goodwill and friendship to Your Royal Majesty's favor.*

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<sup>12</sup> In the Muslim tradition the Psalms of David, referred to as Zabur, were regarded as one of the four Holy Books sent by God to humanity, along with the Torah, the Gospel, and the Koran; cf. Document 40, n. 17.

<sup>13</sup> Mustafa (lit. "the Chosen") is the second name of Prophet Muhammad.

DOCUMENT 42 (MAY 1605)

The letter of agreement (*list przemirny*) sent by King Sigismund III  
to Khan Ghazi II Giray

The original document is missing.

Polish copy: Bibl. Czart., ms. 1623, pp. 274–278.

List przymierny Króla Jego Miłości posłany carowi:

My Zygmunth etc. etc.

Oznajmujemy tym listem, którym to wiedzieć należy, niniejszym i na potym będącym, iż jakośmy za wolą bożą siadшы na stolicy Korony Polskiej i Wielkiego Xięstwa Lithewskiego, i ziem do niej należących, nastał tyż na carstwo Ordy Krymskiej po śmierci Aslamgiereia Kazigierei car, z którym tyż pirwszych czasów obraży mieliśmy, ale iż zjachawszy się w ziemi wołoskiej na Cocorze z Jaśnie Wielmożnym Panem Janem Zamoiskim, kanclerzem naszym i hetmanem wielkim, i wojskiem naszym, starał się, aby chęć i łaskę naszą pozyskał, i żądał tegoż hetmana naszego, aby się przyczynił i starał o to, ofiarując się nam nie tylko być przyjacielem, ale i przyjaciółom naszym przyjacielem, a nieprzyjaciółom nieprzyjacielem, i stać i wojować przeciw każdemu naszemu nieprzyjacielowi, w czym był do nas posłał do Krakowa, do stolicy naszej, uczciwego Dczan Achmet Celebieia posła swego.

My o tym porozumiewaliśmy się z Radami naszymi i tę chęć i ofiarowanie cara Kazigiereia wdzięcznie przyjęliśmy, i ten list nasz przymierny posłaliśmy jemu przez posła naszego, urodzonego Nikodema Kosakowskiego, dworzanina naszego, obiecując mu wszystkie rzeczy w niem opisane mocno i nienaruszo dzierżeć, jeśli i on nam takowyż list przymierny, zgodliwy z listem naszym napisany poszle, i mocno to przymierze i wszystkie jego obowiązki trzymać będzie.

Ale że cara na ten czas w ziemi jego nie było, zatem tyż ten nasz poseł u niego nie był i przymierza nam nie przyniósł, które acz potym car przez posła swego Dżan Antemir agę do nas przysłał, ale że nie według tego, jakoby się na obie stronie do gruntownej przyjaźni zgadzało w tym carskim przemirnym liście było napisano, zaczęmy iny poseł nasz wielki, urodzony Ławryn Piaseczyński, podkomorzy braczławski, gdy od nas u cara był, tedy i ten przymierza gruntownego z Casigiereiem carem nie skończywszy wrócił się nazad do nas. I acz potym car Casigierey inego posła swego wielkiego, Derbisz begowego syna posłał do nas i przez zeń list swój przymierny posłał nam, lecz jako pierwszy przez Dżan Antemir agę posłany, tak i ten wtóry niedoskonałym do całej i gruntownej przyjaźni na obie stronie rozumieliśmy. Przeto tedy teraz znowu przez posła naszego wielkiego, urodzonego Florian Oleszka, wojskiego włodzimirskiego, sekretarza naszego, list ten nasz

przemirny napisawszy posłaliśmy carowi, i od niego drugi z tym naszym zgodliwy wziąć kazaliśmy.

Napirwej tedy od nas i od Senatorów Panów Koronnych, poddanych naszych, carowi Kazigiereiowi, synom, bratom, ludziom, ziemi jego pokój obiecujemy pewny i nieodmienny. Także z swojej strony car Cazigierey, i gałga carewicz Tochtmysz Gierei, syn carski, i ini gałgowie po nim będący, i z syny, bracią swemi, murzami, kniaziami, karaczey, ulany, bejami, przełożonemi miejsc i ludzi tak wojennych, jako i wszech inych ludzi swoich, i ze wszystkimi ludźmi swemi, i z ludźmi nahaiskimi z sobą sprzyjażnionemi i złączonemi, będąc nam wiernym przyjacielem i prawdziwie mając nas i ludzie nasze za przyjaciela, a nieprzyjaciół naszych za nieprzyjaciela swoje, nie będzie żadnym naszym, Panów Rad, ślachty, poddanych naszych zamkom, miastom, miasteczkom, wsiom, włościom, ludziom, stadom, towarom szkodził ani ich wojował, brał. I owszem z ludźmi naszymi on sam, i gałga carewicz Tochtmysz Gierey, syn carski, i ini gałgowie po niem będący, synowie, bracia, murzowie, kniaziewie, karaczeni, ulanowie, bejowie, i wszyscy przełożeni jego, i wszyscy zgola ludzie jego, i nahaiscy, którzy pod niem są, mają szczyry i wierny pokój zachować, nie wojując ani nasyłając na państwa nasze, ani żadnych szkód i krzywd czyniąc, i w grunty nasze nie wszczepiając się, aż do Morza Czarnego, i nie wtargiwać. I przez ziemie nasze ludzie ani wojska jego na jakiegokolwiek i czyjekokolwiek potrzeby i wojny idąc przechodzić nie mają, ani się o nie ocierać.

A co byli powinni przodkowie cara Kazigiereia, carowie dawni tatarscy, za potrzebą i napominaniem Ich Miłości królów polskich dawnych wojować ziemię moskiewską, i zamki należące odbierać i oddawać ze wszystkimi gruntami i pożytkami ich, także też przeciwko innym naszym wszem nieprzyjaciółom za potrzebą i napomnieniem naszym wojować, toż też car Kazigierey, i gałga carewicz Tochtmysz Gierey, i ini gałgowie po niem będący, z synmi, bracią, murzami, kniaziami, karaczeni, ulami [sic], bejami, i z ludźmi swemi powinien czynić będzie. I będzie czynił szczyrze i prawdziwie, że moskiewskiego i każdego inego nieprzyjaciela naszego za napomnieniem naszym wojować ma i powinien będzie.

My także, jako przodkowie jego nasze, i nasi przodkowie jego przodków nieprzyjaciół za swoich mając, nie będziemy im pomagać.

Tyż ma przeciw gospodarowi wołoskiemu, za wolą naszą postanowionemu, i ziemi wołoskiej zachować się spokojnie i przyjacielskie, i przeciw niemu nie być, ani szkody żadnej jemu albo ziemi mołdawskiej czynić, i gospodarów inych na tę ziemię ani prowadzić, ani przechowywać, i owszem ich wydać, i jako począł, życzliwość swą pokazywać i pomocnym być, gdyż gospodarowie wołoscy przyjaźń i przymierze starodawne między nami a Cesarzem Jego Miłością tureckim, przyjacielem naszym, mają zadzierżyć i pomnażać.

Także gospodarowi multańskiemu, który by za porozumieniem naszym z Cesarzem Jego Miłością tureckim był postanowiony, przyjaźń pokazywać ma.

Obrazy wszystkie i szkody, które się aż do tego czasu między nami stały odpuszczamy carowi dufając, że to nam stateczną chęcią i wiarą swoją na potym nagrodzi. On też także u nas i u ludzi naszych żadnych szkód upominać

się nie ma i upominków żadnych przeszłych, gdyż odtąd przyjaźń między nami poczyna się.

Jako też bywało za przodków naszych, co się w dokończeniu króla Zygmunta świętej pamięci z Menligiereiem carem najduje, carowi Cazigiereiowi, albo synom jego, albo braci, za pozwoleniem naszym w poczcie pewnym od nas zamierzonym, do nas i ziemie naszej jako gościom w dobry obyczaj i w przyjaźni przyjechać wolno będzie. Także żadnej krzywdy ani w osobie, ani w ludziach, ani w rzeczach od nas i ludzi naszych cierpieć nie mają, i owszem uczciwie i dobrowolnie mają być od nas przyjęci i szanowani.

Kupcy, kramarze nasi i państw naszych w ziemi carskiej, także carskie z ziemie jego w naszych ziemiach, mają wolno na obie stronie po kupiectwach jeździć i targować, zapłaciwszy zwykłe myta, a od nikogo nie mają być z żadnej miary krzywdzeni i szkodzeni. A gdzie by jaka krzywda stała się, sprawiedliwość rychła i gruntowna ma być czyniona.

A żeby nasza szczodroblewość przeciw carowi Cazigiereiowi i sługom jego pokazała się, żeby tym gotowszy i sposobniejszy do powinnej pomocy, jako się wyżej opisało, nam przeciwko wszystkim naszym nieprzyjaciołom był, tedy obiecujemy jemu z szczodroblewości i z łaski naszej odtąd na każdy rok upominki dawać, tak jako stary król Zigmunt dawał, w pieniądzech połowicę, a drugie w kupiach, i posyłać do Kamiencza na dzień...<sup>a</sup> miesiąca novembra.

A car Cazigierey, i gałga carewicz Tochtmysz Gierei, i inni gałgowie po nim<sup>b</sup> będący z syny, bracią, murzami, kniaziami, karaczey, ułany, bejami, i z przełożonemi i ludźmi wszystkimi swemi zachować ma przeciw nam i poddanym naszym, zamkom, miastom, miasteczkom, wsiam, uchodom, i pastwiskom pokój prawdziwy i nieodmienny, i wszystkie rzeczy w tym liście przymiernym wyżej pisane nienaruszenie trzymać, pełnić i wykonywać skutkiem i rzeczą, bez wszech farb, chytrości i wymówek, na wieczne czasy. Czego jeśli by nie czynił, tedy my wolni będziemy od tego, co jemu z strony naszej obiecujemy.

Do której rzeczy i pieczęć naszą koronną przycisnąć rozkazaliśmy.

Translation:

*The letter of agreement of His Royal Majesty sent to the khan:*

*We, Sigismund, etc., etc.*

*We announce with the present letter, to whom it may concern, presently and in the future, that as, with God's will, we ascended the throne of the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and of the lands belonging to it, also Ghazi Giray Khan became the khan of the Crimean Horde after the death of Islam Giray; and though initially transgressions happened between us and him [i.e., Ghazi Giray], having met his excellency Jan Zamoyski, our chancellor*

<sup>a</sup> Empty space was left to fill in the date.

<sup>b</sup> Erroneously written *powinni*; for a correct reading, cf. Document 39.

and grand hetman, and our troops, in Țuțora [Cecora] in the Moldavian<sup>1</sup> land, he endeavored to gain our goodwill and favor and asked the hetman to assist in acquiring this aim, offering not merely to be our friend, but a friend of our friends and an enemy of our enemies, and to face and fight any of our enemies; in reference to this matter he sent his honest envoy, Djan Ahmed Chelebi,<sup>2</sup> to Cracow, our capital.

[And] having taken counsel in this matter with our Councilors, we favorably received this wish and offer of Ghazi Giray Khan, and we sent him our present letter of agreement through our envoy, our generous courtier Nikodem Kossakowski,<sup>3</sup> promising him to firmly and invariably keep everything that is written there, on the condition that he also sends us a similar letter of agreement, written in accordance with our letter, and firmly keeps this agreement and all its clauses.

Yet, as at that time the khan was absent from his land, our envoy did not meet him and did not bring us the [instrument of] agreement; even though the khan sent us one subsequently through his envoy Djan Temir Agha,<sup>4</sup> as the contents of his letter of agreement did not conform with mutual requirements of sound friendship, thereafter our next great envoy, generous Ławryn Piaseczyński,<sup>5</sup> the chamberlain [Pol. podkomorzy] of Braclav, was [sent] from us to the khan, [but] he did not reach a sound agreement with Ghazi Giray Khan either and he returned to us. And even though Ghazi Giray Khan next sent us another great envoy, the son of Dervish Bey,<sup>6</sup> and sent us through him his letter of agreement, we regarded the latter imperfect for the sake of complete and sound mutual friendship, just as the earlier one sent through Djan Temir Agha. Hence, having written again our present letter of agreement [list

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<sup>1</sup> In seventeenth-century Polish, the adjective *wołoski/wołoska* (lit. "Wallachian" or "of Wallachia") referred to either Wallachia or Moldavia. In the given case it refers to Moldavia.

<sup>2</sup> On Djan Ahmed Chelebi, see Document 36, n. 2. Here his embassy from the years 1597–1598 is mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> On Nikodem Kossakowski and his embassy from the years 1598–1599, see Document 36, n. 1 and the paragraph below. The present royal document, issued in 1605, is similar to the one from 1598 taken by Kossakowski, but of course it is not the same document.

<sup>4</sup> On Djan Temir Agha, see Document 37, n. 2. Sent from Ghazi Giray's camp in Hungary, he brought the khan's letter of agreement to Poland in October 1599. As the document's contents deviated from the Polish expectations, Djan Temir was made to give a solemn promise that the khan would issue a corrected version after his return from Hungary (see Document 38). In fact, the khan's instrument brought by Djan Temir was more in line with the Polish expectations than the subsequent instruments brought by Djan Ahmed in 1601 and Sefer Ghazi in 1604 (see Documents 39 and 40).

<sup>5</sup> On Ławryn (Wawrzyniec) Piaseczyński and his three embassies to the Tatars in the years 1601–1603, see Document 39, n. 5.

<sup>6</sup> I.e., Sefer Ghazi Bey, the son of Dervish Bey, who brought the khan's instrument of peace to Cracow in November 1604; although the instrument was not accepted, the royal chancery prepared the present document that was to be taken to the Crimea by Florian Oleszko; cf. Document 41, n. 5 and the paragraph below.



przemirny], we have sent it to the khan through our great envoy, generous Florian Oleszko, the *wojski* of Volodymyr and our secretary,<sup>7</sup> and we have ordered him [i.e., the envoy] to take from him [i.e., the khan] another one, being in accordance with our [letter].

Thus, first of all we promise certain and inviolable peace on our part and on the part of the Lords Senators of the Crown, our subjects, to Ghazi Giray Khan, his sons, brothers, people, and land. And on his part, Ghazi Giray Khan, and the *qalga* Tokhtamish Giray Sultan,<sup>8</sup> the khan's son, and other *qalgas* who will come after him, along with his [i.e., the khan's] sons and brothers, and the *mirzas*, princes,<sup>9</sup> *qaraçıs*, *ulans*, *beys*, and those commanding over places and people (both military and all his other people), and with all his people, and the Nogay people who are allied and united with him, being our loyal friend and truly regarding us and our people as his friends, and our enemies as his enemies, will not harm, raid, or capture any castles, towns, boroughs, villages, estates, people, herds, or goods of ours and of our Lords Councilors, nobles, and subjects. On the contrary, he, and the *qalga* Tokhtamish Giray Sultan, the khan's son, and other *qalgas* who will come after him, and his sons, brothers, *mirzas*, princes, *qaraçıs*, *ulans*, *beys*, all commanders, and in short, all his people, and the Nogays who are his subjects, should keep sincere and loyal peace with our people, without raiding or sending raiders to our states, causing damage or harm, and without raiding or invading our lands [extending] as far as the Black Sea. And his people and troops should not pass through our lands while heading for any and anyone's<sup>10</sup> campaigns or wars, nor should they even graze them [i.e., touch the frontiers].

And as the ancestors of Ghazi Giray Khan, the former Tatar khans, were to raid the Muscovian land whenever Their Majesties, the ancient kings of Poland, needed and requested, and retake and restore [to them] the castles that had

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<sup>7</sup> On Florian Oleszko, the royal secretary and the *wojski* (an official responsible for keeping order in a province during the general levy) of Volodymyr, see his biography by Roman Żelewski in *PSB*, vol. 23, pp. 758–759, and Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 77, 82, 127–147, 184–185, 222–238 (where some biographic details from the *PSB* are corrected); on his Ruthenian origin, cf. n. 66 in Part II. Appointed great envoy in the spring of 1605, Oleszko delayed his departure till the summer and, on the news of a Tatar raid led personally by the khan, was ordered to return to Cracow without even reaching the border. Sent again in 1607, he returned with the khan's instrument issued on 24 July 1607 (see Document 42). In 1615, he was again appointed great envoy to the khan but his embassy was annulled. Once more sent to the Crimea at the end of the year 1619, he was detained there for the whole period of the Polish-Ottoman war of 1620–1621 and returned only after the Treaty of Hotin.

<sup>8</sup> Pol. *carewicz* is rendered here as *sultan*. On Tokhtamish Giray, the son of Ghazi Giray and the *qalga* in the years 1601–1608, see Document 41, n. 9.

<sup>9</sup> The Polish term *kniaziami* (*kniaziewie* in the nominative) apparently refers to the *beys*, traditionally referred to in Ruthenian sources as *knjazi*. Yet, *beys* are also mentioned below as *bejowie* (*bejami* in the ablative).

<sup>10</sup> A plain reference to the long Ottoman-Habsburg war of the years 1593–1606. Regularly called to join the Ottoman troops in Hungary, the Tatars often crossed the Ukrainian lands of Poland-Lithuania.

belonged [to them], along with all their lands and profits, and moreover, they were to raid our other enemies whenever we needed and requested, also [now] Ghazi Giray Khan, and the *qalga* Tokhtamish Giray Sultan, and other *qalgas* who will come after him, along with his sons, brothers, mirzas, princes, *qaraçıs*, *ulans*, *beys*, and people should do likewise. And he will do it sincerely and truly by raiding our Muscovian [enemy] and any other enemy on our request.

And just as his [i.e., the khan's] ancestors regarded our [ancestors'] enemies [as their enemies], and as our ancestors regarded his ancestors' [enemies] as such, likewise, we will not assist them [i.e., such enemies].

And he should behave in a calm and friendly manner towards the Moldavian<sup>11</sup> hospodar,<sup>12</sup> who has been placed [on his throne] according to our will, and towards the Moldavian land; he should not act against him or cause any damage to him or the Moldavian<sup>13</sup> land; and he should not bring along to this land any other pretenders to the hospodar's throne,<sup>14</sup> or give them refuge; on the contrary, he should deliver them [to the current Moldavian hospodar]; and he [i.e., the khan] should display benevolence and assist [the Moldavian hospodar], like he did initially, because the Moldavian hospodars [have been placed on their thrones] to cement and strengthen the friendship and ancient agreement between us and our friend, His Majesty, the Turkish emperor.

Likewise, he should display friendship towards any hospodar of Wallachia,<sup>15</sup> who would be placed [on his throne] upon an agreement between us and His Majesty, the Turkish emperor.

We forgive the khan all the transgressions and damages that have happened between us until the present time, in trust that in the future he will compensate them to us by his constant goodwill and good faith. Neither should he reclaim

<sup>11</sup> The Polish adjective *wołoski* refers here to Moldavia (cf. n. 1 above).

<sup>12</sup> I.e., Ieremia Movilă, Moldavian hospodar in the years 1595–1606. Enthroned with the Polish support in 1595 (cf. Document 36, n. 4), Movilă lost almost his entire principality in May 1600 in result of the invasion of the Wallachian hospodar, Mihai Viteazul (Michael the Brave). Yet, in October 1600 the Polish troops led by Hetman Jan Zamoyski entered Moldavia and reinstalled Ieremia Movilă on the throne.

<sup>13</sup> Here Moldavia is referred to more precisely by the Polish adjective *moldawska* ("Moldawian" or "of Moldavia"); cf. notes 1 and 11 above.

<sup>14</sup> The Polish term *hospodaryk* (*hospodaryków* in the genitive plural), or rather *hospodarczyk* like in Document 36, is a diminutive of the term *hospodar*; it either refers to a hospodar's son or is a pejorative reference to a hospodar. It is translated here as "pretender to the hospodar's throne" as in fact many pretenders to the Moldavian and Wallachian thrones were the sons of former hospodars.

<sup>15</sup> Here Wallachia is referred to more precisely (cf. n. 1 above) by the Polish adjective *muntenian* ("Muntenian" or "of Muntenia"). In early modern Polish sources the geographical term *Multany* (Muntenia, i.e., eastern Wallachia) referred to the whole principality of Wallachia. After the Polish protégé, Simion Movilă, had lost the throne of Wallachia in 1602, until 1611 the principality was ruled by Radu Șerban, who tried to maintain equilibrium between Vienna and Istanbul; apparently, the Polish court did not resign from the idea of a Polish-Ottoman condominium in Moldavia as well as Wallachia.

*any indemnity or any past gifts from us and our people, because our mutual friendship begins from now on.*

*Also, as it was practiced in the times of our ancestors and is recorded in the agreement between the late King Sigismund and Mengli Giray Khan, Ghazi Giray Khan, or his sons or brothers may come to us and our land as guests, according to the good custom and in friendship, provided that we authorize it and set [the size of] their retinue. And they should not suffer any harm done to them, their people, or belongings by us or our people; on the contrary, we should receive them honestly and voluntarily, and we should respect them.*

*Merchants and traders, both ours and from our states in the khan's land, as well as the khan's and from his land in our lands, may freely travel in both directions for the purpose of commerce and trade, having paid the customary tolls, and should not be hurt or harmed by anybody in any way. And if they suffer any harm, immediate and thorough justice should be administered.*

*And in order to display our generosity towards Ghazi Giray Khan and his servants, so that he be more willing and ready to bring us his due assistance (as it has been described above) against all our enemies, we promise to henceforth give him annual gifts out of our generosity and grace, half in cash and half in goods, just as the old king Sigismund<sup>16</sup> used to do, and send them to Kamieniec by the...<sup>17</sup> day of the month of November.*

*And Ghazi Giray Khan, and the qalga Tokhtamish Giray Sultan, and other qalgas who will come after him, along with his sons, brothers, mirzas, princes, qaraçıs, ulans, beys, commanders, and all his people should maintain true and inviolable peace towards us and our subjects, castles, towns, boroughs, villages, hamlets, and pastures, and invariably keep, fulfill, and effectively and materially execute all the conditions described above in the present letter of agreement, without any falsity, deceit, or excuses, and forever. And if he does not fulfill it, then we will be free from our promise to him.*

*To this effect we have ordered to impress our Crown seal.*

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<sup>16</sup> I.e., King Sigismund the Old (r. 1506–1548).

<sup>17</sup> Empty space was left to fill in the date. The value of the gifts is also not given; cf. Document 36, n. 9.

DOCUMENT 43 (24 JULY 1607)

The *'ahdname* (*foedera et pacis litteres*) sent by Khan Ghazi II Giray  
to King Sigismund III

The original document is missing.

Latin translation by Grzegorz Kochański: Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w  
Warszawie, ms. 51 [*Liber legationum*], pp. 191–197.

Exemplum foederis inter Regiam Maiestatem et Magnum Chanum Tartarorum Gregorio Kochański interprete:

Magnae Ordae magnus et excellentissimus caesar Destkiperiach,<sup>a</sup> Crimi et Cerkassiae, infinitimorum Nogaiorum et innumerabilium Tartarorum magnus et absolutus princeps et chanus Kazigerey Han, Magnae Russiae, Prussiae, Mazoviae, Samogitiae, Livoniae, Volhiniae, Podoliae, Podlassiae, et Suecorum, Gottorum Vandalorumque magno regi Sigismundo III<sup>o</sup>, regi Poloniae et magno duci Lituaniae, fratri nostro:

Hisce litteris nostris notum testatumque facimus nos, Kazigerey Chan, ad praesens existentibus et in posterum futuris, quod post mortem pia memoriae Islam Chani, fratris nostri, in solio Crimi feliciter constituti, cum Serenissimo Rege fratre nostro nonnihil nobis inimicitiarum intercessit, eaque de causa illustrissimus Joannes Zamoyski, magnus Regni Poloniae cancellarius et exercituum dux, a Serenissimo Rege [fratre] nostro Cicoram Moldaviae missus fuisset; ab eodem duce petatum est, ut in Serenissimi Regis benevolento animo reddendo, operam suam interponere non gravaretur. Nos invicem illi obligantes amicitiam nostram Serenissimo Regi praesto, semper amicorum omnium illius amicum, inimicorum inimicum fore eumque pro nostro inimico habiturum et infestaturum, quam ob causam legatum nostrum Dzianachmet Czielebium<sup>1</sup> ad excelsum solium Cracoviam mittentes obligationem ea in parte nostram Serenissimo Regi exposuimus. Cuius ille benignam habens rationem, inito cum excelsissimis suis senatoribus consilio, per legatum suum<sup>2</sup> pacis litteras nobis transmisit. Quo tamen tempore cum nos magnus Kazigerey Chan longe a regno nostro absentes in Hungaria degeremus, ille qui ad nos missus venerat legatus Serenissimi Regis amica postulata exponere nobis non potuit. Quae cum nobis grata omnino accidissent, nos legatum nostrum

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<sup>a</sup> Corrupt for *Deşt-i Qıpçaq* (the Kipchak Steppe).

<sup>1</sup> On Djan Ahmed Chelebi, sent to Poland immediately after the Treaty of Tûtorâ (1595) and again, in 1597–1598, see Document 36, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., Nikodem Kossakowski, sent in 1598 with the royal instrument of peace; cf. Document 36, n. 1.

Dziantimir Agam<sup>3</sup> cum foederibus ad regem fratrem nostrum ablegavimus, que tamen foedera cum Serenissimo Regi quieti regnorum utriusque nostrorum non omni ex parte suffectura viderentur rata non habuit.

Nos magnus et absolutus caesar Kazigerey Chan denuo strenuum nobisque commendatum Sefer Gazibegum, Derbisbey filium,<sup>4</sup> conscriptis aliis foederibus ablegavimus, quae eadem etiam sicut et priora ulla minus exactam regnorum utriusque nostrorum pacis rationem in se continentia acceptata non fuerunt. Nos itaque Kazigerey Chan cum excelsissimo amantissimoque Tochetmiskerey Sultan<sup>5</sup> et nuradin Sepherkierrey Sultan<sup>6</sup> aliisque filiis nostris et fratribus sultanis dominibusque aliis proceribus et affinibus nostris Serenissimi Regis amicitiam nobis convenientem scientes, ea quae sequuntur pacta consentanea undique Serenissimi Regis litteris pacis iisque de verbo ad verbum collata, ex voluntate Suae Maiestatis conscribi, signis coccinei et cerulei coloris sigilli nostri<sup>7</sup> consignata, per eiusdem Serenissimi Regis Poloniae et Magni Ducis Lituaniae, quem ad nos miserat legatum, illustrissimum Florianum Oleszko,<sup>8</sup> Wlodimiriensem tribunum fidumque secretarium suum in regnorum utriusque nostrum salutem quietemque misimus ita nos obligantes:

Primo: Nos magnus imperator Kazigerey Chan et filius noster Thochet-misgerrey Sultan et Sephergierey Sultan caeterique filii nostri cum fratribus sultanis principibus, affinibus, murzis, subditis Nogariisque<sup>b</sup> provinciis, idem nobiscum sentientibus Deo volente, Serenissimo Regi Poloniae et Lituaniae aliorumque multorum regnorum imperatori et magnatibus subditisque illius provinciisque damni nihil detrimentique deferemus, arcibus, oppidis, civitatibus illisque adeo ipsis nihil nocentes, subditos illorum in servitutem non abigemus, in locis provinciisque illorum ad Mare usque Nigrum in pascuis pecoribus damnum nullum faciemus, pacifice semper amiceque invicem viventes.

Et si forte nos, magnus caesar Kazigerey Han vel galga sultan, vel nuradin sultan alique filii fratresque nostri cum exercitu contra quemvis inimicum

<sup>3</sup> On Djan Temir Agha, sent in 1599 from the Tatar military camp in Hungary along with the khan's instrument of peace, see Document 37, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> On Sefer Ghazi Bey, the son of Dervish Bey, sent to Cracow in 1604 along with the khan's instrument of peace, see Document 41, n. 5. It is curious that two instruments of peace issued in 1601 by Sigismund III and Ghazi II Giray (Documents 39–40) are not mentioned in the present document.

<sup>5</sup> On Tokhtamish Giray, the oldest son of Ghazi Giray and the galga in the years 1601–1608, enthroned after his father's death and killed shortly afterwards in the Crimean civil war, see Document 41, n. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Sefer Giray, the younger brother of Tokhtamish Giray and the nureddin, also killed in the civil war of 1608; cf. Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, p. 149.

<sup>7</sup> On the colors of the khan's seal, cf. n. 13 below.

<sup>8</sup> On Florian Oleszko, the royal secretary and the *wojski* of Volodymyr, who traveled several times to the Crimea, see Document 42, n. 7. Appointed the great envoy already in 1605, Oleszko did not reach the Polish border and returned to Cracow upon hearing of a recent Tatar raid headed personally by the khan. He departed only in 1607 and successfully returned with the present document.

<sup>b</sup> Corrupt for *Nogaiisque*.

nostrum ire contigerit, per regna Serenissimi Regis iter non faciemus, neque fines regni illius attingemus, nec exercitus nostros mittemus.

Et quemadmodum praedecessores nostri, defuncti chani, in remunerationem amicitiae acceptoque a regibus nuncio in Moschoviam incursionem facientes, arces civitatesque illis ademptas, loca provinciasque cum proveniunt fructibusque eorum subditis regis tradere et contra quemvis inimicum illius stare auxiliumque illis praestare consuevere, eum in modum et nos Serenissimo Regi fratri nostro amicitiae officia exhibebimus et cum a rege nobis, magno caesari Kazigerey Chan, significatum fuerit, Moschovitas aliosque illius inimicos infestabimus.

Moldaviae principi<sup>9</sup> quicumque ex favore Serenissimi Regis principatum illum obtinuerit, provinciae illius, subditis et omnibus proveniuntibus damnum nihil inferemus nullumque alium in Principatum Moldaviae promovebimus. Et si forte aliquis ex stirpe principum Moldaviae ad nos veniens principatum a nobis flagitaverit, nullum illi auxilium praestabimus, quin imo eum comprehendentes Moldaviae principi transmittemus illique principi vere amicus erimus, propterea quod provincia illa inter Turcarum imperatorem et regem custodiae loco est.

Valachiae etiam inferiori rebusque et subditis illius ex parte nostra nihil damni dabitur, eadem etiam illa provincia Serenissimi Regis Turcarumque imperatoris gratia complectitur, ambabus istis provinciis vere existens amicus detrimenti nihil faciemus.

Quod vero hucusque cum fratre rege nobis intercessit discordia, sit utrinque abolitum damnaque utraque ex parte regnis nostris illata oblivioni tradantur et quae hactenus non data fuerunt munera non exigentur.

Et quemadmodum Sigismundus Primus rex cum praedecessore nostro pia memoriae Mengieligerey Chan amicitiam pacemque foederibus utrinque conscriptis inierant, si nobis Kazigerey Chan vel galga sultan reliquisque filiis et fratribus sultanis nostris a rege significatum fuerit, contra quemvis inimicum illius expediti, regna Serenissimi Regis una cum gente nostra hospitii loco habebimus eoque iter facientes nos exercitusque noster a Serenissimo Rege magnatibus subditisque illius benigne habiti, debita benevolentiae illorum habita ratione sine ullo damno et incommodo salvi et incolumes revertentur.

Et quod cum rege nos, Kazigerey Chan amice vixerimus, mercatores regnorum utriusque nostrorum divendendis mercibus suis venia nostra secure ibunt et redibunt sique in vendendis et comparandis mercibus alicui illorum damni quid illatum compertum fuerit, sine ulla mora indubitata iusticia administretur et suum cuique integre restituatur nullaque molestia illis exhibita salvi et incolumes ad loca hospitiaeque sua restituantur.

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<sup>9</sup> After the death of Ieremia Movilă in July 1606, the Moldavian throne was held by his brother Simion, the former hospodar of Wallachia (cf. Document 39, n. 14). Simion's death in September 1607 was followed by a civil war between his son, Mihail, and Ieremia's son, Constantin. The latter won due to the Polish support and ruled until 1611.

Verum Serenissimus quoque Rex, frater noster ex parte sua, procerum, subditorum magnatumque suorum nobis, Kazigerey Chan sinceram partem promittent nobis, filiis, magnatibus, murzis, affinibus et subditis nostris, pecoribus, regnis, provinciis, bonis et facultatibus quietem praebentes nihil damni detrimenti ne inferant et quemadmodum hucusque alii reges amicos nostros pro suis propriis et inimicos pro inimicis habebit.

Praeterea sicuti praesentibus suis in foederibus, obligationes, pacta promissionesque nostrae continentur, sancte et inviolabiliter Serenissimo Regi et proceribus subditisque illius, sine ullo fuco verae et indubitatae amicitiae insistentes, amicorum amici, inimicorum vero inimici existemus, quicumque inter nos amicitiam<sup>c</sup> procuraverit, nihil favebimus.

Serenissimi etiam Regis civitates, arces, oppida, villas, provincias illosque adeo ipsos nunquam infestantes omnem semper amicitiam et integritatem et Serenissimus etiam Rex, frater noster, pro sincera ista in se amicitia nostra convenientem itidem nobis amicitiam et fraternitatem exhibens, munera pro eo ac Sigismundi Primi temporibus mitti, consuevere mediam partem pecuniae, alteram holoserica<sup>10</sup> aliarumque rerum quolibet anno mensis novembris initio, id est circa festum Sancti Demetrii<sup>11</sup> pro more antiquitus recepto per legatos nostros, qui eo nomine illuc mittentur ad felicissimum solum maiestatis nostrae Bachciaseraium mandans thesauro nostro tradi curet.

Nos quoque magnus caesar Kazigerey Chan et galga sultan omnesque alii sultani, magnates, murzae eam Serenissimi Regis in nos experti benignitatem, amicorum omnium amici, inimicorum vero inimici existentes et Serenissimo Regi magnatibusque veram amicitiam et amorem praestantes prout supra, ex parte maiestatis nostrae, scriptum est incommodi nihil unquam faciemus.

Quae nimirum foedera et promissiones nostrae ad firmiter inviolabiliterque servanda, pro vera Musulmanica fide nostra, per altissimi et praepotentis Dei unitatem novissimorumque temporum veri Prophetae Mechmeti <et> Mustaphae<sup>12</sup> prophetiam perque veritatem caelitus dati veri Alcorani nostri iuramus, quoad ex parte Serenissimi Regis foedera ac obligationes non violabuntur nobisque quolibet anno consueta dona more recepto ad festum Sancti Demetrii exhibebuntur et incolis regni nostri ex parte sui, ipsius magnatum subditorumque suorum damni nihil fiet, nos Kazigerey Chan pactis foederibusque istis insistentes firmiter, quoad vita nos deserverit, contrarii nihil faciemus. Quod si Serenissimus Rex amicitiam nostram his fulcitam obligationibus acceptare noluerit minusque convenientem duxerit, aliam sibi posthac ipse magnus idoneam componet.

<sup>c</sup> *Sic*; it should rather read *inimicitiam*.

<sup>10</sup> I.e., silk textiles.

<sup>11</sup> St. Demetrius' Day, i.e., 5 November (according to the new style in the 17th century), identified in the Turkish world with the day of Kasım (*ruz-i Qasım*) that symbolized the beginning of winter; significantly, also the Polish tribute to the Ottoman sultan, established by the Treaty of Buczacz (1672), was to be paid by St. Demetrius' Day.

<sup>12</sup> Mustafa is the second name of Prophet Muhammad.

Nos foederum istorum et pacis litteris in meliorem et indubitata[m] fidem conscriptis, signis coccineis et ceruleis consignari aureumque nostrum sigillum<sup>13</sup> illis imprimi curavimus, quo post hanc diem mercatores utrinque euntes et redeuntes miserique subditi, viduae filiique secure et quiete viventes tempore felicissimi imperii nostri molestiae nihil iniuriarumque experti, quoad vixerint Serenissimoque Regi fratri nostro bene precentur.

Scripta in bene custodita urbe nostra Bachciaseray 29 die mensis rabuel-evel anno Mussulmanico 1016.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> All the three colors, known to have been used in the Crimean chancery for impressing the khan's square seal (*nišan*), are mentioned here, namely scarlet (*coccineum*), i.e., reddish, blue (*ceruleum*), and golden (*aureum*). It is uncertain whether the document in fact contained the imprints of the khan's seal in three different colors. Ghazi II Giray's instrument from 1592 is corroborated with only one *nišan* impressed in gold (see Document 34). On this issue, cf. Chapter 3 in Part II.

<sup>14</sup> I.e., 29 Rebi I (*Rebi'ü'l-evvel*) 1016 A.H.



DOCUMENT 44 (20–30 DECEMBER 1609)  
The *‘ahdname* (*pakta*) sent by Khan Selamet Giray  
to King Sigismund III

The original document is missing.

Polish copies:

A. Bibl. Czart., ms. 1657, pp. 469–470.

B. Bibl. Ossol., ms. 12804, pp. 370–375.

Salamet Giereia cara do Króla Jego Miłości:<sup>a</sup>

Wielkiej Ordy<sup>b</sup> wielki wolny car, deskiczapski,<sup>c</sup> petihorski, tatarski, i wielu nahayskich<sup>d</sup> narodów mocny i wielki car Salamet Gierey.<sup>e</sup>

Wielkiemu ruskiemu, pruskiemu, mazowieckiemu, żmódzkiemu, inflant-skiemu, kjiowskiemu, wołyńskiemu, podolskiemu, i szwedzkiemu, gottskiemu, wandalskiemu, i wielom państwom dziedzicznemu królowi, Jego Miłości Trzeciemu Zygmunutowi, polskiemu, i wielkiemu księciu lithewskiemu, bratu naszemu Jego Królewskiej Miłości wielki pokłon i pozdrowienie!<sup>f</sup>

Oznajmujemy tym listem naszym pisany chęć swoją i szczerłość, jako pierwiej tego przez wiernego i dobrego sługę naszego, Muzefer agę.<sup>g</sup> My, brat Waszej Królewskiej Miłości, Sałamet Gierey car, za pomocą bożą na szczęśliwej stolicy krymskiej,<sup>h</sup> jako ojcowie i bracia nasi osiadszy, dałem był wiadomość Waszej Królewskiej Miłości szczęśliwego panowania i dobrego zdrowia nawiedzając, i o zwykłe upominki Waszej Królewskiej Miłości żądając, jako nieboszczyku sławnej pamięci caru Kazigiereiowi,<sup>i</sup> bratu naszemu dawane były dla pokoju i miłości, obudwóm<sup>j</sup> państwom zobopólny pokój czyniąc, i przymierne listy przysiężne<sup>k</sup> z obudwu stron Waszej Królewskiej Miłości między się dali byli,<sup>l</sup> aby ubodzy poddani [w obojgu państwach]<sup>m</sup> w pokoju i w

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<sup>a</sup> B. *Poselstwo do Jego Królewskiej Miłości od cara tatarskiego.*

<sup>b</sup> B. *Hordy.*

<sup>c</sup> B. *destkupczacki.*

<sup>d</sup> B. *nahaiskich.*

<sup>e</sup> B. *wielki i wolny car Sałametgiery.*

<sup>f</sup> B. *Wielkiemu królowi polskiemu.*

<sup>g</sup> B. *Oznajmujemy Waszej Królewskiej Miłości tym listem naszym <chęć swą> pisanym [chęć swą] i szczerłość, jako pierwej przez wiernego sługę naszego, Muzefer agę.*

<sup>h</sup> B. *Sałametgiery car, za bożą pomocą gdy na szczęśliwy stolec krymski.*

<sup>i</sup> B. *carowi Kazygiereiowi.*

<sup>j</sup> B. *obudwu.*

<sup>k</sup> B. *przysiężone.*

<sup>l</sup> B. *Waszej Królewskiej Miłości dali byli.*

<sup>m</sup> In B. only.

bezpieczeństwie mieszkali. A<sup>n</sup> jako z nieboszczykiem bratem naszym<sup>o</sup> Wasza Królewska Miłość w dobrej przyjaźni mieszkać raczył, tedy my jeszcze nad to z Waszą Królewską Miłością w braterskiej przyjaźni mieszkać chcemy. Jakoż pierwiej tego i z nieboszczykiem bratem swoim, Alip Giereiem carowiczem<sup>p</sup> w państwie Waszej Królewskiej Miłości będąc przed kniazem Michałem Wiszniewieckim i panem Zamojskim kanclerzem,<sup>q</sup> i przed inszymi wielą panów [senatorów]<sup>r</sup> przysięgę uczyniliśmy byli w ten sposób: jeśli Pan Bóg obdarzyć raczy któremu<sup>s</sup> na ojczyźnie, to jest na carstwie tatarskim zostać, tedy z Królem Jego Miłością, bratem naszym niżeli pierwsze cary w lepszej<sup>t</sup> przyjaźni braterskiej mieszkać obiecaliśmy, a państwowi i ludziom żadnej szkody i krzywdy nie czynić,<sup>u</sup> a zwłaszcza jeśli z ich strony<sup>v</sup> w państwie naszym krzywda jaka i szkoda nie będzie się dziać,<sup>w</sup> tedy i od nas nigdy jako państwowi, tak i poddanym szkoda [żadna]<sup>x</sup> nie stanie się, i taką przysięgę potwierdziliśmy byli.<sup>y</sup>

Którego posła naszego, Muzefer agę<sup>z</sup> Wasza Królewska Miłość, brat nasz list nasz i ustne mówienie jego<sup>aa</sup> wdzięcznie przyjmawszy, onego łaskawie odprawić raczył, i posła swego, wiernego [sługę],<sup>ab</sup> urodzonego Floriana<sup>ac</sup> Zbrożka, pospołu z nim z listem swym, ofiarując w nim<sup>ad</sup> przyjaźń swą, do nas przysłać raczył, potrzebując<sup>ae</sup> takich pakt, jakie od nieboszczyka Kazigiereia cara dane<sup>af</sup> były, który na tym państwie siedząc przysięgę uczynił był i przymierny list dał był, o czym Wasza Królewska Miłość nam przez tego posła<sup>ag</sup> oznajmić raczył. Tedy [i]<sup>ah</sup> my przez wiernego sługę naszego takie pakta, jakie nieboszczyk Kazigierey<sup>ai</sup> car dał był, i tak wielki przysiężny list, napisawszy w nim

<sup>n</sup> B. *Przeto.*

<sup>o</sup> B. *bratem naszym Alipgiereiem*; the name of Alp Giray was entered here erroneously, apparently by the translator, as the passage evidently refers to the late khan Ghazi II Giray.

<sup>p</sup> B. *jako pierwiej z nieboszczykiem bratem naszym, Alipgiereiem.*

<sup>q</sup> B. *książęciem Michallem Wiśniowieckim i panem Zamoyskim kanclerzem.*

<sup>r</sup> In B. only.

<sup>s</sup> B. *któremu zdarzy.*

<sup>t</sup> B. *tedy z Jego Królewską Miłością, bratem naszym od pierwszych carów w lepszej.*

<sup>u</sup> B. *tak państwowi, jako i ludziom żadnej krzywdy i szkód nie czyniąc.*

<sup>v</sup> In A. erroneously *stronie*.

<sup>w</sup> B. *dziać się nie będzie.*

<sup>x</sup> In B. only.

<sup>y</sup> B. *i takąśmy przysięgę naszą potwierdzili byli.*

<sup>z</sup> B. *Muzeferagę.*

<sup>aa</sup> Missing in B.

<sup>ab</sup> In B. only.

<sup>ac</sup> B. *Floryana.*

<sup>ad</sup> B. *pospołu z nim z listami swemi, ofiarując w nich.*

<sup>ae</sup> B. *potrzebujący.*

<sup>af</sup> Missing in B.

<sup>ag</sup> B. *przez tego to posła swego.*

<sup>ah</sup> In B. only.

<sup>ai</sup> B. *Kazygierey.*

one pakta złotym pismem, i pieczęć naszą przyłożywszy,<sup>aj</sup> Waszej Królewskiej Miłości posłaliśmy.

Tak też strony zwykłych upominków i strony Kozaków, jako Wasza Królewska Miłość ukraińnym panom zakazał, żeby byli uskromieni, i do nas Wasza Królewska Miłość o tym oznajmić raczył, my<sup>ak</sup> temu będąc wdzięczni, onę pierwszą przysięgę swoją wcale nieodmiennie dzierżyć chcemy, i jako nieboszczyk Kazigierey,<sup>al</sup> brat nasz dzierżał.<sup>am</sup> Tedy i my, brat Waszej Królewskiej Miłości, Sałamet Gierey car<sup>an</sup> taką przysięgę i wielkie pakta napisawszy, temu posłu<sup>ao</sup> naszemu wielkiemu,<sup>ap</sup> wiernemu, gruntownemu radzie swemu, urodzonemu Sefer Kazi begu dając;<sup>aq</sup> i przy nim i wtórego, Rustema,<sup>ar</sup> a trzeciego Bairo Makia,<sup>as</sup> [posłów do Waszej Królewskiej Miłości odprawiliśmy, którzy gdy do Waszej Królewskiej Miłości przyjadą,]<sup>at</sup> o onych Wasza Królewska Miłość wiedzieć racz.

My, brat Waszej Królewskiej Mości, Wielkiej Ordy wolny car, Sałamet Gierey car,<sup>au</sup> z synem gałą, bratem Dziambek Gierieiem carowiczem,<sup>av</sup> i muradyn<sup>aw</sup> bratem i synem, Dawlet Gierieiem carowiczem,<sup>ax</sup> i z inszymi wielkimi i małymi synami memi i bracią, carowiczami, karaczey bejami, murzami, i ułanami, i ze wszystkimi<sup>ay</sup> wiernymi sługami naszymi, i ze wszystkimi Nahaiami, którzy<sup>az</sup> są pod władzą naszą, naradziwszy się z temi wszystkimi mianowanymi przysięgę swą potwierdziliśmy, iż<sup>ba</sup> Jego Królewskiej Miłości najjaśniejszemu królowi polskiemu i wielkiemu kniaziowi litewskiemu,<sup>bb</sup> i<sup>bc</sup> panom senatorom, sługom, i państwowom, to jest zamkom, miastom, miasteczkom, wsiam,<sup>bd</sup>

<sup>aj</sup> B. *i pieczęć naszą przycisnąwszy.*

<sup>ak</sup> B. *żeby byli uskromnieni, do nas Wasza Królewska Miłość o tym oznajmić raczył, a my.*

<sup>al</sup> B. *Kazygierey.*

<sup>am</sup> B. *trzymał.*

<sup>an</sup> B. *Salamatgierey.*

<sup>ao</sup> B. *posłowi.*

<sup>ap</sup> Missing in B.

<sup>aq</sup> B. *Sefer Kazibegu daliśmy.*

<sup>ar</sup> In B. erroneously *Ruszenia.*

<sup>as</sup> In B. less corrupt: *Bajromaka.*

<sup>at</sup> In B. only.

<sup>au</sup> B. *My, brat [Waszej Królewskiej Miłości,] Wielkiej Hordy wolny car, Sałametgierey.*

<sup>av</sup> B. *z synem i bratem, gałą Dziambekgierieiem carowicem*; instead of *bratem* it should rather read *bratankiem*; cf. notes 14 and 16 below.

<sup>aw</sup> *Sic*; B. *muradinem.*

<sup>ax</sup> B. *bratem i synem, Dewlergereiem carowicem*; instead of *bratem* it should rather read *bratankiem*; cf. notes 15–16 below.

<sup>ay</sup> B. *małymi i wielkimi synami moimi i bracią, carowicami, karaczeybiejami, murzami, i ułany, ze wszystkimi.*

<sup>az</sup> B. *wszystkimi Nahaiami, które.*

<sup>ba</sup> B. *i z tymi wszystkimi pomienionymi naradziwszy się przysięgę swoją potwierdził*; i.

<sup>bb</sup> B. *księciu litewskiemu.*

<sup>bc</sup> Missing in B.

<sup>bd</sup> B. *miastom, miasteczkom, wsiom.*

poddanym i dzieciom ich, i wszelakim pożytkom ich, to jest bydłu, stadu, towaru, owcam,<sup>be</sup> i wszelakiemu dobytku, i inszym majątnościom<sup>bf</sup> i pożytkom ich [wszelakim]<sup>bg</sup> w państwie Jego Królewskiej Miłości [będącym]<sup>bh</sup> żadnej krzywdy i przeszkody w używaniu ich czynić nie mamy i nie będziemy,<sup>bi</sup> i wojskam żadnym w państwa Jego Królewskiej Miłości wtargiwać, i zagonów posyłać, i ludzi poddanych w niewolą brać, i w robotach ich żadnej przeszkody czynić nie mamy i nie będziemy,<sup>bj</sup> i owszem dobrze się przeciwko nich pokazywać,<sup>bk</sup> a krzywd wszelakich poddanym naszym czynić zakazemy. A Jego Królewskiej Miłości przyjaciele za przyjaciele swoje, a nieprzyjaciele też na nieprzyjaciele mieć mamy,<sup>bl</sup> i owszem [z]<sup>bm</sup> wojskiem swym przeciwko nich gotowiśmy. A<sup>bn</sup> nieprzyjacielowi Jego Królewskiej Miłości wojskiem żadnym i radą dopomagać nie mamy, według przysięgi naszej.

Gdy tedy my, Wielkiej Ordy wolny car Sałamet Gierey,<sup>bo</sup> i gałga, także też<sup>bp</sup> i nuradyn,<sup>bq</sup> i inni bracia i synowie moi carowiczowie,<sup>br</sup> panowie też i murzowie, z ludźmi naszymi, wojskiem swym jeślibyśmy szli przeciwko nieprzyjaciela naszego,<sup>bs</sup> tedy przez państwa<sup>bt</sup> Jego Królewskiej Miłości przechodzić nie mamy, ani w państwa pograniczne z tych wszystkich,<sup>bu</sup> jako się pomieniło, żaden wpadać i szkód czynić nie ma.

Jako od przodków, Królów Ich Miłości i carów tatarskich jest warowano na paktach,<sup>bv</sup> iż gdy Jego Królewska Miłość nam da znać, to jest na Moskwę iść wojować, tedy my według powinności naszej gotowi z wojskiem naszym pójść, zamki i miasta odebrać, i ze wszystkimi grunty ich i pożytkami Jego Królewskiej Miłości polskiemu, i wielkiemu kniaziowi litewskiemu oddawać,<sup>bw</sup> jako przodkom Jego Królewskiej Miłości oddawali nasi przodkowie, i Jego Królewskiej Miłości nieprzyjaciół za nieprzyjaciół swych miewali.<sup>bx</sup> Tedy i

<sup>be</sup> B. *owcom*.

<sup>bf</sup> B. *innym majątnościom*.

<sup>bg</sup> In B. only.

<sup>bh</sup> In B. only.

<sup>bi–bj</sup> Missing in B.

<sup>bk</sup> B. *i owszem dobroć przeciwko nim pokazywać*.

<sup>bl</sup> B. *przyjacioły za przyjacioly swoje, a nieprzyjaciele za nieprzyjaciele też mieć mamy*.

<sup>bm</sup> In B. only.

<sup>bn</sup> B. *I wszelakiemu*.

<sup>bo</sup> B. *Wielkiej Hordy wolny car Sałametgierey*.

<sup>bp</sup> B. *tak też*.

<sup>bq</sup> In B. corrupt: *muraderi radym*.

<sup>br</sup> B. *i insi bracia i synowie moi carowiczowie*.

<sup>bs</sup> B. *nieprzyjacielowi naszemu*.

<sup>bt</sup> B. *państwo*.

<sup>bu</sup> B. *ani w państwo pograniczne Jego Królewskiej Miłości z tych wszystkich*.

<sup>bv</sup> B. *w paktach jest mianowano*.

<sup>bw</sup> B. *gotowiśmy z wojskiem swym pójść, a zamki i miasta odbierać ze wszystkimi pożytkami ich, i Królowi Jego Miłości polskiemu, i wielkiemu księciu litewskiemu podawać*.

<sup>bx</sup> B. *oddawali przodkowie nasi, i nieprzyjaciółów za nieprzyjacioły miewali*.

my, Sałamet Gierey<sup>by</sup> car, i gałga carowicz, i nuradyn, bejowie i murzowie dobrą chęcią Jego Królewskiej Miłości na pomoc na każdego nieprzyjaciela gotowiśmy, i Jego Królewskiej Miłości szczyrym przyjacielem, i Jego Królewskiej Miłości przyjacielowi przyjacielem być chcemy.<sup>bz</sup>

A strony państwa wołoskiego i multańskiego,<sup>ca</sup> iż Królowie Ich Miłości polscy na państwo wołoskie i multańskie hospodara<sup>cb</sup> nasadzywali, i teraz natenczas hospodarowi wołoskiemu od Jego Królewskiej Miłości nasadzonemu przeszkody<sup>cc</sup> w dzierżeniu jego, ani też w państwie czynić, i hospodarów inszych nasadzywać nie mamy; i jeśliby który był w państwach naszych, tedy takowego temu<sup>cd</sup> hospodarowi od Króla Jego Miłości polskiego nasadzonemu odsyłać mamy, i przyjaźń jemu swą pokazywać.<sup>ce</sup>

A jeśliby Jego Królewska Miłość przeciw nieprzyjaciela jakiegokolwiek swego nas albo wojska naszego potrzebował do państwa swego, tego my się wzbraniać nie będziemy, tylko to wojsko ma wszelkie mieć uszanowanie i bezpieczeństwo,<sup>cf</sup> tak od panów senatorów, od starostów, od wojska, jako i od poddanych pogranicznych i od Kozaków; tak w państwo Jego Królewskiej Miłości idąc, jako i z państwa <idąc><sup>cg</sup> wychodząc przeszkoda żadna temu wojsku być nie ma.

A ja Panu Bogu jednemu, i od Pana Boga prorokowi nam zesłanemu Machometowi Mostafie, i księgam zesłanym Alkoranowi na Alkoranie przysięgam, jako pierwiej przysięgę uczyniłem, sam od siebie, synów, braciej naszej, carowiczów, i od murzów, bejów, i wszystkich inszych poddanych naszych, Jego Królewskiej Miłości i Panom Radnym, poddanym, miastom, miasteczkom, zamkom, i wsiom, i wszystkim pospolitym ludziom iż żadnej szkody czynić nie mam<sup>ch</sup> póki wieku naszego będzie; w pokoju i [w]<sup>ci</sup> przyjaźni braterskiej z sobą mieszkać mamy, aby ubodzy poddani, sieroty i wdowy<sup>cj</sup>

<sup>by</sup> B. *Salametgierey*.

<sup>bz</sup> B. *i gałga carowic, muradin [sic], begowie i murzowie z dobroju chęciu Jego Królewskiej Miłości dopomóc na każdego nieprzyjaciela gotowiśmy, i Jego Królewskiej Miłości przyjacielem szczerym i nieomylnym, i przyjacielowi Jego Królewskiej Miłości przyjacielem być chcemy.*

<sup>ca</sup> B. *państwa wołoskiego, także i multańskiego.*

<sup>cb</sup> In B. *erroneously hospodarskie.*

<sup>cc</sup> B. *i teraz i natenczas hospodarowi nasadzonemu od Jego Królewskiej Miłości żadnej przeszkody.*

<sup>cd</sup> B. *takiego temu.*

<sup>ce</sup> B. *i przyjaźń swą jemu pokazywać.*

<sup>cf</sup> B. *A jeśliby Jego Królewska Miłość przeciwko nieprzyjacielowi jakimukolwiek swemu nas albo wojska naszego do państwa swego potrzebował, czego my zbraniać nie będziemy, tylko to wojsko ma mieć wszelakie uhonorowanie i bezpieczeństwo.*

<sup>cg</sup> In A. *only.*

<sup>ch</sup> B. *i od Pana Boga nam prorokowi zesłanemu Machmet Mustafie, i księgom zesłanym Halkoran na Halkoranie przysięgam, którą przysięgę uczyniłem sam od siebie, synów, braci naszej, carowiczów, i od murzów, begów, i wszystkich innych poddanych moich, Jego Królewskiej Miłości i panom senatorom, poddanym, miastom, miasteczkom, zamkom, i wsiom, i wszystkim pospolitym ludziom iż żadnej szkody czynić nie mamy.*

<sup>ci</sup> In B. *only.*

<sup>cj</sup> B. *sieroty i udowy.*

w pokoju i w rozkoszy byli; i za panowania mego<sup>ck</sup> kupcom ze wszelakimi kupiami z państwa Waszej<sup>cl</sup> Królewskiej Miłości do państwa naszego, a z państwa naszego do państwa Waszej<sup>cm</sup> Królewskiej Miłości, kupcy wolno i bezpiecznie<sup>cn</sup> przejeżdżać i odjeżdżać mają; którzy niech<sup>co</sup> za nas i za Waszą Królewską Miłość [Pana]<sup>cp</sup> Boga proszą, aby nam i<sup>cq</sup> w inszych monarchiach dobra sława była.

A te pakta napisane są roku od proroka naszego Machometa tysiąc ósmnastego, miesiąca decembra 20 dnia; złotą pieczęcią naszą przypieczętowawszy posłaliśmy. Pisan w Bakcesaraiu.<sup>cr</sup>

Translation:

*[The instrument of agreement sent] by Selamet Giray Khan to His Royal Majesty:*

*The great, free khan<sup>1</sup> of the Great Horde, the mighty and great khan of the Kipchak Steppe,<sup>2</sup> of the Circassians,<sup>3</sup> Tatars, and numerous Nogay peoples, Selamet Giray.*

*[Let] a great greeting and salutation [be pronounced] to the great hereditary king of Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, Samogitia, Livonia, Kiev, Volhynia, Podolia, of the Swedes, Goths, Vandals, and numerous [other] states, His Majesty Sigismund the Third, [the king] of Poland and the grand duke of Lithuania, His Royal Majesty, our brother!*

*We announce by our presently written letter our goodwill and sincerity, as [we did] earlier through our loyal and good servant, Muzaffer Agha.<sup>4</sup> We, Selamet*

<sup>ck</sup> B. *a za panowania naszego*.

<sup>cl</sup> B. *Jego*.

<sup>cm</sup> B. *Jego*.

<sup>cn</sup> B. *także kupcy wolno i przepiecznie*.

<sup>co</sup> B. *niechaj*.

<sup>cp</sup> In B. *only*.

<sup>cq</sup> Missing in B.

<sup>cr</sup> B. *A te pakta napisane są roku od proroka naszego Machometa 1018, miesiąca decembra die 20, złotą pieczęcią swą zapieczętowawszy posłaliśmy. Dan w Bakczysaraiu.*

<sup>1</sup> The expression *wolny car* ("free khan"), also found in Ruthenian sources (cf. Document 10, n. 3), reflects the ancient Mongol-Tatar notion of sovereignty.

<sup>2</sup> The Turkish term *Deşt-i Qıpçaq* (Kipchak Steppe) is rendered in Polish by an adjective: *deskiczapski* (*destkupczacki* in the B. copy).

<sup>3</sup> On the term *Petyhorcy*, referring to the Circassians, and especially to the Kabardinians, see Document 40, n. 6.

<sup>4</sup> As the accession to the throne of Selamet Giray in the spring of 1608 was followed by large Tatar raids against Poland-Lithuania in June and November 1608, only in July 1609 the khan's courier, Muzaffer Agha, arrived at Vilnius with the formal announcement of his lord's enthronement; see Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 153–158.

Giray Khan, Your Royal Majesty's brother, having ascended with God's help the prosperous Crimean throne, like our fathers and brothers had [once] done, I<sup>5</sup> notified Your Royal Majesty, wishing you a prosperous reign and good health, and requesting from Your Royal Majesty the customary gifts, just as they used to be given for the sake of peace and amity to our late brother of glorious memory, Ghazi Giray Khan, bringing peace between the two states, and [in result] oath-letters of agreement used to be mutually exchanged with Your Royal Majesty, so that the poor subjects in both states could live in peace and security. And as Your Royal Majesty remained in good friendship with our late brother, we wish to remain in brotherly friendship with Your Royal Majesty even more. In fact, being formerly in the state of Your Royal Majesty along with our late brother, Alp Giray Sultan,<sup>6</sup> we took an oath in front of Prince Myxajlo Vyšnevec'kyj, Pan Zamoyski, the chancellor, and numerous other lords senators, namely we promised—if God allows any of us to reign in our fatherland, that is the Tatar khanate—to remain in a better brotherly friendship with our brother, His Royal Majesty, than the former khans had used to, and to refrain from bringing any damage or harm to [his] domains and people; “especially if no harm or damage is done by them in our state, then we will never bring any damage to [the royal] domains and subjects”—thus we confirmed by oath.<sup>7</sup>

Having favorably received our letter and oral message delivered by our aforementioned envoy, Muzaffer Agha, Your Royal Majesty, our brother, gracefully sent him back and dispatched along with him his own loyal servant, noble Florian Zbrożek,<sup>8</sup> with his letter, offering his friendship and asking for such

<sup>5</sup> The khan is firstly referred to by the first person plural, and then by the first person singular.

<sup>6</sup> Alp Giray, the son of Devlet Giray Khan and the brother of the khans Mehmed II Giray, Islam II Giray, Ghazi II Giray, Feth Giray, and Selamet Giray. He had very strained relations with Mehmed II Giray, who unwillingly, forced by the Porte, appointed him his qalga instead of his son, Sa'adet Giray (in result Mehmed II Giray created for his son the new post of nureddin). In 1584, during the civil war and Ottoman intervention in the Crimea, Alp Giray killed Mehmed II Giray and became the qalga of the new khan, Islam II Giray (1584–1588). When yet another brother, Ghazi II Giray ascended the throne in 1588, he wanted to avenge Mehmed II Giray and execute Alp Giray, but the latter managed to escape. As late as 1598, the Porte considered replacing Ghazi II Giray with Alp Giray on the Crimean throne; see Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 32, 48–49, 69, 83; Hajvoronskyj, *Sozvezdie Geraev*, pp. 28–34; on the relations between Devlet Giray's sons, see also Document 35, n. 20.

<sup>7</sup> The mention of Alp Giray's and Selamet Giray's sojourn in Poland refers to the year 1581 when the two brothers escaped from the Crimea during their conflict with Mehmed II Giray and were detained by the *starosta* of Čerkasy, the Cossack leader Prince Myxajlo Vyšnevec'kyj. They were forced to swear in front of Chancellor Jan Zamoyski and some Senate members that they would remain loyal towards the Commonwealth; see Kazimierz Dopierała, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne Polski z Turcją za Stefana Batorego* (Warsaw, 1986), pp. 108–111; Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, p. 157.

<sup>8</sup> On Florian Zbrożek, the captain of horse (*rotmistrz*) and royal courier, sent several times to the Crimea, see Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 146, 153, 156–158, 184–186, 194–196, 224–225. Dispatched to Ghazi II Giray in February 1608, Zbrożek

a treaty as had been given by the late Ghazi Giray Khan, who, while seating on [the throne of] this state, had sworn an oath and issued a letter of agreement; such was the tenor of His Royal Majesty's notification sent us through the aforementioned messenger. Therefore we have issued such a treaty as had been given by the late Ghazi Giray Khan, and we have sent Your Royal Majesty the [present] large oath-letter, having written down the treaty [conditions] in gold and having appended our seal.

In regard to the customary gifts<sup>9</sup> and the Cossacks, as Your Royal Majesty has ordered the frontier [i.e., Ukrainian] lords<sup>10</sup> to restrain them, and Your Royal Majesty has notified us about this [order], in appreciation of this we wish to entirely and inviolably keep our former oath, as it was kept by our brother, the late Ghazi Giray. Therefore we, Your Royal Majesty's brother, Selamet Giray Khan, having likewise written such an oath[-letter] and large treaty [instrument], give it to our great envoy, our loyal upright councilor, noble Sefer Ghazi Bey;<sup>11</sup> and along with him we have also dispatched a second [envoy], Rustem,<sup>12</sup> and a third one, Bayram Agha, as envoys to Your Royal Majesty;<sup>13</sup> when they come to Your Royal Majesty you should know about them [i.e., recognize them as our envoys].

We, Your Royal Majesty's brother, the free khan of the Great Horde, Selamet Giray Khan, along with the qalga, my son and brother<sup>14</sup> Djanibek Giray Sultan, and the nureddin, my brother<sup>15</sup> and son Devlet Giray Sultan,<sup>16</sup> and my

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was detained over one year by the new khan, Selamet Giray; once back in Poland-Lithuania, in July 1609 he joined the Crimean courier, Muzaffer Agha, on his return way from Vilnius to Baghchasaray, and in December 1609 was sent back from Baghchasaray along with the great embassy of Sefer Ghazi Bey, carrying the present document. In April 1610, Sefer Ghazi and Zbrożek were received by Sigismund III in his military camp near Smolensk and again sent to the Crimea with the task of bringing an "amended" version of the khan's instrument. Yet, such a corrected version was never issued. After Selamet's death in 1610, Zbrożek was again sent to the Crimea in 1612, and then in 1615–1616, when he suffered another long detainment in the hands of Djanibek Giray.

<sup>9</sup> In fact, the present paragraph does not contain any further reference to the gifts, dealing exclusively with the Cossacks.

<sup>10</sup> *Ukrainnym panom* can be translated as "frontier lords" or "Ukrainian lords."

<sup>11</sup> On Sefer Ghazi Bey, the great envoy to Poland-Lithuania in 1604–1605 and 1609–1610, who delivered the present document to Sigismund III in his military camp near Smolensk on 24 April 1609, see also Document 41, n. 5.

<sup>12</sup> Probably identical with Rustem Agha, the Crimean envoy to Poland in 1619; cf. Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 217–218, 221–223.

<sup>13</sup> Rustem Agha and Bayram Agha probably performed the functions of the *tet* and the *bahşı* respectively; on these functions, cf. Document 20, n. 27 and Document 35, n. 21.

<sup>14</sup> It should rather read "nephew;" cf. n. av above and n. 16 below.

<sup>15</sup> It should rather read "nephew;" cf. n. ax above and n. 16 below.

<sup>16</sup> Djanibek Giray (the future khan) and Devlet Giray (his future qalga) were the grandsons of Devlet Giray and the sons of Mübarek Giray, hence Selamet Giray's nephews. After Mübarek's death his widow remarried twice, first to Feth Giray, and then to Selamet Giray. The latter adopted both stepsons and appointed them his qalga



remaining older and younger sons and brothers, the sultans, and the qaraçı beys, mirzas, ulans, and all our loyal servants, and with all the Nogays who remain under our rule, having taken counsel with all those aforementioned we have confirmed our oath that we should not and will not bring any harm to His Royal Majesty, the illustrious king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania, [his] lords senators, servants, and their estates, namely castles, towns, boroughs, villages, and their subjects and children, and all their profits, namely cattle, herd, flock, sheep, all other goods and chattels, and all kinds of profits resulting in His Royal Majesty's state, neither should we impede drawing benefits from them, and we should not and will not let any troops invade His Royal Majesty's states, send forays, enslave [his] subjects or disturb their work; on the contrary, we will display our beneficence to them and we will forbid our subjects to commit any harm to them. We should regard His Royal Majesty's friends as our own friends, and his enemies as our enemies, moreover, we are ready to face them along with our troops. And, according to our oath, we should not assist His Royal Majesty's enemy with any troops or counsel.

And if we, Selamet Giray, the free khan of the Great Horde, or the qalga, or the nureddin, or my other brothers and sons, the sultans, or the lords or mirzas, set out along with our people and troops against our enemy, then we should not pass through the states of His Royal Majesty, and no one from among those mentioned above should invade or bring damage to [his] frontier estates.

As is provided in the treaties from the times of [our] ancestors, Their Royal Majesties and the Tatar khans, when His Royal Majesty notifies us [about his aim] to set out against Muscovy, then we, respecting our duty, will be ready to go along with our troops, capture the castles and towns [that had belonged to the kings of Poland]<sup>17</sup> and restore them to His Majesty, the king of Poland and the grand duke of Lithuania, along with all their lands and profits, as our ancestors used to restore [such castles and towns] to the ancestors of His Royal Majesty, and as they used to regard His Royal Majesty's enemies as their own enemies. Hence we too, Selamet Giray Khan, and the qalga sultan, the nureddin, the beys and mirzas, are willing and ready to assist His Royal Majesty against any enemy, and we wish to be a sincere friend of His Royal Majesty, and a friend of His Royal Majesty's friend.

In regard to the states of Moldavia and Wallachia,<sup>18</sup> as Their Majesties, the kings of Poland, used to appoint hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia,<sup>19</sup> also now we should not disturb the reign of the Moldavian hospodar appointed by

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and nureddin, hence he could refer to them as both his nephews and his sons. On Dur-bike, a daughter of a Circassian lord and the mother of Djanibek and Devlet Girays, see Hajvoronskyj, *Poveliteli dvux materikov*, vol. 2, pp. 27 and 37, n. 11.

<sup>17</sup> This fragment is evidently missing; cf. Document 37.

<sup>18</sup> In the given context, the Polish adjective *woloski* refers to Moldavia, and the adjective *multański* to Wallachia; cf. Document 39, notes 1 and 13.

<sup>19</sup> Lit. "used to seat hospodars on the states [i.e., thrones] of Moldavia and Wallachia."

*His Royal Majesty;*<sup>20</sup> *neither should we bring disturbance to his state or appoint other hospodars;*<sup>21</sup> *and if any of them [i.e., pretenders to the Moldavian throne] resided in our states, we should deliver him to the hospodar appointed by His Majesty, the king of Poland, and we should display our friendship towards him [i.e., the hospodar].*

*And if His Royal Majesty needs us or our troops to assist him in his state against any enemy, we will not refuse him, but these troops should fully enjoy respect and security from the side of lords senators, starostas, troops, as well as frontier inhabitants and Cossacks; both on their way to the state of His Royal Majesty, and on their way back, these troops should not encounter any hindrance.*

*Hence I swear to one God, the prophet sent to us by God, Muhammad Mustafa,*<sup>22</sup> *and the revealed book<s> of Koran, by the Koran, as I swore formerly, on my behalf and on behalf of my sons and brothers, the sultans, and the mirzas, beys, and all our subjects, that I should not bring any damage to His Royal Majesty, [his] Lords Councilors, subjects, towns, boroughs, castles, villages, and all common people, as long as our days last; and we should remain in mutual peace and brotherly friendship, so that the poor subjects, orphans and widows may enjoy peace and joy; and during my reign merchants with all kinds of merchandise may freely and safely travel and return from the state of Your Royal Majesty to our state, and from our state to the state of Your Royal Majesty; may they pray to God for us and Your Royal Majesty, so that we may have a good fame also in other monarchies.*

*This treaty [pakta] has been written in the year 1018 from our prophet Muhammad, on the 20th day of the month of December;*<sup>23</sup> *having stamped it with our golden seal, we have sent it. Written in Baghchasaray.*

<sup>20</sup> I.e., Constantin Movilă, son of Ieremia, the hospodar of Moldavia in the years 1607–1611; introduced on the throne with Polish support, in 1608 he was confirmed in his post by the Porte. Having lost his throne in 1611, he tried to regain it with Polish support but failed and was killed in 1612.

<sup>21</sup> In fact, precisely at that time a group of Moldavian boyars dissatisfied with the pro-Polish rule of Constantin Movilă aimed to secure Selamet Giray's support for the candidacy of Stefan Bogdan, the son of the former Moldavian hospodar Iancu Sasul (r. 1579–1582). The intrigue involved a number a Greek clergymen and Orthodox Christians in the khan's entourage; see D. Souliotis, "A Greek prelate in the Tatar khanate of the Crimea in the early seventeenth century," *Balkan Studies* 31 (1990): 269–282.

<sup>22</sup> Mustafa (lit. "the Chosen") is the second name of Prophet Muhammad.

<sup>23</sup> The Muslim year 1018 A.H. lasted from 6 April 1609 till 25 March 1610; it is not certain whether the date of 20 December, given according to the Christian calendar, refers to the new style, or to the old one, still used by the Orthodox Christians (for instance the Greek subjects of the khans); therefore the present document can be dated either 20 December or 30 December (i.e., 20 December according to the Old Style) 1609.

DOCUMENT 45 (FEBRUARY 1611)<sup>1</sup>  
The '*ahdname* (*list przymierny*) sent by Khan Djanibek Giray  
to King Sigismund III

The original document is missing.  
Polish copy: Bibl. Czart., ms. 1640, pp. 837–838.

List od cara przymierny:

Wielkiej Ordy wielki wolny car, destkypczacky, wie lki newiysky wieliu nacji,  
pietiorski, bez liczby wielie Tatar wielki car będący Dziambegieri.

Wielkiemu ruskiemu, pruskiemu, i wieliom chrześcijańskim państwom i  
lithewskym wielkiemu panu, mazowieckiemu, żmudzkiemu, inflianckiemu,  
kiiowskiemu, wołyńskiemu, podolskiemu, szwedzkiemu, gottskiemu, wan-  
dalskiemu, polskiemu dziedzicznemu panu, bratu naszemu, Trzeciemu Zyg-  
muntowi Jego Królewskiej Miłości wielki pokłon i pozdrowienie!

Oznajmujemy życzliwość i chęć swoją, to jest chwała Bogu ja, Dziambegieri,  
brat Waszej Królewskiej Miłości, iż za bożą pomocą zostałem na stolicy w  
roku tysiąc i dziewiętnastego według zakonu naszego, miesiąca Juny, na wiel-  
kiej ojczyźnie swojej i na szczęśliwej stolicy osiadłszy panem zostałem. Iż przod-  
kowie moi, osiadłszy na stolicy, i od przodków Waszej Królewskiej Miłości  
z państwa wielkich królów upominki i z podarkami nas obsyłał,<sup>a</sup> teraz ja,  
brat Dziambegieri ośm miesięcy jakom carem zostałem, Wasza Królewska  
Miłość, brat nasz, na tem szczęśliwym stolcu, nas od osoby Waszej Królew-  
skiej Miłości nikt nie nawiedził i nie pozdrowił, i przyjaźni swojej nie oznajmił.  
I u nas to w podziwieniu było, iż do tego czasu w szczęśliwym wojowaniu,  
jakośmy słyszeli, do nas nikogo nie było. Jeśliby wielki poseł Waszej Królew-  
skiej Miłości, i z upominkami i z przymiernym listem jeśliby przyjechał, my,  
brat przyjaźń swą i chęć swoją uczynilibyśmy, i na pomoc część wojska, co  
by go potrzeba była, posłalibyśmy Waszej Królewskiej Miłości, a brat nasz  
wojować by raczył z jednej strony, a nasze wojsko z drugiej strony, i niedługo  
za bożą pomocą nieprzyjaciela Waszej Królewskiej Miłości zwojowalibyśmy.

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<sup>1</sup> The document is not dated; the khan only mentions his accession in June 1019 A.H. (i.e., June 1610 A.D., since the Muslim year 1019 A.H. lasted from 26 March 1610 till 15 March 1611), and then adds that eight months have already passed since that time. Skorupa wrongly assumed that the document was dated in June 1610 A.D., hence he found an apparent contradiction between that date and the mention of the eight months' lapse; cf. Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, p. 165, n. 73.

<sup>a</sup> This fragment is grammatically inconsistent but its tenor is clear.

I tak Dziambekgierey przyjaźń swoją oznajmując wiernego i starego sługę swego, Dziana Antoniego i Spynulia uczyniwszy wielkim posłem, także i gońca, i wtórego, i trzeciego posłałem Waszej Królewskiej Miłości. A brat nasz i z nami, carem Dziambekgiereiem, jako i z nieboszczykiem bratem, carem Kazigiereiem przodkiem moim czyniliście przyjaźń, także i z nami, bratem swoim przyjacielowi swojemu przyjacieliem być, a nieprzyjacielowi nieprzyjacieliem, póki będzie stawało wieku Waszej Królewskiej Miłości, i obojgom państwom pokoju życząc i z obojgu stron przymierne listy jeśli jest wola dać, Waszej Królewskiej Miłości któregośmy my posłali wielkiego posła, także żesz Wasza Królewska Miłość do nas posła swego według zwyczaju dawnego pospołu z posłem naszym przysłać racz, i z upominkami, jeśli chcecie z nami braterską przyjaźń trzymać.

My, brat Waszej Królewskiej Miłości, my swoim pisaniem, które od Boga mamy, i na tym przysięgę czynimy, według tego, jako był nieboszczyk car Kazigierey uczynił list przymierny i dał, i ja też z swojej strony taki przymierny list posyłam i według tego czynię przysięgę, żeby obojgom państwom pokój zobopólny był, póki wieku mego będzie; a ja też Waszej Królewskiej Miłości przyjacielowi chcę być przyjacieliem, a nieprzyjacielowi nieprzyjacieliem, co by ubodzy poddani w pokoju i w rozkoszy mieszkając za nas i za Waszą Królewską Miłość Boga prosili. Zatem i powtóre pozdrowienie i pokój Waszej Królewskiej Miłości czyniemy.

Translation:

*The letter of agreement [sent] from the khan:<sup>2</sup>*

*The great, free khan<sup>3</sup> of the Great Horde, being the great khan of the Kipchak Steppe,<sup>4</sup> numerous Nogay peoples,<sup>5</sup> the Circassians,<sup>6</sup> and innumerable Tatars, Djanibek Giray.*

*[Let] a great greeting and salutation [be pronounced] to the great lord of Ruthenia, Prussia, and numerous Christian states and Lithuanian [domains], the hereditary lord of Mazovia, Samogitia, Livonia, Kiev, Volhynia, Podolia, of the Swedes, Goths, Vandals, and of Poland, our brother, His Royal Majesty Sigismund the Third!*

<sup>2</sup> Skorupa does not regard the present document as a treaty and refers to it merely as a letter; cf. Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 164–165. Admittedly, it is much shorter than other treaty instruments of the period. Yet, the term *list przymierny* can be found both in its heading and in its contents.

<sup>3</sup> On the expression *wolny car* (“free khan”), cf. Document 44, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> The Turkish term *Deşt-i Qıpçaq* (Kipchak Steppe) is rendered in Polish by an adjective: *destkypczacki*.

<sup>5</sup> Recorded in a slightly corrupt form as *wielki newiysky wieliu nacji*.

<sup>6</sup> On the term *Petyhorcy*, referring to the Circassians, and especially to the Kabardinians, see Document 40, n. 6.

We [hereby] announce our favor and goodwill; as—thank God!—I, Djanibek Giray, Your Royal Majesty's brother, have ascended the throne with God's help in the year 1019 according to our law [i.e., calendar], in the month of June, I have become the lord of my great fatherland and prosperous throne. While my ancestors, having ascended the throne, used to receive gifts and presents from the state of great kings sent by the ancestors of Your Royal Majesty,<sup>7</sup> now, Your Royal Majesty, our brother, though eight months have passed since I, [your] brother Djanibek Giray, have become the khan on the prosperous throne, nobody has come to us from the side of Your Royal Majesty to greet us and announce [your] friendship. And we have wondered that so far nobody has come to us, [especially as] we have heard of [your] successful campaign. If a great envoy of Your Royal Majesty had arrived along with gifts and a letter of agreement, we, [your] brother, would have put in effect our friendship and goodwill and sent Your Royal Majesty as many troops as needed, so that you could campaign from one direction, and our troops from another, and with God's help we would quickly defeat Your Royal Majesty's enemy.

And in order to announce my friendship I, Djanibek Giray, have sent Your Royal Majesty my loyal and old servant, Djan Anton Spinola,<sup>8</sup> having appointed

<sup>7</sup> Cf. n. a above.

<sup>8</sup> Djan Anton İspinola (جانان تون اسپنوله); thus spelled in the letter of Ghazi II Giray to Sigismund III recorded in *Libri Legationum*, no. 26, fol. 21b) alias Gianantonio Spinola (whereas *Gian*, the Italian shortened form of Giovanni, must have been identified by the Tatars with *Djan* [*Can*], a popular component preceding Tatar names), a Christian diplomat and silk merchant (hence the Turkish nickname *qazaz*) in the khan's service, originating from the Spinola family that was once prominent in Genovese Caffa; in the Polish sources referred to as *Dzian Anton*, *Džan Anton*, *Džan Ton Spiniolo*, or *Džan Antoni Spinolla*; he was sent to Poland-Lithuania in 1589, 1596, 1600, 1603, 1607, 1611, and 1619, to Sweden in 1589 (he traveled through Poland) and 1592, and to Vienna in 1599; his last mission to Warsaw coincided with the Polish-Ottoman war and resulted in his detainment until 1622, in revenge for the detainment of the Polish envoy, Florian Oleszko, in the Crimea; see Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 59, 67–68, 73, 96, 121–126, 146, 165, 226–229, 244–250; Carl Max Kortepeter, *Ottoman Imperialism during the Reformation. Europe and the Caucasus* (New York and London, 1972), pp. 120, 170 (on his missions to Sweden and Vienna), 185, 230; Ștefan Andreescu, "Génois sur les côtes de la Mer Noire à la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 26 (1987): 125–134, esp. pp. 130–131; *idem*, *Din istoria Mării Negre (Genovezi, români și tătari în spațiul pontic în secolele XIV–XVII)* (Bucharest, 2001), pp. 163–173. Spinola's diplomatic career had apparently nothing to do with his fluency in Western languages: on a receipt for the royal gifts that he issued in Cracow on 12 February 1608, instead of his signature one finds a note by a Polish clerk: "he does not know to write" (*sam pisać nie umie*); see Biblioteka PAN w Krakowie, ms. 1690, fol. 66a. In his description of the Crimea, composed in 1634, an Italian missionary from the Dominican Order, Emidio Portelli d'Ascoli, admitted that local Italians no longer spoke their language and were commonly perceived as "Frankish Circassians" (*Cerchessi Franchi*) due to their frequent marriages with Circassian girls; see Ambrosius Eszer, "Die 'Beschreibung des Schwarzen Meeres und der Tatarei' des Emidio Portelli d'Ascoli O.P.," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 42 (1972): 199–249, esp. pp. 242–243 (East European historians have long misspelled Portelli's name as Dortelli due to an erroneous reading by N. Daškevič who had first edited the "Descrittione del Mar Negro et della Tartaria" in 1891; see *Čtenija v Istoričeskom obščestve Nestora Letopisca*, vol. 5,

him great envoy; and furthermore I have sent a courier, and another, and yet another [courier]. And if you, Your Royal Majesty, our brother, wish to have mutual friends and mutual enemies with us, your brother, Djanibek Giray, as long as your days last, just as you kept friendship with my ancestor, my late brother Ghazi Giray Khan, and if you wish peace to [our] two states and want to mutually exchange letters of agreement and keep brotherly friendship with us, you should send us your envoy along with gifts, according to the ancient custom, along with our [returning] great envoy, whom we have sent to Your Royal Majesty.

We, Your Royal Majesty's brother, swear upon the [Holy] Writing that we have from God, and I send a letter of agreement [list przymierny] just like the letter of agreement issued by the late khan, Ghazi Giray, and in accordance to that I take an oath, so that mutual peace may reign in the two states, as long as my days last; and I wish to be a friend of Your Royal Majesty's friend, and an enemy of your enemy, so that the poor subjects may enjoy peace and joy, and pray to God for us and Your Royal Majesty. We send Your Royal Majesty our repeated salutations and wish you peace.

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otdel III: *Materialy*, pp. 1–46; the error was perpetuated by the Russian translation of N. Pimenov, published in 1902). Portelli's companion, Giovanni Giuliani da Lucca, reported in 1626 that Crimean Catholic Circassians retained Genovese family names such as Doria, Spinola, Giustiniani, or Grimaldi but adopted Tatar first names such as Aytemir or Aslan; see Raymond Loenertz, "Le origini della missione secentesca dei Domenicani in Crimea," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 5 (1935): 261–288, esp. pp. 284–285. The above remarks explain the seemingly contradictory fact that the Polish envoy Ławryn Piaseczyński referred to Djan Anton as a Circassian (*Dżan Anton Czerkies*) and simultaneously pointed to his Genovese and Caffan origin (*Dżan Ton Spiniolo z Kafy*); cf. Pułaski, "Trzy poselstwa Piaseczyńskiego," pp. 361 and 469. On the Italians, who lived in the Crimean Khanate in the 16th and 17th century, see also Oleksa Hajvoronskyj, "Genuezcy v Krymskom xanstve," *Qasevet* 33 (2008): 8–13.

DOCUMENT 46 (OCTOBER 1619)

The formula of an *'ahdname* (*list przymierny*) to be issued  
by Khan Djanibek Giray, prepared by the Polish chancery

Polish copies:

A. Biblioteka PAN w Krakowie, ms. 1690, fol. 69a–70b.

B. Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku, no. 300, 53/1066, pp. 55–58.

Spisek przymierza, jakie ma być przez urodzonego pana Floryana Oleszka,<sup>a</sup>  
wojskiego włodzimierskiego, sekretarza i posła Jego Królewskiej Miłości wiel-  
kiego<sup>b</sup> od cara Dzanbek Giereia przyniesione w roku 1620:<sup>c</sup>

Wielkiej Ordy wolny<sup>d</sup> car czerkaski, nahayski, szemski,<sup>e</sup> i innych wszech  
narodów tatarskich, Dzanbek Gierey.<sup>f</sup>

Oznajmujem<sup>g</sup> tym listem naszym niniejszym i na potym będącym, iż jako  
za wolą bożą najjaśniejszy Zygmunt Trzeci, z łaski bożej król polski, wiel-  
kie książę litewskie, ruskie, pruskie, mazowieckie, żmudzkie, inflantskie,  
kiiowskie, wołyńskie, podlaskie, smoleńskie, czernihowskie,<sup>h</sup> i też szwed-  
ski, gotski, wandalski dziedziczny król, siadwszy na stolicy Korony Polskiej i  
Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, i ziem do niej należących, nastalem ja też,  
car Dzanbek Gierey<sup>i</sup> na carstwo Ordy Krymskiej,<sup>j</sup> z którym<sup>k</sup> to Królem Jego  
Miłością acz pierwszych czasów obrazy mieliśmy, ale wspomniawszy cara  
Kazy Giereia, stryja swego, który zjechawszy<sup>l</sup> się w ziemi wołoskiej na Ceczorze  
z Jaśnie Wielmożnym panem Janem Zamoyskim,<sup>m</sup> kanclerzem i hetmanem

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<sup>a</sup> B. przez pana posła Floriana Oleszka.

<sup>b</sup> Missing in B.

<sup>c</sup> B. od cara przekopskiego Dżianbeg Giereia przyniesione.

<sup>d</sup> B. Wielki Ordy wielki.

<sup>e</sup> Probably it should read *nad niezliczonymi Tatary* (“[the lord] of innumerable Tatars”) like in Document 40. Already the Polish translator of Ghazi Giray’s *'ahdname* from 1604 apparently did not understand the Turkish word *sansız* (“innumerable,” hence *sansız Tatarın* = “of innumerable Tatars”), so he invented a nonexistent Polish adjective *saneski* (“of the Sans;” cf. Document 41, n. a); the present term *szemski* must be a further corruption of *saneski*.

<sup>f</sup> B. i inszych wszystkich narodów tatarskich Dżianbeg Gierei.

<sup>g</sup> B. oznajmujemy.

<sup>h</sup> B. z bożej łaski król polski, wielki książę litewski, ruski, pruski, mazowiecki, żmudzki, inflantski, kiiowski, wolinski, podlaski.

<sup>i</sup> B. here and hereafter Dżianbeg Gierei.

<sup>j</sup> B. Krimskiej.

<sup>k</sup> B. którym.

<sup>l</sup> B. zjechawszy.

<sup>m</sup> B. Zamoyskim.

wielkim Korony Polskiej, i z wojskiem Jego Królewskiej Miłości, przymierze i pokój wieczny z Królem Jego Miłością przez niego uczynił, i przyjaźń braterską za siebie samego i za potomki swoje przyjął, przeto ja, Dzanbek Gierey car nie odstępując ni w czym dokończenia cara Kazy Giereia, stryja swego, z Królem Jego Miłością uczynionego, a porozumiewszy się z carewiczem Dewlet<sup>n</sup> Giereiem gałą, bratem swoim, i z innemi carowiczami, bracią i synami naszymi, kniaziami, murzami<sup>o</sup> naradziwszy się, i będąc wdzięczni<sup>p</sup> łaski i szczodroblowości Króla Jego Miłości polskiego i wielkiego księcia<sup>q</sup> litewskiego, i innych państw hospodara Zygmunta Trzeciego, brata naszego,<sup>r</sup> przez urodzonego pana Floryana<sup>s</sup> Oleszka, wojskiego włodzimierskiego, sekretarza i posła wielkiego Jego Królewskiej Miłości mnie ofiarowanej, ten list nasz przymierny, wszystkie powinności i obowiązki swoje<sup>t</sup> w nim włożywszy, zgadzając się z dokończeniem cara Gazy<sup>u</sup> Giereia, stryja swego, i ni w czym go nie odstępując, Jego Królewskiej Miłości Zygmontowi Trzeciemu, bratu naszemu posłałem.<sup>v</sup>

Naprzód tedy ja, car Dzanbek Gierey, i gałą carewicz Dewlet Gierey,<sup>w</sup> brat mój, i inni gałgowie po nim będący, z syny i z bracią swoją, i też<sup>x</sup> murzami, kniaziami, karaczey, ułany, biejami, przełożonemi miejsc<sup>y</sup> i ludzi tak wojennych, jako i wszystkich innych ludzi swoich, i ze wszystkimi zgoła ludźmi swoimi, i ludźmi nahayskimi z sobą sprzyjażnionemi<sup>z</sup> i złączonemi, będąc Królowi Jego Miłości polskiemu i wielkiemu księciu<sup>aa</sup> litewskiemu, i innych państw hospodarowi Zygmontowi Trzeciemu, bratu swemu<sup>ab</sup> wiernym przyjacielem, i prawdziwie mając Króla Jego Miłości polskiego i wielkiego księcia<sup>ac</sup> litewskiego, i innych państw hospodara, i ludzi<sup>ad</sup> Jego Królewskiej Miłości za przyjaciela, a nieprzyjaciela<sup>ae</sup> Jego Królewskiej Miłości za nieprzyjaciela swoje, nie będę nikomu, Panom Radom, szlachcie, wszystkim<sup>af</sup> poddanym, zamkom, miastom, miasteczkom, siolam,<sup>ag</sup> włościom, ludziom, stadom, towarom

<sup>n</sup> B. *Dewleth.*

<sup>o</sup> B. *innymi carewiczami, bracią i synami naszymi, kniaziami i murzami.*

<sup>p</sup> B. *wdzięczny.*

<sup>q</sup> B. *kniazia.*

<sup>r</sup> B. *hospodara, brata naszego.*

<sup>s</sup> B. *Floriana.*

<sup>t</sup> B. *wszystkie powinności i obowiązki swe.*

<sup>u</sup> B. *Kazy.*

<sup>v</sup> B. *Jego Królewskiej Miłości, bratu naszemu posłałem.*

<sup>w</sup> B. *Gierei.*

<sup>x</sup> B. *i z syny i z bracią swemi, i też z.*

<sup>y</sup> B. *miesc.*

<sup>z</sup> B. *jako wszech innych ludzi swoich, i ze wszystkimi zgoła ludźmi swemi, i z ludźmi nahayskimi z sobą sprzyjażnionemi.*

<sup>aa</sup> B. *kniaziowi.*

<sup>ab</sup> B. *hospodarowi, bratu swojemu.*

<sup>ac</sup> B. *kniazia.*

<sup>ad</sup> B. *ludzie.*

<sup>ae</sup> B. *nieprzyjaciół.*

<sup>af</sup> B. *i czy to.*

<sup>ag</sup> B. *wsiom.*



szkodził ani ich wojował, brał. I owszem z ludźmi Jego Królewskiej Miłości polskiego i wielkiego księcia litewskiego Zygmunta Trzeciego, brata naszego ja sam, car Dzanberg [sic] Gierey, i gałga carewicz Dewlet Gierey,<sup>ah</sup> brat mój, i inni gałgowie po niem<sup>ai</sup> będący, synowie, bracia, kniaziowie, murzowie, karaczey, ułany, biejowie, przełożeni moi,<sup>aj</sup> i wszyscy zgoła ludzie moi, i nahayscy,<sup>ak</sup> którzy za mną są i z którymi<sup>al</sup> jestem sprzyjażniony, mamy szczyry i<sup>am</sup> wierny pokój zachować, nie wojując ani nasyłając na państwa, miasta, zamki, [i]<sup>an</sup> grunty Króla Jego Miłości polskiego i wielkiego księcia<sup>ao</sup> litewskiego, i innych państw hospodara, ani żadnych szkód, krzywd czynić, i w grunty się Króla Jego Miłości polskiego i wielkiego księcia<sup>ap</sup> litewskiego nie wszczepiać<sup>aq</sup> się, aż do Morza Czarnego, i nie wtargiwać. I przez ziemię Jego Królewskiej Miłości, i państwa i ludzie, ani wojska moje na jakiegokolwiek i czyjekokolwiek potrzeby i wojny idąc przechodzić nie mają, ani się o nie ocierać.<sup>ar</sup>

A co byli powinni przodkowie moi, carowie dawni tatarscy, za potrzebą i napomnieniem Ich Miłości królów polskich dawnych wojować ziemię moskiewską, i zamki należące odbierać i oddawać ze wszystkimi<sup>as</sup> grunty i pożytkami ich, także też przeciwko innym wszystkim<sup>at</sup> nieprzyjaciołom Króla Jego Miłości polskiego i wielkiego księcia<sup>au</sup> litewskiego, i innych państw hospodara Zygmunta Trzeciego<sup>av</sup> za potrzebą i napomnieniem Jego Królewskiej Miłości wojować, toż też ja, car Dzanbek Gierey, i gałga carewicz Dewlet Gierey,<sup>aw</sup> brat mój, i inni gałgowie po nim będący, i z syny, bracią, murzami, kniaziami, karaczey, ułany, biejami, i ludźmi swoimi<sup>ax</sup> powinien czynić. I będę czynił szczyrze<sup>ay</sup> i prawdziwie, bez wymówek i niepochybnie, że moskiewskiego i każdego nieprzyjaciela Jego Królewskiej Miłości za napomnieniem Jego Królewskiej Miłości wojować mam i powinien będę.

<sup>ah</sup> B. i wielkiego kniazia litewskiego, brata naszego ja, car Dziambeg Gieriei, i gałga carewicz Dawleth Gieriei.

<sup>ai</sup> B. *nim*.

<sup>aj</sup> B. *kozacy [sic], ułanowie, biejowie, i wszyscy przełożeni moi*.

<sup>ak</sup> B. *nahaiscy*.

<sup>al</sup> B. *którymi*.

<sup>am</sup> Missing in B.

<sup>an</sup> In B. *only*.

<sup>ao</sup> B. *kniazia*.

<sup>ap</sup> B. *kniazia*.

<sup>aq</sup> B. *wszczepiając*.

<sup>ar</sup> B. *I przez ziemie Jego Królewskiej Miłości i państwa, ludzie ani wojska moje na jakiegokolwiek i czyjekokolwiek potrzeby i wojny idąc przechodzić nie mają, ani się o nie ocierać*.

<sup>as</sup> B. *odbierać i oddawać ze wszystkimi*.

<sup>at</sup> B. *wszem*.

<sup>au</sup> B. *kniazia*.

<sup>av</sup> The king's name is missing in B.

<sup>aw</sup> B. *car Dziambeg Gieriei i gałga carewicz Dawlethgieriei*.

<sup>ax</sup> B. *swemi*.

<sup>ay</sup> B. *szczyrze*.

Też mam i powinien będę przeciw gospodarowi wołoskiemu, za wolą Króla Jego Miłości polskiego postanowionemu, i ziemi wołoskiej zachować się spokojnie i przyjacielsko,<sup>az</sup> i przeciw niemu nie być, ani szkody żadnej jemu albo ziemi mołdawskiej<sup>ba</sup> czynić, i gospodarczyków innych na tę ziemię ani prowadzić, ani przechowywać, i owszem ich wydać, i jakom począł, życzliwość moję pokazywać<sup>bb</sup> i pomocny być, gdyż gospodarowie wołoscy przyjaźń i przymierze starodawne między Królem Jego Miłością polskim a cesarzem tureckim, przyjacielem Króla Jego Miłości polskiego, mają zadzierżywać i pomnażać.

Także przeciw gospodarowi multańskiemu, który by za porozumieniem Króla Jego Miłości z Cesarzem Jego Miłością tureckim był postanowiony, przyjaźń pokazywać mam.

Obrazy wszystkie, które się między Królem Jego Miłością a mną aż do tego czasu stały, na obie stronie odpuściliśmy<sup>bc</sup> sobie, upewniając w tym Króla Jego Miłości polskiego, że to stateczną chęcią i wiarą moją na potym Jego Królewskiej Miłości nagrodzę. I tak u Króla Jego Miłości, jako i u ludzi Jego Królewskiej Miłości nijakich szkód swoich własnych i ludzi swoich pozyskować nie będę. I też upominków żadnych przeszłych u Króla Jego Miłości upominać się nie mam, gdyż odtąd przymierze między nami poczyna się.

Jako też bywało za przodków Króla Jego Miłości polskiego i wielkiego księcia<sup>bd</sup> litewskiego, co się w dokończeniu króla Zygmunta świętej pamięci z Menli Giereiem<sup>be</sup> carem najduje, tedy mnie, carowi Dzanbek Giereiowi, i gałdze Dewlet Giereiowi<sup>bf</sup> carewiczowi, bratu mojemu, i innym gałgom po niem<sup>bg</sup> będącym, i synom moim, także i braci mojej, za pozwoleniem Króla Jego Miłości polskiego w poczcie pewnym od Króla Jego Miłości zamierzonym,<sup>bh</sup> do ziemi<sup>bi</sup> Jego Królewskiej Miłości jako gościom w dobry obyczaj i w przyjaźni przyjechać wolno będzie. Także<sup>bj</sup> żadnej krzywdy ani w osobie, ani w ludziach, ani w rzeczach od Króla Jego Miłości i ludzi Jego Królewskiej Miłości cierpieć nie mamy, i owszem uczciwie i dobrowolnie od Króla Jego Miłości ma być przyjęty i szanowany,<sup>bk</sup> i nazad w cale się wracać mamy.

A będąc nam w dobrej przyjaźni z Królem Jego Miłością polskim, tedy z państwa naszego do państwa Jego Królewskiej Miłości<sup>bl</sup> polskiego, a z państwa Króla Jego Miłości polskiego do państw naszych i do miast naszych<sup>bm</sup>

<sup>az</sup> B. *przyjacielskie* [sic].

<sup>ba</sup> B. *mołdawski* [sic].

<sup>bb</sup> B. *pokazywać*.

<sup>bc</sup> B. *opuściliśmy*.

<sup>bd</sup> B. *kniazia*.

<sup>be</sup> B. *Menligiereiem*.

<sup>bf</sup> B. *carowi Dziambeg Giereiowi i gałdze Dawletgiereiowi*.

<sup>bg</sup> B. *nim*.

<sup>bh</sup> B. *zamierzonym*.

<sup>bi</sup> B. *ziemie*.

<sup>bj</sup> B. *Tak, że*.

<sup>bk</sup> B. *uczciwie i dobrowolnie mamy być od Króla Jego Miłości przyjęci i szanowani*.

<sup>bl</sup> B. *Króla Jego Miłości*.

<sup>bm</sup> B. *do państw naszych i do Kozybiowa po sól*.

kupcom i kramarzom ze wszystkimi<sup>bn</sup> kupiami przyjeżdżać i odjeżdżać wolno będzie, a myta zwykle oddawszy, żadna krzywda ni od kogo się im dziać nie ma. A jeśliby<sup>bo</sup> się od kogo krzywda stać miała, tedy nieodwłoczna i sroga sprawiedliwość uczyniona i szkoda nagrodzona być ma.

A Król Jego Miłość polski i wielkie książę litewskie<sup>bp</sup> napierwiej od siebie samego i Panów Senatorów koronnych, poddanych swoich mnie, carowi Dzanbeg Giereiowi, synom, bratom, ludziom, i ziemi mojej pokój obiecuje pewny a nieodmienny.<sup>bq</sup>

Także jako przodkowie Króla Jego Miłości naszych, [i]<sup>br</sup> naszym<sup>bs</sup> przodkowie Jego Królewskiej Miłości przodków nieprzyjaciół mając za swoje nieprzyjacioły, nie będzie im pomagał.

Do tego, żeby szczodrobliwość Jego Królewskiej Miłości przeciw mnie, Dzanbek Giereiowi<sup>bt</sup> i sługom moim pokazała się, i żebym tym gotowszy i sposobniejszy do powinnej pomocy (jako się wyżej opisało) Jego Królewskiej Miłości przeciwko wszystkim<sup>bu</sup> Jego Królewskiej Miłości nieprzyjaciołom byłem, tedy obiecuje mi Jego Królewska Miłość z szczodrobliwości i łaski swej od tego czasu na każdy rok<sup>bv</sup> upominki dawać, tak jako stary król Zygmunt dawał, w pieniądzach połowicę, a drugą w kupiach,<sup>bw</sup> <sup>bx-</sup>po które ja, Dzanbeg Gierey car do Kamieńca na dzień pierwszego octobra posłów swoich tylko we dwunastu koni posyłać mam, i tam ich odbierać będę pierwszego dnia novembra. Także po mnie następujący carowie niegdzie indziej jedno w Kamieńcu upominki odbierać mają. I swojemi końmi i podwodami do Białogrodu i do Krymu prowadzić będziem.

Których to posłów moich, co po upominki od nas jeździć będą, onych samych i koni ich bek kamieniecki tylko dwie niedzieli stacją podejmować i opatrować ma. A jeśliby chcieli posłowie moi dłużej w Kamieńcu mieszkać, tedy sami się strawować będą. Wszakże z nowinami, w dobrej przyjaźni nam z sobą będący, posłańców wolno mnie będzie i Dewlet Giereiowi gąldze, bratu mojemu, w poczcie pewnym, to jest tylko w pięci osobach do Króla Jego Miłości posyłać, a Król Jego Miłość łaskawie ich przyjmować, i według łaski i szczodrobliwości swojej ma ich odpuszczać.

Także i Królowi Jego Miłości, bratu mojemu wolno do nas z nowinami i z innemi potrzebami swoimi słać, a my nie zadzierżywając posłów i posłańców Króla Jego Miłości prędko odpuszczać i odprawować mamy, nie trzymając ich dalej jednego miesiąca.<sup>-by</sup>

<sup>bn</sup> B. *wszemi*.

<sup>bo</sup> B. *jeźliby*.

<sup>bp</sup> B. *wielki kniaź litewski*.

<sup>bq</sup> B. *i ziemi mej pokój obiecuje pewny i nieodmienny*.

<sup>br</sup> In B. *only*.

<sup>bs</sup> B. *nasi*.

<sup>bt</sup> B. *carowi Dzanbeg Giereiowi*.

<sup>bu</sup> B. *wszytkim*.

<sup>bv</sup> B. *odtąd na każdy rok*.

<sup>bw</sup> B. *a drugą w kupiach posyłać etc., etc.*

<sup>bx-by</sup> This whole fragment is missing in B.

A tak ja, car Dzanbeg Gierey, i gałga carewicz Dewlet Gierey, i inni gałgowie po nim będący, i z syny,<sup>bz</sup> bracią, murzami, kniaziami, karaczey,<sup>ca</sup> ułany, biejami, i z<sup>cb</sup> przełożonemi ludźmi swoimi<sup>cc</sup> wszystkimi zachować mamy przeciw Jego Królewskiej Miłości i poddanym Jego Królewskiej Miłości, zamkom, miastom, miasteczkom, siolam,<sup>cd</sup> uchodom, futorom,<sup>ce</sup> pasiekom, i pastwiskom pokój prawdziwy i nieodmienny, i wszystkie rzeczy w tym liście przymiernym mianowane nienaruszenie trzymać i pełnić, i pomocnym być przeciw moskiewskiemu i przeciw każdemu Jego Królewskiej Miłości nieprzyjacielowi, i też wszystkie<sup>cf</sup> obowiązki i powinności wyżej opisane wykonywać skutkiem i samą rzeczą, bez wszystkich farb,<sup>cg</sup> chytróści, i wymówek, na wieczne czasy pod przysięgą naszą, którą czyniemy i przyrzekamy Królowi Jego Miłości polskiemu i wielkiemu książęciu<sup>ch</sup> litewskiemu, i innych państw hospodarowi, przez imię Boga jedyne go i proroka Machometa: wołłahi wo byłłahi wo ttałahi.<sup>ci</sup> Czego jeślibyśmy nie czynili, tedy Król Jego Miłość polski będzie wolen od tego, co nam z swej strony obiecuje.<sup>cj</sup>

Który to ten list nasz przymierny pieczęćmi naszemi złotemi zapieczętować kazaliśmy.<sup>ck</sup> [Datum w Bahcyseraiu.]<sup>cl</sup>

locus sigilli<sup>cm</sup>

Translation:

*A copy of the treaty that should be brought from the khan, Djanibek Giray, by noble Pan Florian Oleszko, the secretary and great envoy of His Royal Majesty, in the year 1620:<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>bz</sup> B. *A ja, car Dzanbeg Gierei, i gałga czarewicz Dawlethgieriei, i inni gałgowie po nim będący, [i z] syny.*

<sup>ca</sup> B. *karacy.*

<sup>cb</sup> Missing in B.

<sup>cc</sup> B. *swemi.*

<sup>cd</sup> B. *wsiom.*

<sup>ce</sup> B. *chutorom.*

<sup>cf</sup> B. *wszytkie.*

<sup>cg</sup> B. *skutkiem i rzeczą samą, bez wszech farb.*

<sup>ch</sup> B. *kniaziau.*

<sup>ci</sup> B. *proroka Machmeta: wołłahi wo byłłahi wo ttałahi.*

<sup>cj</sup> B. *co nam z strony swej obiecuje.*

<sup>ck</sup> B. *Który to też list nasz przymierny pieczęćmi naszemi zapieczętować kazaliśmy.*

<sup>cl</sup> In B. only.

<sup>cm</sup> In A. only.

<sup>1</sup> On Florian Oleszko and his missions to the Crimea, see Document 42, n. 7. The royal instruction for Oleszko was issued on 25 October 1619 and the envoy left Poland at the end of that year, arriving in the Crimea in February 1620; therefore the present formula, prepared in the royal chancery, may be tentatively dated in October 1619; cf. Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 223–228.

*The free khan<sup>2</sup> of the Great Horde, of the Circassians, Nogays, innumerable [Tatars],<sup>3</sup> and all other <Tatar> nations, Djanibek Giray.*

*We announce with our present letter to those present and those of the future that as His Majesty Sigismund III, by the grace of God the king of Poland, the grand duke of Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, Samogitia, Livonia, Kiev, Volhynia, Podlachia [Podlasie], Smolensk, Černihiv, and also the hereditary king of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, ascended, with God's will, the throne of the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and of the lands belonging to it, also I, Djanibek Giray Khan, became the khan of the Crimean Horde; and though initially transgressions happened between us and His Royal Majesty, having recalled my uncle, Ghazi Giray Khan, who had met his excellency Pan Jan Zamoyski, the chancellor and grand hetman of the Polish Crown, and the troops of His Royal Majesty in Țuțora [Cecora] in the Moldavian<sup>4</sup> land, concluded an agreement and eternal peace with His Royal Majesty through his mediation, and engaged to keep brotherly friendship on his part and on the part of his descendants, I, Djanibek Giray Khan, not making any deviation from the agreement of my uncle, Ghazi Giray Khan, made with His Royal Majesty, having taken counsel with my brother, the qalga Devlet Giray Sultan, with other sultans, our brothers and sons, and with the beys and mirzas, and being grateful for the favor and generosity of our brother, His Majesty Sigismund III, the king of Poland, the grand duke of Lithuania, and the lord of other states, offered to me through the secretary and great envoy of His Royal Majesty, noble Pan Florian Oleszko, the wojski<sup>5</sup> of Volodymyr, have sent to my brother, His Majesty Sigismund III, our present letter of agreement, having registered there all my duties and obligations, confirming the [instrument of] agreement of my uncle, Ghazi Giray Khan, and not making any deviation.*

*Thus, first of all I, Djanibek Giray Khan, and my brother, the qalga Devlet Giray Sultan, and other qalgas who will come after him, along with my sons and brothers, and the mirzas, princes,<sup>6</sup> qaraçıs, ulans, beys, and those commanding over places and people (both military and all my other people), and with all my people, and the Nogay people who are allied and united with me, being the loyal friend of our brother, His Majesty Sigismund III, the king of Poland, the grand duke of Lithuania, and the lord of other states, and truly regarding His Majesty the king of Poland, the grand duke of Lithuania, and the*

<sup>2</sup> On the expression *wolny car* ("free khan"), cf. Document 44, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. n. e above.

<sup>4</sup> In seventeenth-century Polish, the adjective *wołoski/wołoska* (lit. "Wallachian" or "of Wallachia") referred to either Wallachia or Moldavia. In the given case it refers to Moldavia.

<sup>5</sup> On this title, see Document 42, n. 7.

<sup>6</sup> The Polish term *kniaziami* (*kniazowie* in the nominative) apparently refers to the beys, traditionally referred to in Ruthenian sources as *knjazi*. Yet, beys are also mentioned below as *biejowie* or rather *bejowie* (*biejami* in the ablative).

lord of other states, and the people of His Royal Majesty as our friends, and the enemies of His Royal Majesty as our enemies, will not harm, raid, or capture anybody [from among his] Lords Councilors, nobles, and subjects, [or any] castles, towns, boroughs, villages, estates, people, herds, or goods. On the contrary, I, Djanibek Giray Khan, and my brother, the qalga Devlet Giray Sultan, and other qalgas who will come after him, and my sons, brothers, princes, mirzas, qaraçıs, ulans, beys, commanders, and all my people, and the Nogays, who are with me and with whom I am on friendly terms, should keep sincere and loyal peace with the people of our brother, His Majesty Sigismund III, the king of Poland and the grand duke of Lithuania, without raiding or sending raiders to the states, towns, castles, and lands of His Majesty, the king of Poland, the grand duke of Lithuania, and the lord of other states, causing any damage or harm; and we should not raid or invade the lands of His Majesty, the king of Poland and the grand duke of Lithuania, [extending] as far as the Black Sea. And my troops, while heading for any campaigns or wars of anybody,<sup>7</sup> should not pass through the land, states, or [harass] the people of His Royal Majesty, nor should they even graze them [i.e., touch the frontiers].

And as my ancestors, the former Tatar khans, were to raid the Muscovian land whenever Their Majesties, the ancient Polish kings, needed and requested, and retake and restore [to them] the castles that had belonged [to them], along with all their lands and profits, and moreover, they were to raid any other enemies of His Majesty Sigismund III, the king of Poland, the grand duke of Lithuania, and the lord of other states, whenever His Royal Majesty needed and requested, also [now] I, Djanibek Giray Khan, and my brother, the qalga Devlet Giray Sultan, and other qalgas who will come after him, along with my sons, brothers, mirzas, princes, qaraçıs, ulans, beys, and people should do likewise. And I will do it sincerely and truly, without any excuses or delay, by raiding the Muscovian and any [other] enemy of His Royal Majesty on the request of His Royal Majesty.

And I should behave in a calm and friendly manner towards the Moldavian<sup>8</sup> hospodar,<sup>9</sup> who has been placed [on his throne] according to the will of His Majesty, the king of Poland, and towards the Moldavian land; and I should not act against him or cause any damage to him or the Moldavian<sup>10</sup> land; and I should

<sup>7</sup> An obvious reference to the Ottoman-Habsburg wars. Called to join the Ottoman troops in Hungary, the Tatars often crossed the Ukrainian lands of Poland-Lithuania.

<sup>8</sup> The Polish adjective *wołoski* refers here to Moldavia; cf. n. 4 above.

<sup>9</sup> This clause origins from 1595, when a compromise regarding shared protectorate over Moldavia was reached between the Ottoman-Crimean and Polish-Lithuanian sides at Țuțora (Cecora). In the early 17th century, Moldavia was indeed often ruled by Polish clients, especially from the Movilă family (cf. Document 39, n. 10, Document 43, n. 9, and Document 44, n. 20). Although initially Gașpar Grațiani (Graziani), the Moldavian hospodar in the years 1619–1620, was not a Polish client, in 1620 he openly broke with the Porte and invited Polish troops to Moldavia. Grațiani's rebellion was the immediate cause of the Polish-Ottoman war of 1620–1621.

<sup>10</sup> Here Moldavia is referred to more precisely by the Polish adjective *moldawska* ("Moldavian" or "of Moldavia"); cf. notes 4 and 8 above.

not bring along to this land any other pretenders to the hospodar's throne,<sup>11</sup> or give them refuge; on the contrary, I should deliver them [to the current Moldavian hospodar]; and I should display benevolence and assist [the current Moldavian hospodar], like I did initially, because Moldavian hospodars should cement and strengthen the friendship and ancient agreement between His Majesty, the Polish king, and the friend of His Royal Majesty, the Turkish emperor.

Moreover, I should display friendship towards any Wallachian<sup>12</sup> hospodar,<sup>13</sup> who would be placed [on his throne] by the agreement of His Royal Majesty with His Majesty, the Turkish emperor.

We have mutually forgiven all the transgressions that have happened between His Royal Majesty and us until the present time, assuring His Majesty, the king of Poland, that in the future I will compensate them by my constant goodwill and good faith. Neither should I reclaim any indemnity in my name or in the name of my subjects from His Royal Majesty or His Royal Majesty's subjects. And I should not demand any past gifts from His Royal Majesty, because our mutual agreement begins from now on.

Also, as it was practiced in the times of the ancestors of His Majesty, the king of Poland and the grand duke of Lithuania, and is recorded in the agreement between the late King Sigismund and Mengli Giray Khan, I, Djanibek Giray Khan, and my brother, the qalga Devlet Giray Sultan, and other qalgas who will come after him, and my sons and brothers, may come as guests to the land of His Royal Majesty, cultivating good manners and in friendship, provided that His Majesty, the king of Poland, authorizes it and sets [the size of] their retinue. And we should not suffer any harm done to us, our men, or belongings by His Royal Majesty or His Royal Majesty's subjects; on the contrary, he [i.e., we] should be honestly welcomed and respected by His Royal Majesty, and we should safely return home.

And while we remain in good friendship with His Majesty, the king of Poland, merchants and traders may come and go along with any merchandise from our state to the state of His Majesty, the king of Poland, and from his state to our domains and towns;<sup>14</sup> and having paid the customary tolls, they should not suffer any harm from anybody. And if they suffer any harm from anybody, immediate and severe justice should be administered and the damage should be restored.

<sup>11</sup> The Polish term *hospodarczyk* (*hospodarczyków* in the genitive plural) is a diminutive of the term *hospodar*; it either refers to a hospodar's son or is a pejorative reference to a hospodar. It is translated here as "pretender to the hospodar's throne" as in fact many pretenders to the Moldavian and Wallachian thrones were the sons of former hospodars; for the same clause, cf. Documents 36, 39, 42, and 44 (worded somewhat differently).

<sup>12</sup> Here Wallachia is referred to more precisely (cf. n. 4 above) by the Polish adjective *multański* ("Muntenian" or "of Muntenia"). In early modern Polish sources the geographical term *Multany* (Muntenia, i.e., eastern Wallachia) referred to the whole principality of Wallachia.

<sup>13</sup> In the early 17th century the Polish influence in Wallachia was quite strong (cf. Document 39, n. 14), though not as strong as in Moldavia (cf. n. 9 above); in the years 1618–1620, Wallachia was ruled by Gavril Movilă, who enjoyed the Polish support.

<sup>14</sup> B. "to our domains and to Kačybej to take salt."

And His Majesty, the king of Poland and the grand duke of Lithuania, promises certain and inviolable peace to me, Djanibek Giray Khan, my sons, brothers, people, and land, firstly on his own part, and on the part of the Lords Senators of the Crown, his subjects.

Also, as the ancestors of His Royal Majesty regarded our [enemies], and as our ancestors regarded His Royal Majesty's ancestors' enemies as their proper enemies, he will not assist them [i.e., such enemies].

Moreover, in order to display the generosity of His Royal Majesty towards me, Djanibek Giray, and my servants, so that I be more willing and ready to bring due assistance (as is described above) to His Royal Majesty against all his enemies, His Royal Majesty promises to henceforth give me annual gifts out of his generosity and grace, half in cash and half in goods, just as the old king Sigismund<sup>15</sup> used to do; and I, Djanibek Giray Khan, should send my envoys to Kamieniec, up to twelve horsemen, on the 1st day of October, and collect them [i.e., the gifts] there on the 1st day of November. Also the khans, who will come after me, should collect the gifts in no other place than Kamieniec. And we will transport [them] to Akkerman and to the Crimea by our horses and carts.

And the bey<sup>16</sup> of Kamieniec should host and provide for my envoys, sent by us to collect the gifts, and look after their horses only for two weeks. And if they wish to remain in Kamieniec any longer, they will provide for themselves. However, while we remain in good friendship, I and my brother, the qalga Devlet Giray, may send couriers [posłańców] with news, along with a set retinue numbering only five persons, to His Royal Majesty, and His Royal Majesty should receive them favorably and send them back with an allowance fitting his favor and generosity.

Also my brother, His Royal Majesty, may send to us envoys and couriers with news and other matters, and we should quickly send them back, not detaining them longer than one month.

Hence I, Djanibek Giray Khan, and the qalga Devlet Giray Sultan, and other qalgas who will come after him, along with my sons, brothers, mirzas, princes, qaraçıs, ulans, bays, and all commanders, engage to maintain true and inviolable peace towards His Royal Majesty and His Royal Majesty's subjects, castles, towns, boroughs, villages, hamlets, farms, apiaries, and pastures, invariably keep and fulfill all the conditions mentioned in the present letter of agreement, assist His Royal Majesty against his Muscovian or any other enemy, and effectively and materially execute all the duties and obligations described above, without any falsity, deceit, or excuses, and forever, [this engagement being made] under our oath that we take and pronounce to His Majesty, the king of Poland, the grand duke of Lithuania, and the lord of other states, by the name of one God and Prophet Muhammad: by

<sup>15</sup> I.e., King Sigismund the Old (r. 1506–1548).

<sup>16</sup> The term refers to the *starosta* of Kamieniec as is evident from the following document (cf. Document 47, notes bv and 17); it is interesting that the Polish chancery used the Turkish term *bek* (an older form of *bey*) in the given context.



*God, with God, and through God!<sup>17</sup> And if we do not fulfill it, then His Majesty, the king of Poland, will be free from his promise to us.*

*And we have ordered to seal our present letter of agreement [list przymierny] with our golden seals. Issued in Baghchasaray.*

*locus sigilli<sup>18</sup>*

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<sup>17</sup> The Arabic formula *vallahi va billahi va tallahi* is correctly rendered in the Polish text.

<sup>18</sup> Latin reference to the khan's seal that should be appended to the original document.

DOCUMENT 47 (APRIL 1622)

The formula of an *'ahdname* (*list przymierny*) to be issued by Khan  
Djanibek Giray, prepared by the Polish chancery

Polish copies:

A. AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 65, t. 131, no. 708.

B. Bibl. Kórn., ms. 326, pp. 1007–1012.

C. Bibl. Czart., ms. 1577, pp. 417–420.<sup>1</sup>

Pakta z carem tatarskim Dziambeg Gireiem zawarte:<sup>a</sup>

Wielkiej Ordy wolny car czerkieski, nohaiski, petyhorski, i innych wszech  
narodów tatarskich, Dziambeg Kirey.<sup>b</sup>

Oznajmujemy tym listem naszym niniejszym i na potem<sup>c</sup> będącym, iż jako  
za wołą bożą najjaśniejszy Zygmunt III, z bożej łaski<sup>d</sup> król polski, wiel-  
kie książę litewskie [ruskie, pruskie, mazowieckie, żmudzkie, inflantckie,  
kiłowskie, wołyńskie, podlaskie, smoleńskie, czernihowskie, i też szwedzki,  
gotcki, wandalski dziedziczny król],<sup>e</sup> siadający na stolicę Korony Polskiej i  
Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, i ziem do niej należących, nastąpił ja też,  
car Dziambeg Girei<sup>f</sup> na carstwo Ordy Krymskiej, z którym to Królem Jego  
Miłością acz pierwszych czasów obraży mieliśmy, ale wspomniawszy cara  
Kazy Gereia,<sup>g</sup> stryjca swego, który zjechał<sup>h</sup> się w ziemi wołoskiej na Ceczorze  
z Jaśnie Wielmożnym panem Janem Zamojskim,<sup>i</sup> kanclerzem i hetmanem  
Korony Polskiej, i z wojskiem Jego Królewskiej Miłości, przymierze i pokój  
wieczny z Królem Jego Miłością przez niego uczynił, i przyjaźń braterską za

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<sup>1</sup> This copy contains numerous shortenings and distortions, hence its variations are noted only when they supplement or emend the remaining two copies.

<sup>a</sup> B. *Kopia pakt z carem tatarskim, którą gońcowi dano*; C. *Pakta przez posła Króla Jego Miłości Zygmunta Trzeciego, jego[miłość] pana Krausowskiego, z Dziambegiereiem carem albo hamem tatarskim in anno 1623*.

<sup>b</sup> B. *Wielkiej Ordy wolny car cerkieski, nahayski, petyorski, szemski, i innych wszech narodów tatarskich, Dziambeg Gerey*; C. *Wielkiej Hordy wolny car czerskieski, nahayski, petyhorski, szemski, i innych wszech narodów tatarskich, Dziambegierey*; on the “invented” Polish adjective *szemski*, resulting from mistranslation of the Turkish term *sansız*, cf. Document 46, n. e.

<sup>c</sup> B. *potym*.

<sup>d</sup> B. *z łaski bożej*.

<sup>e</sup> B. *only*; A. *etc., etc., etc.*; C. *etc., etc.*

<sup>f</sup> B. *Dziambek Gerey*.

<sup>g</sup> B. *Kazi Gereia*.

<sup>h</sup> B. *zjachawszy*.

<sup>i</sup> B. *panem Janem Zamoyskim*.

siebie samego i za potomki swoje przyjął, przeto ja, Dziambeg Girey<sup>j</sup> car nie odstępując ni w czym<sup>k</sup> dokończenia cara Kazy Gireia,<sup>l</sup> stryja swego, z Królem Jego Miłości uczynionego, a porozumiewszy się z carowicem Devlet Gireiem gałą, bratem swym, i z innemi carowicami,<sup>m</sup> bracią i synami naszymi, kniaziami, murzami naradziwszy się, i będąc wdzięczni łaski i szczodroblwości Króla Jego Miłości polskiego i wielkiego księcia litewskiego, i innych państw hospodara Zygmunta III<sup>o</sup>, <króla polskiego,><sup>n</sup> brata naszego, przez szlachetnego<sup>o</sup> Krzysztofa Krauzowskiego, posłannika swego mnie ofiarowanej,<sup>p</sup> ten list nasz przymierny, wszystkie powinności i obowiązki swoje w nim włożywszy, zgadzając się z dokończeniem cara Kazy Gireia,<sup>q</sup> stryja swego, i ni w czym<sup>r</sup> nie odstępując, Jego Królewskiej Miłości Zygmunтови III<sup>us</sup> bratu naszemu posłałem.

Naprzód tedy ja, car Dziambeg Girey, i gałą carowicz Devlet Girey,<sup>t</sup> brat mój, i inni gałowicze po nim będący, z syny i z bracią swoją, i też z murzami, kniaziami, karaczy, ułany, bejami, przełożonemi miejsc i ludzi tak wojennych, jako i wszystkich inszych ludzi swoich, i ze wszystkimi zgola ludźmi swojemi, i ludźmi nohaiskimi<sup>u</sup> z sobą sprzyjażnionemi i złączonemi, będąc Królowi Jego Miłości polskiemu i wielkiemu księciu litewskiemu, i innych państw hospodarowi Zygmunтови III<sup>u</sup>, bratu naszemu wiernym przyjacielem,<sup>v</sup> i prawdziwie mając Króla Jego Miłość polskiego i wielkiego księcia litewskiego, i inszych<sup>w</sup> państw hospodara, i ludzi Jego Królewskiej Miłości za przyjaciele, a nieprzyjaciele Jego Królewskiej Miłości za nieprzyjaciele swoje, nie będę nikomu, Panom Radom, szlachcie, wszystkim<sup>x</sup> poddanym, zamkom, miastom, miasteczkom, siolom, włościom, ludziom, stadom, towarom szkodził ani ich wojował, brał. I owszem z ludźmi Jego Królewskiej Miłości polskiego i wielkiego księcia litewskiego Zygmunta III, brata naszego ja sam, Dziambeg Girey car, i gałą carowicz Devlet Girey,<sup>y</sup> brat mój, [i inni gałowicze po niem będący, synowie, bracia, kniazio wie, murzowie, karaczy, ułany, biejiowie, i wszyscy

<sup>j</sup> B. Dziambek Giercy.

<sup>k</sup> B. w ni w czym.

<sup>l</sup> B. Kazy Gereia.

<sup>m</sup> B. carowicem Dewlet Gierciem gałą, bratem swoim, i z innemi czarewiczami.

<sup>n</sup> A. only.

<sup>o</sup> B. ślachtetnego.

<sup>p</sup> B. posłannika swego mnie ofiarowanej.

<sup>q</sup> B. Kazi Giercia.

<sup>r</sup> B. ni w czym go.

<sup>s</sup> In A. written erroneously Zygmunтови III<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>t</sup> B. Dziambeg Giercy, i gałą carowicz Dewlet Giercy.

<sup>u</sup> B. i też murzami, kniaziami, karaczy, ułany, biejami, przełożonemi miejsc i ludzi tak wojennych, jako i wszystkich <i> innych ludzi swoich, i ze wszystkimi zgola ludźmi swojemi, i z ludźmi nahayskimi.

<sup>v</sup> B. Zygmunтови Trzeciemu, bratu swemu wiernem przyjacielem.

<sup>w</sup> B. innych.

<sup>x</sup> B. wszystkim.

<sup>y</sup> B. Zygmunta Trzeciego, brata naszego ja sam, Dziambek Giercy, i gałą czarowicz Dewlet Giercy.

przełożeni moi,]<sup>z</sup> i wszyscy zgoła ludzie moi, i nohaiscy,<sup>aa</sup> którzy za mną są i z którymi jestem sprzyjażniony, mamy szczyry<sup>ab</sup> i wierny pokój zachować, nie wojując ani nasyłając na państwa, miasta, zamki, i<sup>ac</sup> grunty Króla Jego Miłości polskiego i wielkiego księcia litewskiego, i innych państw hospodara, ani żadnych szkód i<sup>ad</sup> krzywd czynić, i w grunty się Króla Jego Miłości polskiego i wielkiego księcia litewskiego nie wszczepiając, aż do Morza Czarnego, i nie [wtargiwać].<sup>ae</sup> I przez ziemię Jego Królewskiej Miłości, i państwa, ludzie ani wojska moje na jakiegokolwiek i czyjekolwiek potrzeby i wojny idąc przechodzić nie mają, ani się o nie ocierać.<sup>af</sup>

A co byli powinni przodkowie moi, carowie dawni tatarscy, za potrzebą i napomnieniem Ich Miłości królów polskich dawnych wojować ziemię moskiewską, i zamki należące odbierać i oddawać ze wszystkimi gruntami i pożytkami ich, także też przeciwko inszym nieprzyjaciołom wszystkim Jego Królewskiej Miłości<sup>ag</sup> polskiego i wielkiego księcia litewskiego, i inszych<sup>ah</sup> państw hospodara Zygmunta III za potrzebą i napomnieniem Jego Królewskiej Miłości wojować, toż też ja, car Dziambeg Girey, i gałka carowicz Dewlet Girey,<sup>ai</sup> brat mój, i inni gałgowie po nim będący, i z syny, bracią, murzami, bejami, karaczy, ułany, i ludźmi swemi<sup>aj</sup> powinien czynić. I [będę]<sup>ak</sup> czynił szczyrze<sup>al</sup> i prawdziwie, bez wymówek i niepochybnie, że moskiewskiego i każdego nieprzyjaciela Jego Królewskiej Miłości za napomnieniem Jego Królewskiej Miłości wojować mam i powinien będę.

Też mam i powinien będę przeciwko<sup>am</sup> gospodarowi wołoskiemu, za wolą Jego Królewskiej Miłości polskiego postanowionemu, i ziemi wołoskiej zachować się spokojnie i przyjacielsko, i przeciw niemu nie być, ani szkody żadnej jemu albo<sup>an</sup> ziemi mołdawskiej czynić, i hospodarczyków innych na

<sup>z</sup> In B. and C. only; in C. the word *karaczy* is corrupt as *karciey*.

<sup>aa</sup> B. *nahaiscy*.

<sup>ab</sup> B. *szczyry*.

<sup>ac</sup> Missing in B.

<sup>ad</sup> Missing in B.

<sup>ae</sup> Thus in B. and C.; in A. *roztargiwając*, apparently written by error; cf. the same fragment in Document 46.

<sup>af</sup> B. *I przez ziemię Jego Królewskiej Miłości, i państwa i ludzie, ani wojska moje na jakiegokolwiek i czyjekolwiek potrzeby i wojny idąc przechodzić nie mają, ani się o nie ocierać*; C. *I przez ziemię Króla Jego Miłości, państwa, i ludzie, i wojska moje na jakiegokolwiek i czyjekolwiek potrzeby i wojny idąc przechodzić nie mają, ani się o nie ocierać*; on the ambivalent meaning of this sentence in regard to the word *ludzie* ("people"), referring either to the Crimean or the Polish subjects, cf. n. 8 below.

<sup>ag</sup> B. *odbierać ze wszystkimi gruntami i pożytkami ich, także też przeciwko innym wszystkim nieprzyjaciołom Króla Jego Miłości*.

<sup>ah</sup> B. *innych*.

<sup>ai</sup> B. *Dziambek Girey, i gałka czarewicz Dewlet Girey*.

<sup>aj</sup> B. *murzami, kniaziami, karaczy, ułany, biejami, i ludźmi swojemi*.

<sup>ak</sup> Thus in B.; in A. *będzie*.

<sup>al</sup> B. *szczyrze*.

<sup>am</sup> B. *przeciw*.

<sup>an</sup> B. *abo*.

tę ziemię ani prowadzić, ani przechowywać, i owszem ich wydać, i jakom począł, życzliwość swoją<sup>ao</sup> pokazywać i pomocny być, gdyż gospodarowie wołoscy przyjaźń i przymierze starodawne między Królem Jego Miłością polskim<sup>ap</sup> a cesarzem tureckim, przyjacielem Króla Jego Miłości polskiego, mają zadzierżyć i pomnażać.

Także przeciw gospodarowi multańskiemu, który by za porozumieniem Króla Jego Miłości z Cesarzem [Jego Miłością]<sup>aq</sup> tureckim był postanowiony, przyjaźń pokazywać mam.

Obrazy wszystkie,<sup>ar</sup> które się między Królem Jego Miłością a mną aż do tego czasu stały, na obie stronie odpuściliśmy sobie, upewniając w tym Króla Jego Miłości polskiego, że to stateczną chęcią i wiarą moją na potem<sup>as</sup> Jego Królewskiej Miłości nagrodzę. I tak u Króla Jego Miłości, jako i u ludzi Jego Królewskiej Miłości nijakich szkód swoich własnych i ludzi swoich pozyskiwać nie będę. I też upominków żadnych przeszłych u Króla Jego Miłości upominać się nie mam, gdyż odtąd przymierze między nami poczyna się.

Jakoż też bywało za przodków Króla Jego Miłości polskiego i wielkiego księcia litewskiego, co się w dokończeniu króla Zygmunta świętej pamięci z Menli Gireiem<sup>at</sup> carem najduje, tedy mnie, carowi [Dzianibek Gireiowi],<sup>au</sup> i gałdze Devlet Gireiowi carowicowi, bratu mojemu,<sup>av</sup> i innym gałgom po nim będącym, i synom moim, także i braciej mojej,<sup>aw</sup> za pozwoleniem Króla Jego Miłości polskiego w poczcie pewnym od Króla Jego Miłości zamierzonym, do ziemi Króla Jego Miłości<sup>ax</sup> jako [gościom]<sup>ay</sup> w dobry obyczaj i w przyjaźni przyjechać wolno będzie. Także żadnej krzywdy ani w osobie, ani w ludziach, ani w rzeczach od Króla Jego Miłości i ludzi Króla Jego Miłości cierpieć<sup>az</sup> nie mamy, i owszem uczciwie i dobrowolnie mają być od Króla Jego Miłości przyjęci i szanowani, i nazad w całe się wracać mają.<sup>ba</sup>

A będąc [nam]<sup>bb</sup> w dobrej przyjaźni z Królem Jego Miłością polskim, tedy z państwa naszego do państw Króla Jego Miłości polskiego,<sup>bc</sup> a z państw Króla Jego Miłości polskiego<sup>bd</sup> do państw naszych [i do miast naszych]<sup>be</sup>

<sup>ao</sup> B. *moję*.

<sup>ap</sup> B. *polskiem*.

<sup>aq</sup> In B. only.

<sup>ar</sup> B. *wszystkie*.

<sup>as</sup> B. *potym*.

<sup>at</sup> B. *Menli Gireiem*.

<sup>au</sup> Thus in B.; in C. *Dziambegierejowi*; in A. written by mistake: *Devlet Gireiowi*.

<sup>av</sup> B. *Dewlet Gireiowi czarewiczowi, bratu memu*.

<sup>aw</sup> B. *i synom mojem, także i braci mojej*.

<sup>ax</sup> B. *Jego Królewskiej Miłości*.

<sup>ay</sup> Thus in B. and C.; in A. written by error *do gościów*; cf. the same fragment in Document 46.

<sup>az</sup> B. *Jego Królewskiej Miłości cierpieć*.

<sup>ba</sup> B. *ma*.

<sup>bb</sup> Thus B.; in C. *sam*.

<sup>bc</sup> B. and C. *państwa Jego Królewskiej Miłości polskiego*.

<sup>bd</sup> B. *państwa Jego Królewskiej Miłości polskiego*; C. *państwa Króla Jego Miłości*.

<sup>be</sup> In B. and C. only.

kupcom i kramarzom ze wszystkimi<sup>bf</sup> kupiami przyjeżdżać i odjeżdżać wolno będzie, a myta zwykle oddawszy, żadna krzywda ni od kogo się dziać im nie ma.<sup>bg</sup> A jeżeliby się od kogo krzywda stać miała, tedy nieodwłoczna i sroga sprawiedliwość uczyniona i szkoda nagrodzona być ma.

A Król Jego Miłość polski i wielkie ksiązę litewskie napierwiej od siebie samego i Panów Senatorów koronnych, i<sup>bh</sup> poddanych swych<sup>bi</sup> mnie, carowi Dziambek Gireiowi,<sup>bj</sup> synom, bratom, ludziom, i ziemie<sup>bk</sup> mojej pokój obiecuję pewny a nieodmienny.

Także jako przodkowie Króla Jego Miłości naszych, a naszy<sup>bl</sup> przodkowie Jego Królewskiej Miłości przodków nieprzyjaciół mając za swoje nieprzyjacioły, nie będzie im<sup>bm</sup> pomagał.

Do tego, żeby szczodroblwość Jego Królewskiej Miłości przeciwko mnie, Dziambek Gireiowi i sługom moim<sup>bn</sup> pokazała się, i żebym tym gotowszy i sposobniejszy do powinnej pomocy (jako się wyżej opisało) Jego Królewskiej Miłości przeciwko wszystkim<sup>bo</sup> Jego Królewskiej Miłości nieprzyjaciołom był,<sup>bp</sup> tedy obiecuje mi Jego Królewska Miłość z szczodroblwości i łaski swej na każdy rok od tego czasu<sup>bq</sup> upominki dawać, tak jako stary król Zygmunt dawał, w pieniądzech połowicę, a drugą w kupiach, posyłać je do Kamieńca na dzień pierwszy miesiąca novembra, po które ja, Dziambeg Girey<sup>br</sup> car do Kamieńca posłów swoich tylko we dwunastu koni posyłać mam, i tam je<sup>bs</sup> odbierać będę pierwszego dnia novembra. Także po mnie następujący carowie nigdzie<sup>bt</sup> indziej jedno w Kamieńcu upominki odbierać mają. I swojemi [podwodami]<sup>bu</sup> do Białogrodu i do Krymu prowadzić będziemy.

Których to posłów moich, co po upominki od nas jeździć będą, onych samych i koni ich beg (starosta)<sup>bv</sup> kamieniecki tylko dwie niedzieli stacją podejmować i opatrować ma. A jeżeliby chcieli posłowie moi<sup>bw</sup> dłużej w Kamieńcu mieszkać, tedy sami się stawować będą. Wszakże z nowinami, w

<sup>bf</sup> B. *wszystkiemi*.

<sup>bg</sup> B. *się im dziać nie ma*.

<sup>bh</sup> Missing in B.

<sup>bi</sup> B. *swoich*.

<sup>bj</sup> B. *Giereiowi*.

<sup>bk</sup> B. *ziemi*.

<sup>bl</sup> B. *nasi*.

<sup>bm</sup> B. *jem*.

<sup>bn</sup> B. *przeciw mnie, Dziambeg Gireiowi i sługom mojem*.

<sup>bo</sup> B. *wszystkim*.

<sup>bp</sup> B. *byłem*.

<sup>bq</sup> B. *od tego czasu na każdy rok*.

<sup>br</sup> B. *Gierey*.

<sup>bs</sup> B. *ich*.

<sup>bt</sup> B. *nigdziej*.

<sup>bu</sup> Thus in B. and C.; in A. written by error *poddanemi*; cf. the same fragment in Document 46.

<sup>bv</sup> In A. the Polish term *starosta* is written over the term *beg*.

<sup>bw</sup> In B. written *insi*, apparently by error.

dobrej przyjaźni nam z sobą<sup>bx</sup> będący, posłańców wolno mnie będzie i Devlet Gireiowi<sup>by</sup> [gałdze],<sup>bz</sup> bratu memu, w poczcie pewnym, to jest w pięci tylko osobach<sup>ca</sup> do Króla Jego Miłości posyłać, a Król Jego Miłość łaskawie ich przyjmować, i według łaski i szczodrośliwości swojej ma ich odpuszczać.

Także i Królowi Jego Miłości, bratu memu<sup>cb</sup> wolno do nas z nowinami i z<sup>cc</sup> innemi potrzebami swemi<sup>cd</sup> słać, a my nie zadzierżywając posłów i posłańców Jego Królewskiej Miłości<sup>ce</sup> prędko odpuszczać i odprawować mamy, nie trzymając ich dalej jednego miesiąca.

A tak ja, Dziambeg Girei car, i gałga carowicz Devlet Girey,<sup>cf</sup> i inni gałgowie po nim będący, i z syny, bracią, murzami, kniaziami, karaczy, ułany, bejami,<sup>cg</sup> i z przełożonemi ludźmi swojemi wszystkiemi<sup>ch</sup> zachować mamy przeciw Jego Królewskiej Miłości i poddanym Jego Królewskiej Miłości, zamkom, miastom, miasteczkom, siólom, uchodom, futorom, pasiekom, i pastwiskom pokój prawdziwy i nieodmienny, i wszystkie rzeczy w tym liście przymiernem<sup>ci</sup> mianowane nienaruszenie trzymać, pełnić, i pomocnym być przeciwko moskiewskiemu i przeciwko każdemu Jego Królewskiej Miłości nieprzyjacielowi, i też wszystkie obowiązki i powinności wyżej opisane<sup>cj</sup> wykonywać skutkiem i samą rzeczą, bez wszystkich<sup>ck</sup> farb, chytrości, i wymówek, na wieczne czasy pod przysięgą naszą, którą czynimy i przyrzekamy Królowi Jego Miłości polskiemu i wielkiemu księciu lithewskiemu, i innych państw gospodarowi, przez imię Boga jedynego i proroka Mahumeta: wałlahi we billahi we tałlahi.<sup>cl</sup> I tego<sup>cm</sup> jeślibyśmy nie uczynili,<sup>cn</sup> tedy Król Jego Miłość polski będzie wolen<sup>co</sup> od tego, co nam z strony swojej obiecuje.

Który to list nasz przymierny pieczęciami<sup>cp</sup> naszemi złotemi zapieczętować kazaliśmy. Datum<sup>cq</sup>...

<sup>bx</sup> In B. erroneously *tobą*.

<sup>by</sup> B. *Dewlet Gireiowi*.

<sup>bz</sup> In B. and C. only.

<sup>ca</sup> B. *tylko w pięciu osobach*.

<sup>cb</sup> B. *mojemu*.

<sup>cc</sup> Missing in B.

<sup>cd</sup> B. *swojemi*.

<sup>ce</sup> B. *Króla Jego Miłości*.

<sup>cf</sup> B. *Dziambeg Girey car, i gałga carewicz Dewlet Girey*.

<sup>cg</sup> B. *biejami*.

<sup>ch</sup> B. *wszystkiemi*.

<sup>ci</sup> B. *wszystkie rzeczy w tym liście przymiernym*.

<sup>cj</sup> B. *wszystkie obowiązki i powinności wyżej opisane*.

<sup>ck</sup> B. *wszystkich*.

<sup>cl</sup> B. *Machometa: wollahi wo billahi wo ttalahi*.

<sup>cm</sup> B. *Czego*.

<sup>cn</sup> B. *czynili*.

<sup>co</sup> B. *wolen będzie*.

<sup>cp</sup> B. *pieczęćmi*.

<sup>cq</sup> B. *Dan*.

Translation:

*The treaty concluded with the Tatar khan, Djanibek Giray:*

*The free khan<sup>2</sup> of the Great Horde, of the Circassians, Nogays, Circassians,<sup>3</sup> and all other Tatar peoples, Djanibek Giray.*

*We announce with our present letter to those present and those of the future that as His Majesty Sigismund III, by the grace of God the king of Poland, the grand duke of Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, Samogitia, Livonia, Kiev, Volhynia, Podlachia [Podlasie], Smolensk, Černihiv, and also the hereditary king of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, ascended, with God's will, the throne of the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and of the lands belonging to it, also I, Djanibek Giray Khan, became the khan of the Crimean Horde; and though initially transgressions happened between us and His Royal Majesty, having recalled my uncle, Ghazi Giray Khan, who had met his excellency Pan Jan Zamoyski, the chancellor and hetman of the Polish Crown, and the troops of His Royal Majesty in Țuțora [Cecora] in the Moldavian<sup>4</sup> land, concluded an agreement and eternal peace with His Royal Majesty through his mediation, and engaged to keep brotherly friendship on his part and on the part of his descendants, I, Djanibek Giray Khan, not making any deviation from the agreement of my uncle, Ghazi Giray Khan, made with His Royal Majesty, having taken counsel with my brother, the qalga Devlet Giray Sultan, with other sultans, our brothers and sons, and with the beys and mirzas, and being grateful for the favor and generosity of our brother, His Majesty Sigismund III, the king of Poland, the grand duke of Lithuania, and the lord of other states, offered [by him] to me through his noble envoy, Krzysztof Krauzowski,<sup>5</sup> have sent to my brother, His Royal Majesty Sigismund III, our present letter of agreement, having registered there all my duties and obligations, confirming the [instrument of] agreement of my uncle, Ghazi Giray Khan, and not making any deviation.*

<sup>2</sup> On the expression *wolny car* ("free khan"), cf. Document 44, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> The Circassians are first referred to by the Polish adjective *czerkieski*, and then by another adjective *petyhorski*; cf. Document 40, n. 6.

<sup>4</sup> In seventeenth-century Polish, the adjective *wołoski/wołoska* (lit. "Wallachian" or "of Wallachia") referred to either Wallachia or Moldavia. In the given case it refers to Moldavia.

<sup>5</sup> On Krzysztof Krauzowski (or Krauszowski), the royal courtier and bailiff (*komornik*), see Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 244–253. Sent to the Crimea in the spring of 1622 along with Djan Anton Spinola, the returning Crimean envoy (cf. Document 45, n. 8), Krauzowski took along the present formula of document expected from the khan (on the question whether he was also provided with a royal instrument of peace, see n. 383 in Part I). During Krauzowski's sojourn in the Crimea, in the spring of 1623 Djanibek Giray was dethroned and replaced by Mehmed III Giray. The new khan received Krauzowski and sent him back to Poland in September 1623, yet without an expected instrument of peace that was issued only the following year and differed from the royal formula (see Document 48).



Thus, first of all I, Djanibek Giray Khan, and my brother, the *qalga* Devlet Giray Sultan, and other *qalgas* who will come after him, along with my sons and brothers, and the mirzas, princes,<sup>6</sup> *qaraçıs*, ulans, beys, and those commanding over places and people (both military and all my other people), and with all my people, and the Nogay people who are allied and united with me, being the loyal friend of our brother, His Majesty Sigismund III, the king of Poland, the grand duke of Lithuania, and the lord of other states, and truly regarding His Majesty the king of Poland, the grand duke of Lithuania, and the lord of other states, and the people of His Royal Majesty as our friends, and the enemies of His Royal Majesty as our enemies, will not harm, raid, or capture anybody [from among his] Lords Councilors, nobles, and subjects, [or any] castles, towns, boroughs, villages, estates, people, herds, or goods. On the contrary, I, Djanibek Giray Khan, and my brother, the *qalga* Devlet Giray Sultan, and other *qalgas* who will come after him, and my sons, brothers, princes, mirzas, *qaraçıs*, ulans, beys, commanders, and all my people, and the Nogays, who are with me and with whom I am on friendly terms, should keep sincere and loyal peace with the people of our brother, His Majesty Sigismund III, the king of Poland and the grand duke of Lithuania, without raiding or sending raiders to the states, towns, castles, and lands of His Majesty, the king of Poland, the grand duke of Lithuania, and the lord of other states, causing any damage or harm; and we should not raid or invade the lands of His Majesty, the king of Poland and the grand duke of Lithuania, [extending] as far as the Black Sea. And my people and troops, while heading for any campaigns or wars of anybody,<sup>7</sup> should not pass through the land and states of His Royal Majesty, nor should they even graze them [i.e., touch the frontiers].<sup>8</sup>

And as my ancestors, the former Tatar khans, were to raid the Muscovian land whenever Their Majesties, the ancient Polish kings, needed and requested, and retake and restore [to them] the castles that had belonged [to them], along with all their lands and profits, and moreover, they were to raid any other enemies of His Majesty Sigismund III, the king of Poland, the grand duke of Lithuania, and the lord of other states, whenever His Royal Majesty needed and requested, also [now] I, Djanibek Giray Khan, and my brother, the *qalga* Devlet Giray Sultan, and other *qalgas* who will come after him, along with my sons, brothers, mirzas, beys, *qaraçıs*, ulans, and people should do likewise. And I will do it sincerely and truly, without any excuses or delay, by raiding

<sup>6</sup> The Polish term *kniaziemi* (*kniaziowie* in the nominative) apparently refers to the beys, traditionally referred to in Ruthenian sources as *knjazi*. Yet, beys are also mentioned below as *bejowie* (*bejami* in the ablative).

<sup>7</sup> An obvious reference to the Ottoman-Habsburg wars. Called to join the Ottoman troops in Hungary, the Tatars often crossed the Ukrainian lands of Poland-Lithuania.

<sup>8</sup> Thus written in the A. copy. Yet, the B. copy (see n. af above), as well as the analogous fragment in Document 46 reads: "And my troops, while heading for any campaigns or wars of anybody, should not pass through the land, states, or [harass] the people of His Royal Majesty, nor should they even graze them [i.e., touch the frontiers]." The ambivalence regards the word "people," referring either to the Crimean or the Polish subjects.

the Muscovian and any [other] enemy of His Royal Majesty on the request of His Royal Majesty.

And I should behave in a calm and friendly manner towards the Moldavian<sup>9</sup> hospodar,<sup>10</sup> who has been placed [on his throne] according to the will of His Majesty, the king of Poland, and towards the Moldavian land; and I should not act against him or cause any damage to him or the Moldavian<sup>11</sup> land; and I should not bring along to this land any other pretenders to the hospodar's throne,<sup>12</sup> or give them refuge; on the contrary, I should deliver them [to the current Moldavian hospodar]; and I should display benevolence and assist [the current Moldavian hospodar], like I did initially, because Moldavian hospodars should cement and strengthen the friendship and ancient agreement between His Majesty, the Polish king, and the friend of His Royal Majesty, the Turkish emperor.

Moreover, I should display friendship towards any Wallachian<sup>13</sup> hospodar,<sup>14</sup> who would be placed [on his throne] by the agreement of His Royal Majesty with His Majesty, the Turkish emperor.

We have mutually forgiven all the transgressions that have happened between His Royal Majesty and us until the present time, assuring His Majesty, the king of Poland, that in the future I will compensate them by my constant goodwill and good faith. Neither should I reclaim any indemnity in my name or in the name of my subjects from His Royal Majesty or His Royal Majesty's subjects. And I should not demand any past gifts from His Royal Majesty, because our mutual agreement begins from now on.

Also, as it was practiced in the times of the ancestors of His Majesty, the king of Poland and the grand duke of Lithuania, and is recorded in the agreement between the late King Sigismund and Mengli Giray Khan, I, Djanibek<sup>15</sup> Giray Khan, and my brother, the *qalga* Devlet Giray Sultan, and other *qalgas* who

<sup>9</sup> In the given case the adjective *wołoski* refers to Moldavia; cf. n. 4 above.

<sup>10</sup> This clause is anachronous as it reflects the realities from the earlier decades, when Moldavia was often ruled by Polish clients, especially the members of the Movilă family (cf. Document 46, n. 9); yet, in the years 1621–1623 Moldavia was ruled by Stefan Tomşa II, regarded as pro-Ottoman.

<sup>11</sup> Here Moldavia is referred to more precisely by the Polish adjective *moldawska* ("Moldavian" or "of Moldavia"); cf. notes 4 and 9 above.

<sup>12</sup> The Polish term *hospodarczyk* (*hospodarczyków* in the genitive plural) is a diminutive of the term *hospodar*; it either refers to a hospodar's son or is a pejorative reference to a hospodar. It is translated here as "pretender to the hospodar's throne" as in fact many pretenders to the Moldavian and Wallachian thrones were the sons of former hospodars; for the same clause, cf. Documents 36, 39, 42, 44 (worded somewhat differently), and 46.

<sup>13</sup> Here Wallachia is referred to more precisely (cf. n. 4 above) by the Polish adjective *multański* ("Muntenian" or "of Muntenia"). In early modern Polish sources the geographical term *Multany* (Muntenia, i.e., eastern Wallachia) referred to the whole principality of Wallachia.

<sup>14</sup> This clause is anachronous as it reflects the realities from the earlier decades, when the Polish influence in Wallachia was quite strong (cf. Document 39, n. 14, and Document 46, n. 13); yet, in the years 1620–1623 Wallachia was ruled by Radu Mihnea, regarded as pro-Ottoman.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. n. au above.

will come after him, and my sons and brothers, may come as guests to the land of His Royal Majesty, cultivating good manners and in friendship, provided that His Majesty, the king of Poland, authorizes it and sets [the size of] their retinue. And we should not suffer any harm done to us, our men, or belongings by His Royal Majesty or His Royal Majesty's subjects; on the contrary, they [i.e., we] should be honestly welcomed and respected by His Royal Majesty, and safely return home.

And while we remain in good friendship with His Majesty, the king of Poland, merchants and traders may come and go along with any merchandise from our state to the states of His Majesty, the king of Poland, and from his states to our state and towns; and having paid the customary tolls, they should not suffer any harm from anybody. And if they suffer any harm from anybody, immediate and severe justice should be administered and the damage should be restored.

And His Majesty, the king of Poland and the grand duke of Lithuania, promises certain and inviolable peace to me, Djanibek Giray Khan, my sons, brothers, people, and land, firstly on his own part, and on the part of the Lords Senators of the Crown, and his subjects.

Also, as the ancestors of His Royal Majesty regarded our [enemies], and as our ancestors regarded His Royal Majesty's ancestors' enemies as their proper enemies, he will not assist them [i.e., such enemies].

Moreover, in order to display the generosity of His Royal Majesty towards me, Djanibek Giray, and my servants, so that I be more willing and ready to bring due assistance (as is described above) to His Royal Majesty against all his enemies, His Royal Majesty promises to henceforth give me annual gifts out of his generosity and grace, half in cash and half in goods, just as the old king Sigismund<sup>16</sup> used to do, and send them to Kamieniec by the 1st day of the month of November; and I, Djanibek Giray Khan, should send my envoys to Kamieniec, up to twelve horsemen, and collect them [i.e., the gifts] there on the 1st day of November. Also the khans, who will come after me, should collect the gifts in no other place than Kamieniec. And we will transport [them] to Akkerman and to the Crimea by our horses and carts.

And the bey (starosta)<sup>17</sup> of Kamieniec should host and provide for my envoys, sent by us to collect the gifts, and look after their horses only for two weeks. And if they wish to remain in Kamieniec any longer, they will provide for themselves. However, while we remain in good friendship, I and my brother, the qalga Devlet Giray, may send couriers [posłańców] with news, along with a set retinue numbering only five persons, to His Royal Majesty, and His Royal Majesty should receive them favorably and send them back with an allowance fitting his favor and generosity.

<sup>16</sup> I.e., King Sigismund the Old (r. 1506–1548).

<sup>17</sup> See n. bv above; it is interesting that the Polish chancery used the Turkish term *beg* (an older form of *bey*) in reference to the *starosta* of Kamieniec. The same term, alternatively pronounced as *bek*, also appears in the previous document (cf. Document 46, n. 16).

Also my brother, His Royal Majesty, may send to us envoys and couriers with news and other matters, and we should quickly send them back, not detaining them longer than one month.

Hence I, Djanibek Giray Khan, and the qalga Devlet Giray Sultan, and other qalgas who will come after him, along with my sons, brothers, mirzas, princes, qaraçıs, ulans, beys, and all commanders, engage to maintain true and inviolable peace towards His Royal Majesty and His Royal Majesty's subjects, castles, towns, boroughs, villages, hamlets, farms, apiaries, and pastures, invariably keep and fulfill all the conditions mentioned in the present letter of agreement, assist His Royal Majesty against his Muscovian or any other enemy, and effectively and materially execute all the duties and obligations described above, without any falsity, deceit, or excuses, and forever, [this engagement being made] under our oath that we take and pronounce to His Majesty, the king of Poland, the grand duke of Lithuania, and the lord of other states, by the name of one God and Prophet Muhammad: by God, with God, and through God!<sup>18</sup> And if we do not fulfill it, then His Majesty, the king of Poland, will be free from his promise to us.

And we have ordered to seal our letter of agreement [list przymierny] with our golden seals. Dated...<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> The Arabic formula *vallahi ve billahi ve tallahi* (in Turkish pronunciation) is correctly rendered in the Polish text.

<sup>19</sup> Empty space was left to fill in the date. The royal instruction for Krauzowski was issued on 30 April 1622; therefore we may assume that also the present formula was prepared in the royal chancery in April 1622; cf. Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie*, pp. 245–248. Of course the khan's genuine document would have contained a later date.

DOCUMENT 48 (24 OCTOBER–2 NOVEMBER 1624)  
The *‘ahdname* (*list przymierny*) sent by Khan Mehmed III Giray  
to King Sigismund III

The original document is missing.

Polish translation:<sup>1</sup>

A. AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 65, t. 135, no. 712 (by Samuel Otwinowski).

B. AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 65, t. 135, no. 713 (copied by Crutta).

C. Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 403–410 [old pagination: 387–394].

Przymierny list:

Wielka dzięki i wielka chwała onemu, który wszelkie stworzenie według wolej swej uczyniwszy, człowieka z niszczego prawie stworzywszy żywotem obdarzył, i nad nimi<sup>a</sup> wszytkiem, czyny swojemi przełożył i wywyższył; takie<sup>b</sup> ustawiczne i bez przestanku pozdrowienie niechaj będzie onemu, który jest między rodzajem ludzkim najchwalebniejszy, a z świata tego wybrany; niechaj będzie więc i tym wszytkiem, którzy z jego rodzaju i linii idą, i którzy jego współpracownikami Zakonu były, pozdrowienie i pokój boży niech na wieki nad nimi będzie!

Ponieważ on wszechmocny i możny, wszytek świat żywiący i wszytkim opatrujący, i niepodobne u ludzi rzeczy sprawujący Pan, z niezmiernej swej miłości i możliwości płaszczem panowania i szatą rozkazowania ramiona moje odziewszy, a z wolej swojej koroną głowę swoją<sup>c</sup> ozdobiwszy, stolicę<sup>d</sup> zacności, i częścią pełną moznym dziełem swoim mnie uweselił i pocieszył, a moje zrodzenie z wolej swojej w takim stanie postanowił (jako napisano w Alkoramie<sup>e</sup>): “i poleci ludowi, stworzeniu swemu rząd ziemi” (dawszy im namiestnictwo na ziemi), według tego rozumiem; i przystojnością i sprawiedliwością oszlachciwszy sprawę panowania i rząd rozkazowania, trudne rzeczy sam otwierając (to jest trudności sam uprząając) nam przejrzał i naznaczył według tego pisma, jako mówi Bóg: “będę dawał pragnącym mądrość i rozeznanie, a oni

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<sup>1</sup> The 18th-century copies B. and C. are based on Otwinowski’s 17th-century translation. Hence only their variations that offer an amendment or alternative reading of the text are noted. Yet another copy from the Polish National Library (ms. B. N. Pol. F IV 232), which was known to Bohdan Baranowski (cf. *idem*, *Polska a Tatarszczyzna w latach 1624–1629*, p. 39, n. 48), perished in Warsaw during WW2.

<sup>a</sup> B. and C. *innemi*.

<sup>b</sup> It should rather read *także*.

<sup>c</sup> It should rather read *moję*.

<sup>d</sup> B. and C. *stolicą*.

<sup>e</sup> B. and C. *Alkoranie*.

będą mię wychwalać;" mnie tedy taką łaską nadarzywszy, wodza państwa ojca mego do rąk mi podał.

Patrząc na to, ktokolwiek z przodkami Porty naszej przyjaźń i przyjaćielstwo wiódł, zawierać drzwi przyjaźni naszej takim, i przyjaźni odmawiać nie zdało i nie godziło się. Przeto Wielkiej Ordy i wielkiego państwa, i pól lipciackich,<sup>f</sup> i stolice krymskiej, i wiele Tatarów, i bez liczby Nahayczyków, i prawej strony i lewej strony, i sto tysięcy Tatarów, i wielu w górach siedzących Cerkiesów, i Tatów<sup>g</sup> wielki cesarz i wielki chan, podobny Ferydunowi, zacnością jako słońcem oświecony, możności i sprawiedliwości pełny, najjaśniejszy krymski chan Mechmed Gyraý chan (któremu niech Bóg pomocnikiem będzie i niech go błogosławi na długie czasy!), wielkich państw i wielkich ord ruskemu, pruskiemu, mazowieckiemu, żmudzkiemu, inflanckiemu, kiowskiemu, smoleńskiemu, cirkaskiemu, szwedzkiemu, gottskiemu, vandalskiemu, litowskiemu wielkiemu cesarzowi, bratu naszemu, królowi polskiemu Zygmunтови Trzeciemu, którego sprawy dobre niech mają wywyższenie, i przymierze albo pokój stanowiony niech będzie do dnia sądnego trwały.

Po pozdrowieniu i o zdrowiu brata naszego się pytaniu, przez ten list nasz carski, miłości pełny i uczciwości godny, oznajmujemy, iż cześć i wola nasza do uczynienia pokoju się ściąga, opowiadamy i mówimy, i w tym jednaniu takie postanowienie czynimy, i ono aby jawne wszystkim było chcemy i rozkazujemy:

Przedtym sławni i wielmożni przodkowie nasi, których odpoczynek jest raj, jako Mengili Giray chan z przodkami waszymi, bracie nasz, królu Zygmuncie, z królem Augustem, z sobą się pobratawszy, przymierze i pokój, i przyjaźń uczynili byli; według którego pobratymstwa i przyjaźni listy przymiernemi utwierdzonego zwyczajny skarb abo upominek, część pewną gotowizną, część też w pięknych materiałach, część w innych zwyczajnych towarach z państw waszych na własne wozy włożywszy aż do Krymu, do miejsca mieszkania szczęśliwego naszego, do Bachca Saraia posyłając oddawali. A z temi upominkami idącym, tak samemu posłowi wielkiemu, jako i kupcom, i ludziom inszym z nim będącym w drodze, tak samym, jako i rzeczom, towarom ich żadnej szkody się nie działo. A jeśliby z przygody jaka się stała, nagroda i karanie z przestępników czynione było.

Także sułtan gałdze i muradyn [*sic*] sułtanowi, i inszym, ile ich jest, sułtanom braciej naszej, tak samym, jako i ich urzędnikom, agom podarki<sup>h</sup> posyłano. Więc i przy samym chanie wielkim, znaczniejszym, i na przedzie będącym agom: podskarbiemu, szafarniemu, koniuszemu, nad odźwiernemi starszemu, spiżarnemu, pisarzowi dywańskiemu, i inszym potrzebnym ludziom, których w liczbie jest dwanaście, podarki zawsze posyłane bywały. Więc begom i murzom przednim także posyłano. Takim tedy sposobem każdego roku upominki gdy oddawane bywały, z gruntu i mocno przymierzu i pokojowi uczciwość

<sup>f</sup> Evidently it should read *kipciackich* or rather *kipczackich*.

<sup>g</sup> In C. erroneously corrected to *Tatarów*; in B. *Tatarów*. Apparently the 18th-century scribes were not familiar with the term *Tat* (cf. n. 8 below).

<sup>h</sup> In B. and C. erroneously corrected to *podatki*.

czyniona była. Zatym obuch państw ubodzy i poddani w pokoju byli, i nad Dnieprem z obu stron będący Tatarowie i Nachaycy nasi dniewrową wodę pijąc, trawę pasąc, w pokoju władzej cesarskiej posłuszni będąc siedzieli. Kozacy też dniewrowi w pokoju siedząc, zawsze najjaśniejszego cesarza w uczciwości mając, przeciwko wolej jego nic nie czynili.

Takim że sposobem mało przedtym, wspomnienia godnym Gazy Gierey chanem (który niech odpoczynek ma w raju!) w ziemi wołoskiej na Czechorze przez sprawę i śródskowanie naonczas będącego hetmana i kanclerza waszego, bracie nasz królu Zygmuncie, postanowienie i pokój uczynione było. Zaczyn i list przymierny według dawnego zwyczaju dany był, w którym część gotowizną tak wiele tysięcy czerwonych,<sup>i</sup> część towary, część też materiałami pięknymi na wozy swoje włożywszy, do Dzian Kermana przyniószy, na drugą stronę o przywiezieniu tego znać dawali.

My teraz temże kształtem i takim że obyczajem ten list nasz przymierny posyłając, postanowienie przez zacne i czcigodne przodki nasze, Mengili Giray chana i Dewleta<sup>j</sup> Giray chana z przodkami waszemi, z królem Augustem uczynionemu, jako oni koło tego pokoju chodząc uczciwość przymierzu czynili, tak i ja uczciwość czynić chcę i pozwalam. A jako wy, bracie nasz, Zygmuncie królu, z Gazy Gierey chanem wspomnienia godnym przez kanclerza swego braterstwa i przyjaźń uczyniliście byli, takież że<sup>k</sup> więcej ja, wielki chan Mechmed Girey chan z wami, bratem naszym królem Zygmuntem, od dzisiejszego dnia przyjaźń i braterstwo czynię, stanowią, i trzymać chcę. Na toż i list przymierny daję i opowiadam:

Naprzód że wy, bracie nasz, królu Zygmuncie macie być w zgodzie i dobrej przyjaźni z najjaśniejszym cesarzem i państwem musułmańskim, więc wołoskiej ziemi, i multańskiej, bielгородowej, Thechymej,<sup>l</sup> Kiliej, i inszym miejscach aby żadna szkoda od was i od ludzi waszych aby nie była. Kozacy także wasi z Niepru aby czajkami na Czarne Morze wychodząc szkód nie czynili, i aby mimo Oczaków żadna czajka już nie przychodziła. Krymskiemu państwu także aby się od Kozaków szkoda nie działa.

Więc roku podłe roku zwyczajny skarb, to jest upominki, tak nam samym, jako i agom, urzędnikom naszym wyżej mianowanym, i inszym do tego przynależącym, których wszystkich w liczbie dwanaście, murzom także i przednim begom, więc sułtan gałdze Sachyn Giereiowi, i muradym [sic] sułtanowi, i inszym sułtanom braciej naszej, i potom będącym, i ich agom podarki aby oddawane były.

Jeśli tedy według tego i według zwyczaju dawnego uczciwość przymierzu czynić będziecie, ja też, wielki chan Mechmet Girey chan tak osobą swą, jako ze wszystkim niezwyciężonym wojskiem naszym, i wybornym w męstwie bratem naszym Sahin Gieriem gałą, i muradyn sułtanem, i z inszemi małemi i wielkimi sułtanami, i wybranymi do rządu przednimi begami, i murzami krymskimi, nachajskimi, i ze wszystkimi w Krymie mieszkającymi znacznymi i przedniejszymi ludźmi, i poddanymi naszymi, i wojski nachajskimi, i ze

<sup>i</sup> B. and C. *czerwonych złotych*.

<sup>j</sup> B. and C. *Dewlet*.

<sup>k</sup> Strangely spelled: *takiesze że*; in B. and C. "corrected" to *takie ja też*.

<sup>l</sup> *Sic*; it should read *Techyniej*.

wszyscy, którzykolwiek posłuszeństwo swe nam oddają, na się bierzem i podejmujemy się, wkładając to na swoją głowę, iż do tego czasu waszym wsiom, osadom, miasteczkom pokój od nich będzie, i wpadać, ani nieprzyjaźni żadnej okazować będą, i aż do samego Czarnego Morza wojska żadne, ani Tatarzyn widzian nie będzie, bośmy już wam, bracie królu Zygmuncie na długo bratem zostali; i przyjacielowi przyjacielem waszemu,<sup>m</sup> a nieprzyjacielowi nieprzyjacielem jestem: przyjaciel wasz, przyjaciel nasz, a nieprzyjaciel wasz, i nas nieprzyjaciel.

Więc pojawi li<sup>n</sup> się też jaki nieprzyjaciel, a ode mnie pomocy potrzebowałibyście, ile będzie potrzeba wojska pošemy. Nam też będzie li trzeba, wy także, bracie nasz, wojska swego pošecie.

Więc tak od was do nas, jako i od nas do was posłowie i kupcy niech przechodzą, a przechodzącym w dobry obyczaj żadna szkoda tak samym, jako i rzeczom dźać się nie będzie. Jeśliby się też z przygody szkoda jaka stała, tak u was jako i u nas, złoczyńce wynalezszy, rzeczy powracawszy z nagrodą, bez miłosierdzia karać.

Z obu stron tedy napisanym artykułom uczciwość<sup>o</sup> potrzeba. Jeśliby też nam osobą naszą lub bratu naszemu sułtanowi gdzie z wojskiem iść, abo wojsko przyszło pošać, przez Polskę ani przez państwa wasze, aby osady i wsi wasze nie były spustoszone i podeptane, chodźć nie mamy.

Owa,<sup>p</sup> krótko mówiąc, od wojsk tatarskich, krymskich, i nachayskich państwom waszym, królu Zygmuncie Trzeci, szkoda nie będzie się dźiała.

Ten tedy list przymierny, i w nim z początku aż do końca napisane i oznaczone sprawy, i artykuły, i punkta mocno, nienaruszenie, do skończenia dni moich trzymać obiecuję, i na Boga wszechmocnego, Boga miłosiernego, i na Proroka naszego przysięgą utwierdzamy. A żeby to ważniej było, ręką swą własną i braterską pieczęć przycisnęliśmy. Zatym pokój boży dobrym.

Pisan we śródku miesiąca mucherren<sup>q</sup> nazwanego, tysięcznego trzydziestego czwartego roku, to jest w pośrodku samego miesiąca stycznia tysiąc sześćset dwudziestego piątego roku.

Na pieczęci: Sułtan Mechmed Giray chan,  
syn Sachadet Girey chana

Translation:

*The letter of agreement:*

*Let the great gratitude and great praise be pronounced to the One, who created all creatures according to His will, and who, having created a man from nothing, endowed him with life and placed him above all his creatures; and let the permanent and unending salutation be pronounced to the one, who is*

<sup>m</sup> B. and C. *waszym*.

<sup>n</sup> B. and C. *pojawiłby*.

<sup>o</sup> In B. and C. corrected: *uczciwości*.

<sup>p</sup> In B. and C. corrected: *owo*.

<sup>q</sup> B. *mucharem*; C. *mucherrem*.



the most praiseworthy among mankind and the chosen from this world;<sup>2</sup> also, let the salutation and divine peace be upon all his descendants and those, who assisted him in [designing his] Law!

As He, the Lord, is almighty and powerful, nourishes and provides for the whole world and makes things unthinkable for humans, from His unlimited love and might He dressed my shoulders with the robe of reign and gown of sovereignty, and from His will He embellished my head, being the seat of righteousness, with a crown, raising my spirit with His powerful act; and, as I understand it, He thus [pre]ordered my birth by his will (as is written in the Koran<sup>3</sup>): “and He will entrust the people, whom He created, with the rule of earth”<sup>4</sup> (by giving them the lieutenancy on earth<sup>5</sup>); and having ennobled the matters of reign and the administration of sovereignty with decency and justice, having opened difficult issues (that means having smoothed away difficulties<sup>6</sup>) before us, He foresaw and assigned, according to the Writing, as God says: “I will give wisdom and experience to those who desire it, and they will praise me;”<sup>7</sup> having thus endowed me with such grace, He put the reins of my father’s state into my hands.

Having seen, who used to remain in friendship and amity with the ancestors of our Porte [i.e., our ancestors], we did not consider proper or seemly to close the gate of friendship and refuse [our] friendship to such [ancient friends]. Therefore [I,] the great emperor and great khan of the Great Horde and great state, the Kipchak Steppe, the Crimean throne, numerous Tatars and innumerable Nogays, the right side and the left side, one hundred thousand Tatars, numerous Circassians dwelling in the mountains, and the Tats,<sup>8</sup> the illustrious Crimean khan Mehmed

<sup>2</sup> The adjectives “praiseworthy” (Ar. *muhammad*) and “chosen” (Ar. *mustafa*) are obvious references to the two names of Prophet Muhammad.

<sup>3</sup> This explanation, written in parentheses in the Polish text, is apparently by the translator, Samuel Otwinowski.

<sup>4</sup> I was unable to find a Koranic fragment that would entirely match Otwinowski’s translation. The closest would be the fragment of the 165th verse of the 6th sura: وهو الذى جعلكم خلائف الارض (“He is the One, who made you lieutenants [lit. caliphs] of earth”), or perhaps the fragment of the 14th verse of the 10th sura: ثم جعلناكم خلائف فى الارض (“We made you lieutenants [lit. caliphs] on earth”); cf. Muhammad F. ‘Abd al-Baqi, *al-Mu’jam al mufahras li-alfaz al-Qur’an al-Karim*, p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> In this entry, again written in parentheses in the Polish text, Otwinowski apparently offered the reader his explanation of the above Koranic quotation.

<sup>6</sup> Yet another Otwinowski’s explanation, written in parentheses in the Polish text.

<sup>7</sup> Again, I was unable to find a Koranic fragment that would entirely match Otwinowski’s translation. The closest would be the fragment of the 269th verse of the 2nd sura: يوتى الحكمة من يشاء (“He giveth wisdom to whom He pleaseth”), or perhaps the fragment of the 12th verse of the 31st sura (referring to Lokman, the legendary sage): ولقد اتينا لقمان لحكمة ان اشكر لله [thy] gratitude to God!); cf. Muhammad F. ‘Abd al-Baqi, *al-Mu’jam al mufahras li-alfaz al-Qur’an al-Karim*, pp. 213–214.

<sup>8</sup> The term *Tat* appears already in the eighth-century Turkic Orkhon inscriptions denoting “a subjected foreign people.” In the seventeenth-century Crimean context it probably denoted various peoples of foreign (i.e., non-Turkic) origin living under the khan’s rule, especially the Greeks, Italians, and the remnants of the Goths and Alans inhabiting the mountainous southern section of the Crimea; cf. Edmond Schütz, “The *Tat* people in the Crimea,” pp. 77–84 and 89–97; Mary Ivanics, “Formal and

Giray Khan (may God assist and bless him for a long time!), similar to Feridun,<sup>9</sup> enlightened with righteousness like with sunlight, full of power and justice, [hereby announce] to our brother, the great emperor of the great states and great hordes: Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, Samogitia, Livonia, Kiev, Smolensk, Čerkasy, of the Swedes, Goths, Vandals, and of Lithuania, the king of Poland, Sigismund the Third (may his affairs be well elevated<sup>10</sup> and may the established agreement and peace last till the Day of Judgment!):

After we have greeted our brother and asked about his health, we announce by our present monarchic letter, full of amity and sincerity, that our devotion and will is directed towards accomplishing peace, [hence] we narrate and communicate, and reach the following decision, and we want and command that it be known to everybody:

Previously our famous and mighty ancestors, who rest in paradise, such as Mengli Giray Khan, commenced brotherhood, agreement, peace, and friendship with your, our brother King Sigismund, ancestors, [such as] King Augustus;<sup>11</sup> according to that brotherhood and friendship, confirmed by the letters of agreement, they used to send customary treasure[s] or gift[s], partly in cash, partly in beautiful textiles, partly in other customary goods, from your states as far as to the Crimea, to our prosperous seat in Baghchasaray, having loaded them on their own carts.<sup>12</sup> And those traveling with the gifts, the great envoy, merchants, and other people in his retinue, were not harmed in any way nor were their property or goods damaged. And if any [damage] occurred by accident, it was compensated and the wrongdoers were punished.

Moreover, presents used to be sent to the qalga sultan, the nureddin, and other sultans, our brothers, whatever their number, both to them and their officials, the aghas. Also, presents used to be sent to the major, prominent,

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linguistic peculiarities of 17th century Crimean Tatar letters addressed to princes of Transylvania,” pp. 217–218; Alexander Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea*, p. 193. In the now lost original document in Turkish, the reference to the Tats was probably accompanied by a reference to the Tavgaches, like in the later Crimean documents and in the almost contemporary *şartname* sent by Mehmed III Giray to Moscow, dated 11 September 1624; cf. RGADA, f. 123, op. 2, no. 36; published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskogo xanstva*, p. 21 (the Turkish copy reads: *Tat bile Tavgaçnıy*, whereas in the contemporary Russian translation both terms are left out as they were apparently unknown to the translator; cf. *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij*... Edited by F. Laškov, p. 47). Otwinowski seems to have been familiar with the term *Tat*, but not with *Tavgaç*, so he left it out. On the Tavgaches, see Document 49, n. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Feridun was the legendary ancient Persian hero and king.

<sup>10</sup> This might be an imprecise translation of the standard Arabic formula *hutimet ‘avakibühü bi’l-hayr* (“may his latter moments end with good!”), typically entered by Muslim chanceries after the names of non-Muslims and expressing the hope in their conversion to Islam.

<sup>11</sup> The examples of Khan Mengli Giray and King Sigismund Augustus do not match chronologically as the first one died in 1515 while the second was born in 1520. Yet, Sigismund Augustus’ contemporary, Devlet Giray, is mentioned below.

<sup>12</sup> This paragraph refers to the earlier efforts of the Polish court to stipulate that the delivery of the gifts should take place in Kamieniec, Jassy, or Akkerman at the furthest; cf. Documents 36, 39 (n. 16), 42, 46 and 47.

leading aghas in the khan's retinue: the treasurer,<sup>13</sup> the bookkeeper,<sup>14</sup> the master of the horse,<sup>15</sup> the head doorkeeper,<sup>16</sup> the butler,<sup>17</sup> the scribe of the divan,<sup>18</sup> and other indispensable men, who amount to twelve. They also used to be sent to the leading beys and mirzas. When gifts were delivered each year in this way, the agreement and peace was thoroughly and firmly respected. Hence the poor and [other] subjects of the two states lived in peace, and our Tatars and Nogays, who dwelled on both sides of the Dnieper, drinking the Dnieper water and grazing, obeyed the imperial authority<sup>19</sup> and remained in peace. Also the Dnieper Cossacks remained in peace, always respecting the illustrious emperor, without any violation of his will.

And also, our brother, King Sigismund, shortly before peace was concluded [with you] by Ghazi Giray Khan (may he rest in paradise!), worthy of remembrance, through the mediation of your hetman and chancellor of that time, in Țuțora [Cecora] in the Moldavian<sup>20</sup> land. Hence, according to the ancient custom, a letter of agreement was issued, in which [a gift] was recorded, partly in cash amounting to thousands of golden [florins], partly in goods, partly in beautiful textiles; [and] having loaded your carts, you brought [all this] to Djankerman [i.e., Očakiv] and sent a message of its arrival across [the Dnieper river].

Now, we send our present letter of agreement in analogous shape and manner, in desire to respect peace and agreement, as the peace and agreement concluded by our upright and respectable ancestors, Mengli Giray Khan and Devlet Giray Khan, with your ancestors, [namely] king Augustus, was respected by them. And as you, our brother, King Sigismund, established brotherhood and friendship with Ghazi Giray Khan, worthy of remembrance, through your chancellor, from now on I, the great khan Mehmed Giray Khan, likewise establish with you, our brother, King Sigismund, even stronger friendship and brotherhood, which I want to keep. And in accordance with that I give a letter of agreement and announce:

<sup>13</sup> Pol. *podskarbi*; apparently a translation of Tur. *hazinedar* or *hazinedar başı*.

<sup>14</sup> Pol. *szafarny*; it probably refers to the *defterdar*. In a list of the prominent aghas who appeared as witnesses before the khan's court in 1681, the *defterdar* figures likewise between the *hazinedar* and the *mirahor*; see St. Petersburg, Rossijskaja nacional'naja biblioteka, font 917 "Kazy-askerskie knigi Krymskogo xanstva," no. 23a, fol. 138b. The quoted court document is admittedly half a century later, but the official hierarchy did not change that fast.

<sup>15</sup> Pol. *koniusz*; apparently a translation of Tur. *mirahor*.

<sup>16</sup> Pol. *nad odźwiernemi starszy*; apparently a translation of Tur. *qapıcı başı*; in the Polish translation of the khan's instrument from 1637, the same term is rendered as *kapudzi baszy*; cf. Document 52, n. 7.

<sup>17</sup> Pol. *spізarny*; apparently a translation of Tur. *kilerci başı*.

<sup>18</sup> Pol. *pisarz dywański*; apparently a translation of Tur. *divan katibi*.

<sup>19</sup> Although both the Crimean khan and the Polish king are referred to in the present document as "emperors," the term "imperial authority" (*władza cesarska*) apparently refers to the Ottoman sultan; cf. the paragraph below where the "illustrious emperor" (*najjaśniejszy cesarz*) is mentioned in relation to Moldavia, Wallachia, and other Ottoman lands.

<sup>20</sup> In seventeenth-century Polish, the adjective *wołoski/wołoska* (lit. "Wallachian" or "of Wallachia") referred to either Wallachia or Moldavia. In the given case it refers to Moldavia.

Firstly that you, our brother, King Sigismund, should live in concord and sound friendship with the illustrious emperor and the Muslim state,<sup>21</sup> therefore no damage should be done by you and your subjects to the lands of Moldavia, Wallachia,<sup>22</sup> Akkerman, Tighina [i.e., Bender], Kilia, and other places. Your Cossacks on their boats should not enter the Black Sea from the Dnieper, and no boat should pass Očakiv. Also the Crimean state should not suffer any damage from the Cossacks.

Moreover, each year the customary treasure, that is the gifts, should be delivered to us while presents [should be delivered] to our aghas, the officials mentioned above and others [of similar position], who altogether amount to twelve, also to the mirzas and leading beys, moreover to the qalga sultan, Shahin Giray, to the nureddin sultan, and to other sultans, our brothers, as well as their successors, and to their aghas.

And if you respect the agreement according to the above [written clauses] and the ancient custom, also I, the great khan Mehmed Giray Khan, along with all my invincible troops, and our brother, excelling in bravery, the qalga Shahin Giray, and the nureddin sultan, and other younger and older sultans, and the leading beys, chosen to rule, and the Crimean and Nogay mirzas, and all notable and prominent men living in the Crimea, and our subjects, and the Nogay troops, and all, who obey us, we undertake and engage, and we will see to it that for that time your villages, settlements, and boroughs should experience peace from their side, and they [i.e., my subjects] should not invade or display enmity, and no [Tatar] troops and no Tatar should be seen [in the lands extending] as far as the Black Sea, because, [our] brother King Sigismund, we have become your brother for long; and I am a friend of your friend, and an enemy of your enemy: your friend [is] our friend, and your enemy [is] our enemy.

Moreover, if an enemy appears and you need help from us, we will send as many troops as needed. And if we need [your help], you, our brother, will likewise send [us] your troops.

Moreover, let envoys and merchants travel both from your side to our side, and from ours to yours, and no harm should be done to those who travel and respect sound customs, or to their goods. And if any damage occurs by accident, either in your or our [state], the evildoers should be found and punished without mercy, and the [stolen] goods should be restored and compensated.

Hence the registered articles should be respected by both sides. And if we personally, or our brother, the sultan,<sup>23</sup> are to set out with troops or send troops in any direction, we should not march through Poland or your [other] states, so that your settlements and villages should not be devastated and trampled.

Hence, to sum up, oh King Sigismund the Third, your states will not experience any damage from the Tatar, Crimean, and Nogay troops.

<sup>21</sup> I.e., the Ottoman sultan and the Ottoman state; cf. n. 19 above.

<sup>22</sup> Respectively referred to as *ziemia wołoska* and *ziemia multańska*; cf. Document 47, notes 4 and 13.

<sup>23</sup> Apparently a reference to the qalga, Shahin Giray.

*Therefore, I promise to firmly and inviolably keep this letter of agreement [list przymierny] along with the matters, articles, and clauses recorded in it from its beginning to its end, until the end of my days, and we confirm it by the oath made upon the almighty and merciful God and our Prophet. And in order to further raise its validity, we have impressed the seal with our own brotherly hand. Hence the divine peace to the good ones!*<sup>24</sup>

*Written in the second decade<sup>25</sup> of the month named Muharrem of the year 1034, that is in the middle of the month of January of the year 1625.*<sup>26</sup>

*On the seal:* <Sultan><sup>27</sup> Mehmed Giray Khan,  
son of Sa'adet Giray Khan<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> This must be an imprecise translation of the standard Arabic formula *ve's-salam 'ala men ittaba'a'l-Hüda* ("salutation unto whomsoever has followed the right path [i.e., Islam]!"), typically entered by Muslim chanceries at the end of a document; cf. Document 35.

<sup>25</sup> The Polish phrase *we środku* ("in the middle") is an apparent translation of the Turkish term *evasıt* (lit. "the middle") referring to the second, middle decade of a month.

<sup>26</sup> *Sic*; the second decade of Muharrem 1034 A.H. lasted from 24 October till 2 November 1624. The reference to January is an obvious mistake by Otwinowski or a later Polish copyist. Perhaps it refers to the month when the Crimean envoy, Sefer Ghazi Bey, delivered the present document at the royal court. On the identity of the Crimean envoy, not mentioned in the present document, see n. 399 in Part I.

<sup>27</sup> The Turkish inscription apparently read: *Mehmed Gërey Han bin Sa'adet Gërey Han*. In the Crimean Khanate the term *sultan* referred to a prince from the Giray family but it was inappropriate for the khan.

<sup>28</sup> Sa'adet II Giray (r. 1584), the grandson of Devlet Giray and son of Mehmed II Giray, was favored by his father against his uncles and appointed the first nuredin in the Crimean history (cf. Document 44, n. 6). After the deposition and death of Mehmed II Giray, Sa'adet Giray appealed for the Nogay support and temporarily removed his uncle Islam II Giray from the throne. Yet, after a few months of reign he was defeated by the Ottoman troops sent to support Islam II Giray. He took refuge in Astrakhan and died between the years 1587-1591, perhaps killed on the tsar's order due to suspicions of his pro-Ottoman activity among the Nogays; cf. Vinogradov, "Russko-krymskie otnošenija v 1570-1590-x gg.," p. 292.

DOCUMENT 49 (26 SEPTEMBER–5 OCTOBER 1632)  
The *‘ahdname* sent by Khan Djanibek Giray to the Polish king  
[Facs. V]

Original paper document in Turkish (Crimean Tatar mixed with Ottoman Turkish): AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 63, t. 21, no. 481.

89.5 x 35 cm. (2 sheets glued together)

invocation (gold): *divani* script

*tuğra* (gold with blue, green, greyish, and red): 23 x 26 cm.

text (black with gold insertions): *divani* script

the black almond-like seal of Djanibek Giray (1.7 cm. in height) is impressed at the bottom

Published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, pp. 85–88.

Polish 17th-century translation by Samuel Otwinowski: a) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 63, t. 21, no. 482 (copied by Antoni Crutta from the Turkish document's reverse side); b) Bibl. Czart., ms. 611, pp. 491–496; c) Bibl. Czart., ms. 128 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 717–724.

**Hüve at-tavfiq an-nasir al-mübin**

**Canibek Gërey Han sözümüz**

- [1] Uluğ orda ve uluğ yurtnın ve taht-i Qırımın ve Deşt-i Qıpçaqnın ve sansız hem Tatarın ve sağışsız köp Nogaynın ve tağ çığlay Çerkesnin ve Tat bile Tavgaçnın
- [2] ve din-i mübin ve islam-i din-i mü'mininin **uluğ padişahı** ve uluğ **hanı** 'azametlü **Canibek Gërey Han hazretlerinin edame'llahu ta'ala** ila yevmi'l-mizan eyyam-i nusretindin
- [3] uluğ orda ve uluğ yurtnın ve köp memleketlernin ve köp Hristyannın uluğ padişahı **qarındaşım Lëh qıralı bolğan** qıral musadaqat-iştimal hazretlerine köpdin köp selam
- [4] qılıp nedir haliniz yahşımış hoşmısz deb<sup>a</sup> haliniz ve hem hatırıñuz sorğanımızdan sonra muhabbet birle i'lam-i yarlıg-i şerif ve ifham-i tebliğ-i 'ahdname-i münif oldur ki bundan
- [5] burun vezirimiz Mehemmed Ağaya Bar hetmanıñuzdan bir niçe kerre mektub bile siz qardaşımız tarafındin uzun uzaq 'ömr-i ahırğaça barış yarış bolurğa bildirgen ekendir
- [6] ağamız Mehemmed Ağa dahi hetmanıñuzğa hat yazıp öz ayiniñizce uluğ sem qılıb barça yurt beyleriñüz bile kengeş kılğaynıñuzdansonra qıral hazretlerindin icazet alıb

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<sup>a</sup> It can be also read *deyib*.

- [7] söziñüz qatar bulduqdansonra çin söz bile yahşı kişiñüz yibergeysiz taqı burunğı ‘adet üzere uluğ hazinemizni yiberip Öziden qazaqlarınuznı çıkarıp min ba’d dahi
- [8] Öziğe qazaqlarınıznı salmağaysız işbu ‘ahd üzere muhkem turup bizni inandırğaysız biz dahi han hazretleri efendimizge ‘arz qılıp yahşılıqğa çalışırmız degen
- [9] birbirleri bile aralarında söz bolğan mektubları barğan kəlgen ekendir hala Bar hetmanıñuz Kinas İstanislaw Polisqav<sup>b</sup> dan ağamız Mehmed Ağaya hat kəlip
- [10] hattında yazıdır kim qıral hazretleri yanına bardım yurt beylerinden barçaları bile söyleşdim uluğ sem bile qavl alışdım sa’adetli han hazretleri bile uzun
- [11] uzaq barış yarış bolıp uluğ hazineni yiberib dostuñuzğa dost tüşmanıñuzğa tüşman bolıp Özüden qazaqlarnı çıkardım barça hidmetni başa tefviz
- [12] ve sifariş qıldılar qıral sözi beyler sözi ve re’ayamız sözi ve barça yahşılıq sözlerni bizdin bilgeysiz han hazretlerine bildirgeysiz dep tafsil etken
- [13] sebebli vezirimiz ve hem qapu ağamız bolğan Mehmed Ağa dame iqbālühü dahi devlet ayağımuza baş urub hetmanıñuz sözün bildirmegin mən uluğ Canibek Gərey Han hazretlerimiz
- [14] siz uluğ qardaşımız qıral hazretleri bile uzun uzaq ‘ömr-i ahırğaça dost olmaqnı ma’qul körüb ağamız Mehmed Ağa Bar hetmanıñuzğa i’tiqad etken sebebli barışlıqnı
- [15] qabul qılıp siz qardaşımız hatırasıyçün vilayetiñüzge cavlay varacak Qırım ‘askerimizni Masqav<sup>c</sup> memleketlerine yiberdik Allahu tebareke ve ta’ala ‘amme nevalühü ve tevali hazretleri ‘inayeti
- [16] bile ol ‘askerimiz mansur olub gənaım-i bi-şümarla sağ ve salim ve toq-i doyum vilayetimüze kəldiler Bar hetmanıñuz sözünçe siz qardaşımız qıral hazretleri huzuruñuzğa barışub
- [17] qıdvətü’l-ümera’i’l-kiram zübdetü’l-kübera’i’l-fıham içki beylerimizden Külük oğlanları soyundan İbrahim Bey dame iclalühünü uluğ elçi başı qılıb tət bahşısı bile yiberdim
- [18] ve buyurdum ki mən uluğ padişah Canibek Gərey Han hazretleri bile uzun uzaq ‘ömr-i ahırğaça dost qarındaş bolurday bolsañuz burunğı ‘adet üzere uluğ
- [19] hazinemizden kamil beş yıllık hazinemizni yibergeysiz taqı Özü qazaqlarınuznı Öziden qarğay ve min ba’d dahi Öziğe qazaqlarınızdan bir qazaq
- [20] kəltürmegeysiz taqı hala qoluñuzda tutsaq tüşken qardaşımız İslam Gərey Sultannı Botqalı<sup>d</sup> tavğa Özüğe kəltürüp bizim qolumuzğa teslim qılğaysız

<sup>b</sup> كِنَاسِ اسْطَبْسِلَاوْ يُولْسَتَاوْ, whereas the first word must be a loanword from Ruthenian term *knjaz*, i.e., “prince”.

<sup>c</sup> مَسْقَاوْ.

<sup>d</sup> بَوْتَقَالِي.

- [21] özge kişiğe vërmegeysiz taqı tüşmanımız Şahin Gërey Özü qazağınuza barğan sebebli vilayetimizde bolğan işler ma'lumunuz dur Haq ta'ala 'inayet qılup
- [22] feth ve nusret bizim bolub tüşmanımız hor ve haqir boldılar daima dostlarımız mesrur tüşmanlarımız maqhur bolmaqdan hali bolmağay ihtimaldır ki Şahin
- [23] Gërey ya Özü qazağına barsa Özü qazağından alıp veya siz qardaşımızğa barsa öziñüz tutıp mën uluğ padişah Canibek Gërey Han hazretlerimize
- [24] vërgeysiz taqı her qanda bizim tüşmanımız olsa yardım qılıb 'asker lazım bolsa 'asker bile hazine lazım bolsa hazine bile yardım qılğaysız hetmanınız sözünçe
- [25] i'tiqad qılıp siz qardaşımız işbu yazılğan hatçe sabit-qadem bolşunuz mën uluğ padişah dahi öz sözümde sabit-qadem bolub turdum taqı uluğ elçi başımız
- [26] bolğan İbrahim Bey têt bahşığa ant qılıb inandırdım İbrahim Bey menin özüm sözi sözüm 'ahdi 'ahdim şartı şartım dır barça her ni türlüğ söz söylerdey
- [27] bolsa taqı siz qardaşım qıral hazretleri barışlıq için ni söz sorarday bolşunuz İbrahim Bey benim tarafımdan cevap vërse i'tiqad êtkeysiz
- [28] ol sözler barçası benim sözüm dür taqı işbu 'ahdname-i hümayun ve şartname-i mü'ebbed-maqrunumça şart ve peymanıma bütün bolib qardaşım qalğa Mehmed Gërey
- [29] Sultanı ve oğlum nureddin Mübarek Gërey Sultanı barça qulları ve barça Qırım 'askeri bile boynuma aldım taqı Qırım beylerimizden Şirin begi
- [30] qaraçımızını barça qardaşları bile ve Manqıt begi qaraçımız barça qardaşları bile taqı Arğın begimiz qardaşları ve Secevit begi qardaşları bile
- [31] ve Barın begi qardaşları bile ve ulan küyênleri<sup>e</sup> uruğ daruğaları bile ve gayr yaman yahşı barça vilayetimiz kişilerin boynuma aldım siz
- [32] qardaşımız vilayetine ve memleketlerine tüşman bolib 'asker çekib bar-maslar ve cav bolıp hergiz yamanlıq qılmaslardır inşa'a'llahu ta'ala sözüm söz 'ahdim 'ahd olub
- [33] işbu 'ahdnamemizni vërdim ma damki siz qardaşımızdan hilaf olmaya ve hetmanınız sözünden başqa söz olmaya bu taraftan hilaf olmaq ihtimali yoqdur
- [34] her yıl sayın uluğ elçi başınız bile hatasız uluğ hazinemizni özümüzge ve qapumuzda hidmetimizde bolğan erbab-i mansıb ki vezirimiz Mehmed Ağa

<sup>e</sup> اولان کویئلاری (cf. اولان کویئلاری in line [36] below and in line [13] in Document 60). On the *ulans*, who claimed the Genghisid lineage, see n. 348 in Part II. The second term is perhaps a misspelled form of the Persian word *keyan* (sing. *key*), i.e., "princes," which already figures in Document 35 (*ulan keyan*, i.e., "the *ulan* princes"). Yet, the term *küyên/küyen* might also derive from Mongolian *küy*, recorded in the Arabic script (کوی) in Kowalewski's dictionary and explained in French as *race* or *famille* and in Russian as *rodstvo*, *familija*, *semejstvo*, or *plemja*; see Józef Kowalewski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*, vol. 3 (Kazan, 1849), pp. 2554–2555. I owe this suggestion to Henryk Jankowski. Hence, the expression *ulan küyenleri* is translated below as "the *ulans*' clan members."



- [35] ve hazinedar başımız ve emir-i hor<sup>f</sup> başımız ve qapucı başımız ve defterdarımız ve divan katibimiz ve kilerci başımız ve balcı başımız ve iki tüfengçiler ağalarımız taqı
- [36] mansıbdā bolmağan barça yahşı sayılı ağalarımızğa ve yazılğan yurt beyleri ve ulan küyenleri<sup>g</sup> ve mirzalarımızğa tiyişler ve bölekleri bi` t-temam
- [37] qusursuz yibergeysiz taqı qalğa sultan hazretleriğe barça ağaları bile taqı nureddin sultan hazretleriğe barça ağaları ve qulları bile
- [38] ‘adet [ü] qanun üzere tiyişleri ve bölekleri bile bi` t-temam qusursuz yibergeysiz taqı ana biyim hazretleri ve ulu biyim hazretleriğe hem tiyişleri bi` t-temam
- [39] qusursuz yibergeysiz ve oğlum nureddin sultan validesi hazretlerinin hem tiyişleri taqı burundan elçileri barıp keke turğan ‘adetli kanunlı
- [40] bolğan biyimlerden her qanğisi bolsa elçileri barsa anları saylap ‘adetler-inçe say [ve] ri‘ayet qılğaysız elçi başımızğa têt bahşı bile ri‘ayet édüb
- [41] dost bolurday bolsañız dost bolğaysız tüşman bolurday bolsañız tüşman bolğaysız her qalay öziñüzge qolay kelse alay
- [42] qılıb i‘lam étkeysiz vallahi`l-‘azim ve bi`llahi`l-kerim ma damki siz qardaşım qıral hazretlerindin hilaf bolmağay hetmanıñız sözünçe
- [43] dostluğunuzda muhkem turğaysız bizim tarafımızdan dahi sözümüzde hilaf ve hata bolmastur yahşılıqdan özge nimerse bolmaq ihtimali
- [44] yoqdur dostluqdan ve yahşılıqdan ğayri muradımız bolmay uzun uzaq dost bolub muhabbetlik bile hat bitildi baqi
- [45] ve` d-du‘a ‘ala men ittaba‘a`l-Hüda tahriren fi evasiti şehri Rebi‘i`l-evvel seneti isna ve erba‘in ve elf seneti 1042

bi-maqami  
Bağcesaray  
el-mahruse  
sahh

### Canibek Gërey Han bin Mübarek Gërey Sultan<sup>h</sup>

Translation:

*He, the Guidance, the Helper, the Manifest!*

[tuğra] *Djanibek Giray Khan: our word:*

*From his excellency, the great padishah and great khan of the Great Horde and great country [yurt], the Crimean throne, the Kipchak Steppe, innumerable*

<sup>f</sup> Written with strange orthography: امير خوار.

<sup>g</sup> Here written with only one *ya*: اولان کوبلاری. For a tentative interpretation of the word *küyen*, see n. e above.

<sup>h</sup> Text of the seal.

Tatars and countless Nogays, mountain Circassians, Tats and Tavgaches,<sup>1</sup> and of the faithful of the manifest religion of Islam, great Djanibek Giray Khan (may God—may He be exalted!—prolong his [i.e., my] victorious days until the Day of Judgment!), to the great emperor [padišah] of the great horde [orda] and great country [yurt], and many dominions and many Christians, his excellency, who induces friendly feelings, my brother, the king of Poland: after having expressed great many salutations and inquired about your condition and health by asking: “how are you?,” “do you feel well?” and “are you doing well?,” the message of the noble yarlıq, associated with affection, and the explanation of the transmission of the illustrious ‘ahdname is that:

Previously your hetman of Bar<sup>2</sup> announced in a few letters to our vizier, Mehmed Agha, your wish, our brother, to keep a long lasting peace and companionship until the end of our lives. Also our agha, Mehmed Agha, wrote a letter to your hetman, saying: “according to your custom, you should hold a great Diet<sup>3</sup> and take counsel with all the lords of your country [yurt]; then, after you receive an approval of his excellency, the king, and take your decision, you should send your true word through a worthy man; moreover, according to the ancient custom, you should send our [i.e., owed to us] great treasure [uluğ hazine], you should expel your Cossacks from the Dnieper, and hereafter, you should not let your Cossacks go to the Dnieper; you should ensure that you will firmly keep the present engagement, and we, too, will work for the good and submit our request [to this effect] to his excellency, the khan, our lord;”—the letters containing such words circulated between them from one to the other.

<sup>1</sup> On the Tats, see Document 48, n. 8, where this term figures separately (or rather the term Tavgaches was left out by the Polish translator). The earliest known reference to the Crimean khan as the ruler of the Tats and Tavgaches can be found in the *šartname* sent by Khan Mehmed III Giray to Moscow in September 1624 (its contemporary Arabic script copy is preserved in RGADA, f. 123, op. 2, no. 36, fol. 5a; published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, pp. 20–24, esp. p. 21). In the Old Turkic context the term *Tabyač* or *Tavyač* referred to a Mongolian speaking tribe in northern China, while in the Karakhanid state it referred to Central Asia. It is doubtful whether the term *Tavgač*, adopted by the Crimean chancery in the 17th century, referred to any ethnic or religious group. It rather stressed the dynasty’s historical roots, harmonizing in juxtaposition with the word *Tat*; cf. Edmond Schütz, “The *Tat* people in the Crimea,” pp. 98–100 (the author overlooked the earliest reference from 1624 and attributed the introduction of the formula “Tats and Tavgaches” to Djanibek Giray); Mary Ivanics, “Formal and linguistic peculiarities of 17th century Crimean Tatar letters adressed to princes of Transylvania,” pp. 217–218. The vague meaning of the formula, not referring in the Crimean context to any specific ethno-religious community, is confirmed by an entry in *Drevnetjurkskij slovar’*, where the expression *tat tavyač* is explained as *vsjacie inozemcy* (“all kinds of aliens”); see *Drevnetjurkskij slovar’*, p. 541.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., Stanisław Koniecpolski, whose military headquarter was the Podolian fortress of Bar.

<sup>3</sup> The Tatar term *sem* must origin from the Polish *sejm* (“Diet”).

Now, a letter came from your hetman of Bar, Prince Stanisław Koniecpolski, to our agha, Mehmed Agha, stating and explaining: "I went to his excellency, the king; I spoke with all the lords of the country and reached an agreement with the great Diet. I have resolved to keep the long lasting peace and companionship with his excellency, the prosperous khan, send the great treasure, be a friend to your friend and an enemy to your enemy, and expel the Cossacks from the Dnieper.<sup>4</sup> They [i.e., the king and the Diet] committed and commissioned to me all these tasks. You should know [this as] the word of the king, lords, and our subjects, [you should know] that we wish [you] well and you should let his excellency, the khan, know about it;" as consequently our vizier, who is also our court agha, Mehmed Agha (may his prosperity be lasting!), prostrated<sup>5</sup> before our prosperous feet and let us know the word of your hetman, I, our excellency, the great Djanibek Giray Khan, found [the notion of] keeping a long lasting friendship with your royal excellency, our great brother, until the end of our lives, conceivable; and because our agha, Mehmed Agha, trusted your hetman, I accepted the peace; and for the sake of yours, our brother, we sent our Crimean troops, which were to set out in hostility to your country, to the Muscovian dominions [instead]. By the grace of His Excellency, God (may He be blessed and exalted!), whose beneficence is universal and continuous, those troops were victorious and came [back] to our country with innumerable spoils, safe and sound, and satiated with booty.

Persuaded by your hetman of Bar, in order to make peace with you, your royal excellency, our brother, I have appointed Ibrahim Bey<sup>6</sup> (may his glory be lasting!), the model of noble commanders and the cream of illustrious dignitar-

<sup>4</sup> Although the fragment *uzun uzaq barış yarış bolib uluğ hazineni yiberib dostuñuzğa dost tüşmanuñuzğa tüşman bolib Özüden qazaqlarnı cıqardım* (lit. "keeping the long lasting peace and companionship [with his excellency, the prosperous khan], having sent the great treasure, and being a friend to your friend and an enemy to your enemy, I expelled the Cossacks from the Dnieper") is written in the past tense, it evidently refers to the future. According to the present document the gifts were still overdue for the past five years (see below). Moreover, in spite of Koniecpolski's genuine efforts to restrain the Cossacks, a statement of their expulsion from the Dnieper would be far from the reality. In his original letter the hetman could only promise to send gifts and expel the Cossacks after the conclusion of a new peace. Therefore the above fragment is translated here: "I have resolved to keep the long lasting peace and companionship with his excellency, the prosperous khan, send the great treasure, be a friend to your friend and an enemy to your enemy, and expel the Cossacks from the Dnieper;" in analogy, in the seventeenth-century Polish translation by Otwinowski the above sentence is rendered: *U Króla Jego Miłości pana mego byłem, i ze wszystkiemi na sejm walny zgromadzonemi postanowiłem, aby z wielkim carem i chanem krymskim z dawna będąca przyjaźń odnowiona i mocno odtąd zatrzymowana była, i zwykle upominki aby oddawane były, i abyśmy przyjacielowi przyjacielem, a nieprzyjacielowi nieprzyjacielem z obu stron byli, i Kozaków dnueprowych abyśmy zatrzymali*; cf. also n. 12 below.

<sup>5</sup> Lit. "knocked his head [against the ground]."

<sup>6</sup> Ibrahim Bey arrived at Cracow on 1 March 1633; see Baranowski, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie w latach 1632–1648*, p. 18. In other Crimean documents his name was recorded in a shortened form as Ibrash (cf. Document 50); therefore, in the Polish

ies, from among my courtiers [içki beylerimizden] and from among the Külük<sup>7</sup> family, the great envoy [uluğ elçi başı], and sent him to your presence along with his tet and bahşı.<sup>8</sup>

And I have ordered that if you [wish to] keep a long lasting friendship and brotherhood with me, my excellency, the great padishah, Djanibek Giray Khan, until the end of our lives, you should send our [overdue] treasure, owed to us for the full five years, you should expel your Dnieper Cossacks from the Dnieper, and hereafter, you should not let even a single Cossack of yours come to the Dnieper; moreover, you should send to the Dnieper, to the Botqalı mountain,<sup>9</sup> and deliver in our hands our brother, Islam Giray Sultan,<sup>10</sup> who is presently in your hands as a captured prisoner; you should not deliver him to anybody else; moreover, you are aware of the fights in our country that were caused by the arrival of our enemy, Shahin Giray,<sup>11</sup> to your Dnieper Cossacks; as God

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sources he is also known as Ibrasz or Ibraz bej; cf. AGAD, Metryka Koronna, Libri Legationum, no. 32, fol. 110b–112a and 143a.

<sup>7</sup> *Külük oğlanları* (“the sons of Külük”), a prominent Crimean clan, known in the Russian sources as the *Kulikovy* (in the plural; *Kulikov* in the singular); during the reign of Sigismund Augustus, they acted as “protectors” (*hamis*) representing Polish-Lithuanian interests in the Crimea; cf. Vinogradov, *Russko-krymskie otnošenija*, vol. 1, p. 127, n. 58, and *idem*, “<<Moskovskaja partija>> v Krymu v 70–90-x gg. XVI v.,” p. 404; cf. also Document 41, n. 2, and Document 50, n. 12; in 1681, Russian envoys sent to the Crimea listed the Kulikovy among the five most powerful clans along with the Shirins, the Sulesh-oghlu, the Arghins, and the Mansurs (i.e., Manghits); see “Spisok s statejnago spiska [...] Vasil’ja Mixajlova syna Tjapkina, d’jaka Nikity Zotova,” p. 631. The Polish translator of the present document misread the envoy’s name كُولُوك as Gulun and, by treating the title *bey/biy* as an integral part of the name, obtained the form Gulunbi. This corrupt form is repeated in Baranowski; *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie w latach 1632–1648*, p. 18.

<sup>8</sup> On the term *tet*, referring to the first retinue member of a khan’s envoy, see Document 20, n. 27. On the term *bahşı*, referring to a scribe responsible for drawing official documents, see Document 35, n. 21.

<sup>9</sup> Omeljan Pritsak identified the term *Potqal* or *Potqalı* (here *Botqalı*), found in Ottoman sources, with Zaporozhia, i.e., the region on the lower Dnieper situated below the Dnieper rapids; cf. *idem*, “Das erste türkisch-ukrainische Bündnis (1648),” *Oriens* 6 (1953): 266–298, esp. pp. 292–296. The term *Botqalı tav* (lit. “the Botqalı mountain” or rather “the Botqalı mound”) might refer to Karayteben, an elevated spot surrounded by the Dnieper and Kins’ki vody rivers, which in that period served as a traditional place of border exchange (see n. 392 in Part I).

<sup>10</sup> The future khan Islam III Giray was the son of Selamet Giray, hence Djanibek Giray’s cousin. Yet, as Djanibek was adopted by Selamet Giray (cf. n. 13 below), he could treat Islam as his full brother. Islam Giray was captured by the Polish forces during the Tatar raid in 1629. One of the Polish commanders, Stanisław Lubomirski (the former commander-in-chief during the Hotin campaign of 1621 after the death of Jan Karol Chodkiewicz), sent the Tatar prince as a “trophy” to the king, who ordered his imprisonment in the castle of Rawa; see Baranowski, *Polska a Tatarszczyzna w latach 1624–1629*, p. 114. Islam Giray remained in the Polish captivity until 1634; cf. Baranowski, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie w latach 1632–1648*, p. 87.

<sup>11</sup> A reference to the Crimean civil war of 1628–1629, when the Cossacks assisted Mehmed III Giray and his brother and qalga, Shahin Giray, against Djanibek Giray,

(may He be exalted!) extended his grace [to us], the victory and divine assistance belonged to us, and our enemies turned contemptible and despicable; as you should spare no pains to always render our friends joyful and our enemies crushed, while it is likely that Shahin Giray comes [again] to the Dnieper Cossacks or to you, our brother, he should be captured by the Dnieper Cossacks or by you, and you should deliver him to me, the great padishah, my excellency Djanibek Giray Khan; and wherever our enemy appears, you should help [us], if troops are needed, then with troops, and if money [hazine] is needed, then with money; while [I] trust your hetman's words, if you, our brother, firmly observe this written letter, also I, the great padishah, have resolved to firmly observe<sup>12</sup> my own word.

Moreover, I have taken my oath to [i.e., in the presence of] our great envoy, Ibrahim Bey, the tet and the bahşı, ensuring that whatever he would say—Ibrahim Bey's word is my own word, his oath is my oath, and his condition is my condition. Also, if you, your royal excellency, my brother, ask any question regarding the peace, and Ibrahim Bey answers in my name, you should trust that all [his] words are my words.

And, to complete the conditions and engagements of this imperial 'ahdname and perpetual şartname, I have pledged on behalf of my brother, the qalga Mehmed Giray Sultan,<sup>13</sup> and my son, the nureddin Mübarek Giray Sultan, with all their servants and all the Crimean soldiers, and on behalf of our qaraçı, the bey of the Shirins along with all his brothers, and our qaraçı, the bey of the Manghits along with all his brothers, and the brothers of our bey of the Arghins,<sup>14</sup> and the bey of the Sedjevüts with his brothers, and the bey of the Barins with his brothers—from among our Crimean beys—, and the ulans' clan members<sup>15</sup> along with the clan officials [urug daruğaları], and others, all bad or good people of our country, that they would not be enemies, would not set out with troops, and they would never display hostility or act viciously towards you, our brother, country and dominions.

God—may He be exalted!—willing, as my word and my oath should be observed, I have given our present 'ahdname, [providing that] as you, our

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who was supported by the Porte. After the final defeat and death of Mehmed III Giray, Shahin Giray initially took refuge in Persia, and then in the Caucasus, seeking assistance against Djanibek Giray among the Circassians. Finally he arrived at the Ottoman Porte soliciting the sultan's pardon. Nevertheless, he was exiled to Rhodes and probably executed somewhere between 1634 and 1642; see *Le khanat de Crimée*, p. 338.

<sup>12</sup> Though the sentence *sabit-qadem bolub turdum* (lit. "I firmly observed") is written in the past tense, it refers to the future; therefore it is translated here: "I have resolved to firmly observe;" cf. also n. 4 above.

<sup>13</sup> The future khan Mehmed IV Giray was another son of Selamet Giray (cf. n. 10 above). Since Djanibek was adopted by Selamet, he could treat Mehmed as his full brother.

<sup>14</sup> *Arğın begimiz qardaşları*—either for some reasons the bey himself was not listed, or by a copyist's mistake the word *bile* was omitted and the sentence should read: *Arğın begimiz qardaşları bile*—"our bey of the Arghins with his brothers."

<sup>15</sup> Cf. n. e above.

brother, should not do anything contrary to it, and no deviation should occur from the word of your hetman, it is unlikely that anything contrary [to the peace] could happen from this side. Each year you should send us without deficiency our great treasure through your great envoy, and you should send presents [tiyişler<sup>16</sup>] and gifts [bölekler] to the office holders being in our court service, namely our vizier Mehmed Agha, our head treasurer [hazinedar başı], our head master of the horse [emir-i hor başı<sup>17</sup>], our head doorkeeper [qapuci başı], our bookkeeper [defterdar], our scribe of the divan [divan katibi], our head butler [kilerci başı], our head mead cupbearer [balcı başı<sup>18</sup>], and our two aghas of the musketeers [tüfengçiler ağaları], as well as to all our respected aghas holding no office, and to the [above] listed country beys [yurt beyleri], the ulans' clan members, and our mirzas, fully and without any omission. Moreover, according to the custom and law, you should send presents [tiyişler] and gifts [bölekler] to his excellency, the qalga sultan along with all his aghas, and to his excellency, the nureddin sultan along with all his aghas and servants, fully and without any omission. Moreover, you should also send presents [tiyişler] to her excellency, the queen mother [ana biyim], and to her excellency, the first wife [ulu biyim], and also [you should send] presents [tiyişler] to her excellency, the mother [valide] of my son, the nureddin sultan. Moreover, when [your] envoys were coming since the ancient times, whoever from among the [khans'] legal<sup>19</sup> wives was present, the envoys paid them respect upon arrival, [and now] you should [also] pay [them] respect and attention as they [i.e., your predecessors] used to.

You should respect our envoy [elçi başı], the tet and the bahşı, and if you are [our] friend, be [our] friend, and if you are [our] enemy, be [our] enemy; whichever mode comes easier to you, do accordingly and let [us] know.

By the great God and with the generous God! As you, our brother, your royal excellency, should not do anything contrary [to the peace] and firmly keep your friendship [towards us] according to the word of your hetman, also from our

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Document 34, n. 16.

<sup>17</sup> Written with strange orthography; it should rather read *emir-i ahor başı* or *mira-hor başı*.

<sup>18</sup> An official responsible for the delivery of honey and mead to the khan's palace; contrary to the Islamic prescriptions, mead was commonly consumed in the Crimea along with wine; cf. Aleksandr Samojlovič, "Beiträge zur Bienenzucht in der Krim im 14.–17. Jahrhundert," in: *Festschrift Georg Jacob zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*. Edited by Th. Menzel (Leipzig, 1932): 270–275. Part of the honey and mead consumed in the Crimea was collected in Moldavia and regarded as a part of the tribute due from the hospodar to the khan; cf. Zajcev, "'Propavšaja gramota' (jarlyk krymskogo xana Selim-Gireja Mustafa-age 1693 g.)," in: *Tjurkologičeskij Sbornik* (2006) (St. Petersburg, 2007): 174–182, esp. p. 179. An Italian missionary, Giovanni da Lucca, who traveled between Poland and the Crimea in the years 1627 and 1634, benefitted from the protection of the *balcı başı* who often traveled to Moldavia in order to collect honey; see Ambrosius Eszer, "Giovanni Giuliani da Lucca O.P. Forschungen zu seinem Leben und zu seinen Schriften," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 37 (1967): 353–468, esp. pp. 369 and 413.

<sup>19</sup> Lit. "[married] according to the custom and law."

*side nothing will occur contrary or in violation of our word; it is unlikely that anything other than good could happen.*

*As we have no other wish than [to keep] friendship and wellbeing, this letter has been written with affection [in desire of] long lasting friendship.*

*I have nothing to add but a prayer for whomsoever has followed the right path [i.e., Islam]! Written in the second decade of the month of Rebi I of the year 1042,<sup>20</sup> in the abode of Baghchasaray, the well-protected (“correct”).<sup>21</sup>*

[seal] *Djanibek Giray Khan, son of Mübarek Giray Sultan*<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> The standard Arabic formula is followed by a redundant repeated word *seneti* (“of the year”) followed by the year number written again in numerals.

<sup>21</sup> *Sahh*, a typical bureaucratic formula of approval appended at the end of the document.

<sup>22</sup> In the middle of the seal there is the trident-shaped emblem of the Girays (*taraq tamğa*). Djanibek’s father, Mübarek Giray, was not a khan, therefore he is referred to merely as a prince (*sultan*). Djanibek’s accession to the throne was facilitated by the fact that he was adopted by his uncle, Selamet Giray Khan; cf. Document 44, n. 16.

DOCUMENT 50 (2–11 NOVEMBER 1634)

The *‘ahdname* sent by Khan Djanibek Giray to King Vladislaus IV  
[Facs. VI]

Original paper document in Turkish (Crimean Tatar mixed with Ottoman Turkish): AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 63, t. 23, no. 484.

156 × 40 cm. (4 sheets glued together)

invocation (gold): *divani* script

*tuğra* (gold with brown, red, orange, and blue): 25.5 × 29 cm.

text (black with gold insertions): *divani* script

the black almond-like seal of Djanibek Giray (1.7 cm. in height) is impressed at the bottom

Published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskogo xanstva*, pp. 113–117.

Polish 17th-century translation by Samuel Otwinowski: a) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 63, t. 23, no. 485 (copied by Antoni Crutta); b) Bibl. Ossol., ms. 3555, fol. 348a-353a; c) Bibl. Czart., ms. 611, pp. 523–530.

Hüve al-ğani al-muğni al-mu‘ti al-mu‘in

Canibek Gërey Han sözümüz

- [1] Uluğ orda ve uluğ yurtnın ve Deşt-i Qıpçaqnın ve taht-i Qırımın ve sansız köp Tatarın ve sağışsız Noğaynın ve Tat bile
- [2] Tavgaçnın ve tağ ara Çerkeçnın ve cümle-i mü‘minin ve müsliminnin uluğ padişahı ‘azametli ve rif‘atlı ve şevketli uluğ han-i a‘zam
- [3] ve haqan-i mu‘azzam Canibek Gërey Han edame‘llahu ta‘ala eyyame ‘ömrihi ve devletihi ila yevmi‘l-mizan hazretlerinden uluğ orda ve uluğ
- [4] yurtnın ve köp Hrıstyannın ve barça Lëh vilayetlerinin uluğ padişahı ve uluğ qıralı qardaşımız ve uluğ dostumuz
- [5] uluğ padişah...<sup>a</sup> dame hayran bi‘ s-selameti ila yevmi‘l-qıyam savbına köpden köp selam qılıp nedir mübarek hatırınız
- [6] yahşımısız hoşmısız dëb<sup>b</sup> sorğanımızdan sonra i‘lam-i yarlıg-i şerif-i hani oldur ki bundan burun Bar hetmanı devlet-qapumuza
- [7] eki üç qatla kişisin yiberib ‘arz-i hal qılıp uzun uz<v>aq barış yarış bolur içün ötil qıldı ërse taqi **qıralımız** hazretleri
- [8] taqi barça yurt beyleri bile sem qılğan zamanda uluğ cem‘iyet bolup söyleşdik öz ayinimizçe aramızda ‘ahd qılıp qavl

<sup>a</sup> Empty space was left to fill in the king’s name.

<sup>b</sup> It can be also read *deyib*.



- [9] vërüp söylesdik déb bildirdi érse mèn uluğ padişah **Canibek Gérey Han** hazretleri ol sözçe ‘amel qılıb Bar hetmanı
- [10] qılğan ötilinçe benim dahi ‘inayet-i şahanem vücuda kelib qıdvetü’l-ümera’i’l-kiram zübdetü’l-kübera’i’l-fiham içki begimiz İbraş Bekni siz
- [11] qardaşımız uluğ padişah köp Hristyan **qıralı** dostumuza uzun uzaq barış yarış bolıp yibergen êrdik
- [12] siz qardaşımız da bolsañuz hala barça Lèh vilayetine ve köp memlekete qıral bolıp taht-i hükümetge kəcib uluğ **padişah**
- [13] hazretleri burunğı ‘adetçe uzun uzaq dost qardaş olub kendi yahşı adamıñuz köndürüb bizim bile dost bolıp
- [14] burunğı ‘adet üzere hazinemizi dahi yiberdiñüz kelip vasil boldı alıb hazine-i ‘amiremize dahil qıldıq taqı hala
- [15] qıdvetü’l-emasil ve’l-aqran zübdetü’l-emacid ve’l-erkan uluğ elçi başımız Hasan Mirza zide qadruhunı<sup>c</sup> taqı uluğ bahşı ve uluğ tėti
- [16] birle yiberdim ‘ömr-i ahırğaça daimay muhkem dost qarındaş boldum dostuñuza dost tüşmanıñuza tüşman oldum hatırıñuza
- [17] şek şübhe ketürmey i’timad êtkeysiz ve burunğı ‘adet üzere uluğ hazinemizi sene ber sene her yıl sayın vërüb könderesiz
- [18] taqı sizin vilayetiñüzden bazarganıñuz bizim vilayetimiz Qırımğa kelsünler zararsız ziyansız yürüsünler bizim bazarganlarımız dahi sizin vilayetiñüze varsunlar zararsız ziyansız yürüsünler taqı bizim ecdad-i ‘uzamımız **hanlar** ve ağaçamız **padişahlar** qalay
- [20] yahşılıq qılğanlar bolsalar mèn uluğ padişah ‘azametli **Canibek Gérey Han** hazretlerimiz dahi alay yahşılıqğa delalet qılıb
- [21] sözümde qaim ve ‘ahd [ü] şartımda daim bolıp turdum bu künden sonra benim özümnden ve qardaşım **qalğa sultan** ve nureddin sultan
- [22] hazretlerinden vilayetiñüze ve hisarıñuza ve köy [ü] kentleriñüze zarar [u] ziyan olmaz ve uluğ sağır ve büyük küçük ‘askerimiz varmaz
- [23] ve bir vechle tarafımızdan hilaf olmazdır imdi buyurdumki siz qardaşımız dahi söziñüzde sadıq bolıp ‘ahda muvafiq turub
- [24] her yıl sene ber sene uluğ hazinemizi vërüb hatasız yibergeysiz ve uluğ ecdadıñuz qıral ve atalarıñuz Lèh padişahı qalay
- [25] uluğ hazinemizi vère-keldiler érse siz qardaşımız dahi alay uluğ hazinemizi qusursuz yibergeysiz uzun uzaq
- [26] dost qarındaş olğaysız dep hat bitildi taqı mèn uluğ padişah uluğ **Canibek Gérey Han** hazretleri siz uluğ **qıral** qardaşımız
- [27] uluğ padişah uluğ dostumuzğa ma’lum qılurmuz kim keçen sene ‘asker-i Tatarla nureddin **sultan** hazretleri nehr-i Özide<sup>d</sup> Lèh vilayetiñüzge
- [28] çeriv qılmaq niyeti bile bargan ediler siz qardaşımız Lèh qıralı ve hem uluğ padişahı bolıp qıral bolğanıñuznı işitip taqı Bar hetmanı
- [29] siz qardaşımız tarafından cevap vërüb dost qarındaş bolurıñuznı rica qıldı érse mèn uluğ padişah **Canibek Gérey Han** hazretleri

<sup>c</sup> Erroneously written *zidehu qadruni*.

<sup>d</sup> It should rather read *Öziden*.

- [30] i'timad      nureddin **sultan** hazretlerin Masqav memleketine cavlay yiberdim taqı himayet   z K   k o  lı İbra   Beyni sizge yiberdim
- [31] bah   ve t  ti ve ulu   el  isi bile yiberib uzun uzaq dost qarında   bolıp ulu   'ahdnamemizni yiberdim   rdi hala dahi ol s    m
- [32]   zere sabit-qadem olub ulu   el  i ba  ım Hasan mirzanı bah  ı bile ve t  ti bile yiberdim in  a'a'llahu ta'ala ma damki sizin taraf  nuzdan t    manlıq
- [33] olmaya bizim tarafımızdan t    manlıq olmaq ihtimali yo  tur taqı bu sene sa'adetli **padi  ah** nusret-destgah hazretleri cenabından musalaha olmaq
- [34] babında ferman olunan ferman-i   eriflerine 'amel olıb uzun uzaq dostlu  nuzla   alı  dıq tarafımızdan vezir-i a'zam Murtaza Pa  a hazretlerine
- [35] mektub yazub al-i 'Osman ile L  h qıralı arasında bu zamanga kelince vaqı' olan dostluq ke-ma fi'l-evvel ri'ayet qılınmaq din
- [36]    devletke layıq dır d  p bildirdik taqı sa'adetli padi  ah hazretleri  e de bolsa 'arz qılıp sulh u salah bolsun
- [37] d  b i'lam qılğan   rdik taqı sulh u salah muhkem olduqdan sonra siz qarda  ımızdan k  lgen ulu   el  i
- [38] ba    nuznı yiberir i   n baqtur  an   rdik el-hamd   li'llah muradımız  a sa'adetli **padi  ah** hazretleri sulh u salaha rıza
- [39] v  r  b yah  ılı  a ve dostlu    a delalet qılır nimersele  e buyurdılar imdi kerekdir ki siz qarda  ımız dahi
- [40]   z s    n     muhkem turub   z  den qazaq e  qıyanuznı   ıqar  aysız Qara Denize   ayqa   ıqarma  aysız
- [41] ve Qırım yurduna zarar ve ziyan etdirme  eysiz ve sa'adetli **padi  ah** hazretleri memleketlerine hergiz zarar ve ziyan etdirme  eysiz
- [42] uzun uzaq padi  ah hazretleri fermanın  a bolıb mabeyn    zde m  n'aqıd olan sulh u salaha ri'ayet   zere olası   taqı bizde
- [43] bolsaq   z s    m  zde muhkem turub vilayet  n  zge Qırım 'askeri bile cavlay barmasmız taqı qal  a **sultan** ve nureddin **sultannı**
- [44] yibermesmez taqı Aqkermende bol  an Tatarnı bar  asın k    r  p Qırım yurtuna ket  r  rm  z Qan T  m  rni sa'adetli **padi  ah** hazretleri
- [45] Aqkermenden qaldırıp   ayri yere k  nd  rm    d  r qarda  ları mirzaları hem Aqkermenden qaldırıp Qırım diyarına ferman olunmu  dur
- [46]   imden sonra Aqkermende olan Tatardan ve Qırımda olan Tatardan ve   ayriden L  h vilayetine ve k  y ve kentlerine zerre qadar zarar ve ziyan olmazdır sa'adetli **padi  ah** hazretlerine ve serdar-i a'zam hazretlerine
- [47] yah  ı ki  imiz yiberib sulh u salah ahvalini bildirib 'asakir-i Tatarla
- [48] Cankermende yatıp   zi sahrasında hazır   rdik siz qarda  ımızdan gelecek   ahin A  aya nazır   rdik andan gelecek
- [49] s    n  zge baqıp turur   rdik s    n  zde Qan T  m  rni Aqkermenden qaldırsa ve Tatarları Qırma s  rse Aqkermende Tatar qalmasa
- [50] ben dahi   z  den qaza  ı qaldırıp Qırım hanına v  re-keld    m v  rg  yi v  r  b sa'adetli **padi  ah** hazretlerine ita'at ve qadimi sulha ri'ayet
- [51]   derim ve hazinemi v  r  b Qara Denize   ayqa   ıqartmam   zide qazaq qalmaz bar  asın   ıqarıp **Qırım hanı** bile dost bolurum d  mi  siz

- [52] ‘arz-i ahval ‘düb vezir-i a‘zam Murtaza Paşa hazretlerine Şahin Ağa ile adam köndürmüşsüz vezir Murtaza **Paşa** hazretleri sa‘adetli padişah
- [53] hazretlerine ‘arz ‘düb mën uluğ padişah **Canibek Gërey Han** hazretlerine adamların köndürüb bildirdiler ve hem siz qardaşımızdan
- [54] vezir-i a‘zam Murtaza Paşa hazretlerine kelen adamlarınız bile bizim adamımızın söyleşdirdiler taqı **padişah** hazretlerinden mën uluğ **Canibek Gërey Han**
- [55] hazretlerimize siz qardaşlarımızdan këlgen cevabınız ve şartınızın i‘lam qıldılar ve hem bizim tarafımızdan sulh u salaha müte‘allıq
- [56] ‘arz ‘tken niçe sözlerimizni ma‘qul körüp qabul qıldılar söz tamam bolub padişahane sözler qarar tabıb rahat u istirahat-i vilayet ü
- [57] memleket için sabit olan nizam-i intizam vilayet ve ra‘iyet için bu yıl tedbir olununca bizde olan adamınız Közlev nam qasabamızda
- [58] alı-qoduğumuza mübarek hatırınıza nimerse keltürmegeysiz cın söz bile yahşı söz bile yibermekiçün fikir qılıb alıb qalğan ‘erdik
- [59] sa‘adetli **padişah** hazretlerine sulh u salah bolmaq için çalışıp dostluq eyledüğümüz sebebli te‘ehir etdirmişiydik ba‘z kimseler Murtaza
- [60] Paşa hazretlerine tarafınızdan varğan adamlarınıza yalğan söylemişler hilaf ‘etmişler haşa bizim hilafımız ola elçiye ölüm yoqdur amma muradım dostluq
- [61] olub Bar hetmanı sözünçe Külük oğlunu yibermişiydik ol ecilden iş ahirine degin qaldırmışiydik muradımız dostluq olduğuçün Özi
- [62] qazağına Özüye adamımız köndürmüşiydik hikmet-i Hüda qazaq dahi Qara Denize çıqğan ‘ekendir ‘asakir-i Tatarla biz Özi sahrasında ‘edik Lëh vilayetine
- [63] varmadıq ve beş-baş Tatarımız dahi barmadı ve hem özümüzde olursak yibermedik bu zamana kelince sabr ‘düb turduq söz tamam boldı Aqkermende
- [64] Tatar qalmaz Qan Tëmür qardaşı Ay Tëmür Salman-şah ve ğayr Noğay ve Tatardan bir kişi qalmaz alurmuz siz dahi Öziden qazaqı qaldırıp Qırım vilayetine
- [65] ve padişah vilayetine zarar etdirmeyesiz ve her yıl qadimden vërilikelindüğü vërgümüzü bize ve ağalarımıza ve hidmetimizde olan ağalarımızın cümlesine
- [66] vërgümüzü vërüb könderesiz ve sa‘adetli **padişah** hazretlerine muti‘ olub ol-ki qadimden mu‘tad olan pişkeş ve hazine dir vërüb şartınızda turasız
- [67] bizim tarafımızdan size ve memleketiñüze ve köy [ü] kentñüze zarar u ziyan olmaz ‘ömr-i ahırğaça dostuñuza dost tüşmanıñuza tüşman olub turdum i‘timad ‘düb
- [68] beni dost bilesiz vallahi a‘lam baqi ve‘d-du‘a ‘ala men ittaba‘a‘l-Hüda tahriren fi evasiti şehri Cemaziyl-‘l-evvel seneti 1044

**Canibek Gërey Han bin Mübarek Gërey Sultan<sup>c</sup>**

Translation:

*He, the Wealthy, the Enricher, the Bestower, the Helper!*

[tuğra] *Djanibek Giray Khan: our word:*

*From his excellency, the great padishah of the Great Horde and great country [yurt], the Kipchak Steppe, the Crimean throne, innumerable Tatars and countless Nogays, Tats and Tavgaches,<sup>1</sup> mountain Circassians,<sup>2</sup> and all the faithful and pious ones [i.e., Muslims], the majestic, eminent, mighty and exalted khan, and the esteemed khakan, Djanibek Giray Khan (may God—may He be exalted!—prolong the days of his [i.e., my] life and reign until the Day of Judgment!), to the great emperor [padişah] and great king of the great horde [orda] and great country [yurt], and many Christians and all the Polish provinces, our brother and our great friend, the great emperor...<sup>3</sup> (may he remains well and sound until the Day of Resurrection!): after having expressed great many salutations and asked: “how is your blessed health?,” “do you feel well?” and “are you doing well?,” the message of the noble monarchic yarliq is that:*

*Previously the hetman of Bar<sup>4</sup> sent twice or three times his men to our prosperous Porte and petitioned and requested for a long lasting peace and companionship. And he announced: “When his excellency, our king, held a Diet<sup>5</sup> with all the lords of the country [yurt], we discussed in a great gathering and, according to our custom, we engaged and agreed [to keep the peace].” Putting this declaration into effect, I, the great padishah, his [i.e., my] excellency Djanibek Giray Khan, granted my royal favor to the request made by the hetman of Bar, and we sent to you, our brother and friend, the great padishah and the king of many Christians, our courtier [içki begimiz] Ibrash Bey,<sup>6</sup> the model of noble commanders and the cream of illustrious dignitaries, for the sake of a long lasting peace and companionship.*

*Now also you, who are our brother, have become the king of entire Poland and many dominions, and ascended the throne of power; while keeping long lasting friendship and brotherhood according to the ancient custom, his [i.e., your] excellency, the great padishah, sent [us] your worthy man,<sup>7</sup> and being our*

<sup>c</sup> Text of the seal.

<sup>1</sup> On the Tats and Tavgaches, see Document 48, n. 8, and Document 49, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. “Circassians [living] among mountains.”

<sup>3</sup> Empty space was left to fill in the king’s name.

<sup>4</sup> I.e., Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski, whose military headquarter was the Podolian fortress of Bar.

<sup>5</sup> The Tatar term *sem* must origin from the Polish *sejm* (“Diet”).

<sup>6</sup> Identical with Ibrahim Bey from the Külük family, who arrived at Cracow on 1 March 1633, bringing the former *‘ahdname* from 1632; see Document 49, notes 6–7.

<sup>7</sup> The Polish envoy, not mentioned by name, was Stefan Narajowski, a nobleman from the palatinate of Ruthenia, who knew Turkish and remained in the retinue of

friend, you sent [us] our [i.e., owed to us] treasure [hazine]. When it arrived and reached [us], we took it and included into our imperial treasury.

And now, I have sent our great envoy [uluğ elçi başı] Hasan Mirza (may his value increase!), the model of nobles and peers and the cream of illustrious and great men, along with the great bahşı and the great tet.<sup>8</sup> Until the end of my life I will always firmly keep friendship and brotherhood and will be a friend of your friend and an enemy of your enemy;<sup>9</sup> no doubt or misgiving should occur in your mind, [as] you should trust [me].

And according to the ancient custom, each year, year by year, you should send [us] our great treasure [uluğ hazine].

Moreover, your merchants may come from your country to our country, the Crimea, and travel without any damage or harm; also our merchants may go to your country and travel without any damage or harm.

And as our great ancestors, the khans, and our elder brother[s], the padishahs, used to provide good, also I, the great padishah, our excellency, the majestic Djanibek Giray Khan, will strive for good, keep my word, and respect my oath and stipulation forever. From this day on, no damage or harm will be done to your country, castles, villages, and towns by me or by their excellencies, my brother, the qalga sultan, and the nureddin sultan, and our troops, either large or small, will not set out [against your country], and nothing contrary [to the peace] will happen from our side.

Now, I have ordered that you, our brother, while being faithful in your word and in conformance with the oath, should send [us] each year, year by year, our great treasure without deficiency. As your great ancestors, the king[s], and your fathers, the Polish padishah[s], used to give [us] our great treasure, also you, our brother, should send our great treasure without any omission. And you should keep long lasting friendship and brotherhood;—thus saying, the letter was written.<sup>10</sup>

And I, the great padishah, his [i.e., my] excellency, the great Djanibek Giray Khan, make known to you, our brother and friend, the great king and great

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Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski. Narajowski was dispatched along with the gifts from the military camp near Smolensk in February 1634; see Baranowski, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie w latach 1632–1648*, p. 20. He was detained by the khan for almost one year and that apparently caused gossip about his death (see below). On his way back to Poland, Narajowski visited the Dominican monastery in Podkamień (Ukr. Pidkamin') and left a votive inscription dated 13 January 1635; see Sadok Barącz, *Dzieje klasztoru ww. oo. dominikanów w Podkamieniu* (Tarnopol [Ternopil'], 1870), p. 63.

<sup>8</sup> In Otwinowski's translation: *z wielkim bachsiem i tetem*. On the term *tet*, referring to the first retinue member of a khan's envoy, see Document 20, n. 27. On the term *bahşı*, referring to a scribe responsible for drawing official documents, see Document 35, n. 21.

<sup>9</sup> Though the sentence *dost qarındaş boldum dostuñuza dost tüşmanıñuza tüşman oldum* is written in the past tense, it refers to the future; cf. also Document 49, notes 4 and 12.

<sup>10</sup> The above paragraph repeats the main contents of Djanibek Giray's instrument from 1632 (cf. Document 49), but it is not a literary quotation.

padishah, that last year his excellency, the nureddin sultan,<sup>11</sup> along with Tatar troops, was about to set out with the intention to cross the Dnieper and attack Poland, but upon hearing that you, our brother, the king of Poland and great padishah, became the king, and when the hetman of Bar gave us an answer from your side [i.e., in your name] and asked to keep friendship and brotherhood, I, the great padishah, his [i.e., my] excellency Djanibek Giray Khan, trusted [his words] and sent his excellency, the nureddin sultan, to commit hostile acts in Muscovy.

Also, I sent to you Ibrash Bey from the Külük clan, [who are] your protectors,<sup>12</sup> as the great envoy along with the bahşı and the tet; and I sent our great ‘ahd-name providing for long lasting friendship and brotherhood.

Also now, in desire to firmly observe that engagement I have sent my great envoy, Hasan Mirza, along with the bahşı and the tet.

God—may He be exalted!—willing, as no hostile act should occur from your side, it is unlikely that a hostile act could occur from our side.

Moreover, putting into effect the noble firman [sent] this year from the side of his excellency, the prosperous and victorious [Ottoman] padishah, ordering a reconciliation, we have endeavored to attain your long lasting friendship. We wrote a letter to his excellency, the grand [sic] vizier Murtaza Pasha,<sup>13</sup> and let him know that to respect the friendship between the Ottoman dynasty and the Polish king[s] that has lasted until the present time, as it has been [respected] before, would be fitting the religion and state. We also requested from his excellency, the prosperous padishah, that peace and amity be established. After the peace and amity was firmly established, we were looking out for your great envoy to be sent and to arrive from the side of yours, our brother. Thank God!—according to our wish, his excellency, the prosperous padishah gave consent to the peace and amity and authorized everything that would lead to wellbeing and friendship.

Now, it is necessary that also you, our brother, while firmly respecting your word, expel your Cossack brigands from the Dnieper and do not let the [Cossack] boats [şayqas] go to the Black Sea. You should not allow any damage or harm to be committed to the Crimea, and you should never allow any damage or harm to be committed to the dominions of his excellency, the prosperous padishah. In accordance with the firman of his excellency, the padishah, you

<sup>11</sup> I.e., Mübarek Giray, the son of Djanibek Giray; in the winter of 1631/1632 he had raided Polish Ukraine but then turned against Muscovy; see Aleksej Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba Moskovskogo gosudarstva s Tatarami*, p. 176. Here apparently his raid from 1633 is mentioned.

<sup>12</sup> Lit. “Ibrash Bey, a son of Külük, [who are] your protection;” the term *himayet* (“protection”) apparently refers to the fact that the Külük clan members traditionally acted as protectors (*hamis*), representing the Polish interests in the Crimea; see Document 49, n. 7.

<sup>13</sup> On the role of Murtaza Pasha (who in fact never attained the post of grand vizier) in the Ottoman-Polish peace negotiations of 1634, in which the Polish side was represented by Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski, see Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 138–139.

*should respect the long lasting peace and amity agreed upon between you [and the Ottoman state].*

*And in regard to us, we will firmly keep our word and will not set out along with the Crimean troops to your country with hostile intentions; also, we will not send the qalga sultan or nureddin sultan. Moreover, we will resettle and bring to the Crimea all the Tatars dwelling in [the region of] Akkerman. While his excellency, the prosperous padishah, removed Kantemir<sup>14</sup> from Akkerman and sent him to another place, a firman was also issued [ordering] to remove his brothers, the mirzas, from Akkerman to the Crimea. From now on, not a slightest damage or harm will be done to the Polish country, villages, and towns by the Tatars dwelling in Akkerman, the Tatars dwelling in the Crimea, or others.*

*Having sent our worthy men [i.e., envoys] to his excellency, the prosperous padishah, and to his excellency, the great commander [serdar-i a'zam],<sup>15</sup> we notified [them] of the conditions of peace and amity [negotiated between us], and having set camp on the Dnieper plain in [the vicinity of] Djankerman [i.e., Očakiv], we were looking out for the arrival of Shahin Agha<sup>16</sup> from your side, our brother, and for the arrival of your word[s].*

*According to your word[s]: “if [you] remove Kantemir from Akkerman, drive away his Tatars to the Crimea, and no Tatar remains in Akkerman, also I will remove the Cossacks from the Dnieper, give to the Crimean khan the gift [vèrgü] that I used to give, display obedience towards his excellency, the prosperous padishah, and respect the ancient peace; I will give my treasure [hazine], will not let the [Cossack] boats [şayqas] go to the Black Sea, expel all the Cossacks so that not a single one remains on the Dnieper, and I will keep friendship with the Crimean khan”—thus you [reportedly] said and petitioned, having sent a man [i.e., your envoy] along with Shahin Agha to his excellency, the grand [sic] vizier Murtaza Pasha.*

*His excellency, the vizier Murtaza Pasha, submitted [this matter] to his excellency, the prosperous padishah, and sent his men to me, his [i.e., my] excellency, the great padishah Djanibek Giray Khan, making it known to me. He also arranged negotiations between your men, who had come from your side, our brother, to his excellency, the grand [sic] vizier Murtaza Pasha, and our man [being in his retinue]. Moreover, his excellency, the padishah, notified*

<sup>14</sup> On the career and political role of Kantemir, the Nogay leader and chief commander in Budjak, see Mihnea Berindei, “La Porte Ottomane face aux Cosaques Zaporogues,” pp. 291–306. In spite of the sultan’s order to quit Budjak and join the Ottoman campaign against Persia, Kantemir remained in Budjak, entered an open conflict with Djanibek Giray’s successor, Inayet Giray, and was finally executed in Istanbul in 1637.

<sup>15</sup> A reference to Murtaza Pasha (cf. n. 13 above).

<sup>16</sup> On Shahin Agha, the Ottoman *müteferrika* and the trusted servant of Murtaza Pasha, who negotiated the preliminary peace conditions with Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski, see Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 138–139; the document of Ottoman-Polish agreement, signed by Shahin Agha on 19 August 1634, is published in *ibidem*, pp. 436–441. Apparently Shahin Agha also mediated between the Polish court and the khan.

me, my excellency, the great Djanibek Giray Khan, of your answer and conditions, that came from your side, our brother. Also he found many of my [previous] proposals regarding peace and amity as reasonable, and gave consent to them.

As the agreement has been concluded and the imperial decision reached, and for the sake of the country and subjects, the arrangements fixed in order to provide ease and rest to the country and kingdom will be put into effect this year, do not allow your blessed mind to resent that we have detained your man [i.e., envoy] in our town [qasaba] named Kōzlev.<sup>17</sup> We have detained [him] in desire to send [him back] with a true and good word; [hence,] since we strove with friendly intentions to cause his excellency, the prosperous padishah, to accept peace and amity, we postponed [your envoy's departure]. As some individuals told lies to your men, sent from your side to his excellency, Murtaza Pasha, I assure you that nothing contrary [to the peace] has been done by us. [It is commonly known that] there is no death for envoys [i.e., I would not kill your envoy]. Moreover, in desire to keep friendship and persuaded by the hetman of Bar, we had [earlier] sent Külük's son<sup>18</sup> [to you] and for the same reason tolerated [his detainment] until the conclusion of [our] negotiations.

As we desire friendship, we sent our man to the Dnieper Cossacks to the Dnieper. God knows why, the Cossacks again set out to the Black Sea! [Nevertheless,] we were staying on the Dnieper plain along with the Tatar troops and did not set out against Poland. Also our Tatars did not even commit a small raid [beş-baş<sup>19</sup>], and whoever was with us, we did not send [them]. We have remained patient until the present time.

[Thus] the agreement has been concluded: No Tatar will remain in [the region of] Akkerman; we will take Kantemir's brother, Aytemir,<sup>20</sup> Salman-shah,<sup>21</sup> and other Nogays and Tatars [to the Crimea], so that not a single one

<sup>17</sup> On the Polish envoy Stefan Narajowski, see n. 7 above. On the Crimean port of Kōzlev/Kezlev (Tur. Gözleve; today Ukr. Jevpatorija/Rus. Evpatorija), see Jankowski, *Historical-Etymological Dictionary*, pp. 609–610.

<sup>18</sup> I.e., Ibrahim Bey; cf. n. 6 above.

<sup>19</sup> Lit. "[a raid committed by] five heads."

<sup>20</sup> Already the Ottoman-Polish agreement, concluded between Murtaza Pasha and Hetman Koniecpolski on 9 September 1630, provided that Kantemir, his brother Aytemir, and other Nogay mirzas should be removed from Budjak. This provision was repeated in the agreement reached on 19 August 1634 between Koniecpolski and Murtaza Pasha's plenipotentiary, Shahin Agha; cf. Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 135, 138, 427–428, 436–447. On Aytemir's further fate, see n. 21 below.

<sup>21</sup> Salman-shah (or Selman-shah < Süleyman-shah) was a relative of Kantemir and prominent Nogay leader. In January 1637 Djanibek's successor, Inayet Giray, set out against the Budjak Nogays along with the Crimean troops. While Kantemir escaped to Istanbul, where he was later executed on the sultan's order, the Nogay army, commanded by Aytemir, Salman-shah, Orağ Mirza, and other commanders, was defeated in March 1637. Following their rout, the Nogays submitted to the khan, who ordered their resettlement to the Crimea. Already on their way, they rioted again. In the summer of 1637 the Nogay leaders, including the three mentioned above, negotiated



should remain. Also you should remove the Cossacks from the Dnieper and you should not bring any damage to the Crimea or the country of the [Ottoman] padishah. And each year you should send us, our aghas, and all the aghas being in our service<sup>22</sup> our [i.e., owed to us] gifts [vèrgü] that used to be given since the ancient times. And being obedient to his excellency, the prosperous [Ottoman] padishah, you should give [him] the gift [pişkeş<sup>23</sup>] and treasure [hazine] that was customary since the ancient times, and you should observe your engagements. And from our side no damage or harm will be done to you, your kingdom, villages, and towns. Until the end of my life I will be a friend of your friend and an enemy of your enemy. Thus you should trust and recognize me as [your] friend. By God who knows best!

I have nothing to add but a prayer for whomsoever has followed the right path [i.e., Islam]! Written in the second decade of the month of Djumada I of the year 1044, in the abode of Baghchasaray.

[seal] Djanibek Giray Khan, son of Mübarek Giray Sultan<sup>24</sup>

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their submission to the Polish king, but finally they were pardoned by the new khan, Bahadır Giray, who then broke his word and executed the Nogay leaders in the spring of 1639; see Baranowski, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie w latach 1632–1648*, pp. 55, 65–79, and n. 426 in Part I, where Baranowski's erroneous dating of the Nogay massacre is corrected.

<sup>22</sup> Perhaps the clerk who composed the present document wanted to make a distinction between the aghas being office holders and those holding no office. Such a distinction can also be found in the previous document; cf. Document 49.

<sup>23</sup> The term *pişkeş*, explained in the Redhouse dictionary as a "gift brought to a superior," was equal to tribute in the Ottoman political vocabulary. The obligation to give a *pişkeş* to the sultan was first entered in the Ottoman (but not the Polish!) copy of the Treaty of Hotin (1621) though it was never recognized by the Polish side. In fact, the negotiations between Hetman Koniecpolski and Murtaza Pasha held in 1634, and mentioned in the present document, helped to clear this misunderstanding, although—as we see—the khan seemed to ignore it. The Polish king formally became an Ottoman tributary only in 1672, according to the Treaty of Buczacz, where the tribute was referred to as *pişkeş* (and not *harac*). Nevertheless, the Polish-Lithuanian Diet rejected this treaty and after four more years of war, the tribute was abolished in 1676; see Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 132, 138, 148, 387, 439, 445, and 499.

<sup>24</sup> In the middle of the seal there is the trident-shaped emblem of the Girays (*taraq tamğa*). Djanibek's father, Mübarek Giray, was not a khan, therefore he is referred to merely as a prince (*sultan*). Djanibek's accession to the throne was facilitated by the fact that he was adopted by his uncle, Selamet Giray Khan; cf. Document 44, n. 16.

DOCUMENT 51 (29 JUNE 1635)  
The *'ahdname* (*list przymierny*) sent by Khan Inayet Giray  
to King Vladislaus IV

The original document is missing.

Polish translation by Samuel Otwinowski: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 63,  
t. 9, no. 467.

List od Inaiet Giray chana, cara krymskiego nowego do Króla Jego Miłości  
Władysława Czwartego przez gońca Kazy agę:

Wielkiej Ordy, wielkich narodów, stolice krymskiej, pól kypczackich, niezliczonych Tatarów, niezmiernych Nachayców i między górami będących Czerkiesów, i bez osiedla żyjących Tatów, prawej i lewej strony <i> stu, dziesięci, tysięcy, tumanów wielki car i wielki krymski chan, wywyższony, ogromny, ozdobny, najjaśniejszy, wielmożny, miłosierdzie nad ludem pospolicym trzymający, Inaiet Giray chan (którego wielmożności niech Pan Bóg do dni wolej swojej szczęśliwie dopomaga!), wielkiemu ruskiemu, pruskiemu, litewskiemu, mazowieckiemu, żmudzkiemu, inflanckiemu, kiowskiemu, podlaskiemu, smolenskiemu, czernieiewskiemu, i szwedckiemu, gotckiemu, wandalskiemu, i wielu inych krześcijan wielkiemu cesarzowi, Czwartemu Władysławowi, bratu naszemu, królowi polskiemu (którego sprawy niechaj Bóg sprawuje do dnia sądnego), wielu państwom rozkazicielowi, wiele nad wielą pozdrowieniom uczyniwszy, o zdrowiu i o powodzeniu Wielmożności Waszej się popytawszy, ten list nasz carski napisawszy posyłamy.

Pan Bóg wszechmogący, z wolej i miłosierdzia swego dopomagając nam możliwością swoją, państwo krymskie mnie, wielkiemu carowi Inaiet Giray chanowi, przejrawszy stolicę przeszłych przodków naszych w raj u odpoczywających, i ojca naszego, osiągnąć dał. Za co Jego Świętobliwości wielkie nad wielkimi dzięki uczyniwszy, tak bliskim jako i dalszym przyjaciółom listami swemi oznajmić to kazaliśmy. Zaczynam do Was, wielmożnego brata naszego, z niewolników naszych nam zasłużonych wielkim gońcem Kazy agę, miłość dobrą do ostatniego wieku naszego chcąc zatrzymać i przyjacielowi przyjacielem, a nieprzyjacielowi nieprzyjacielem być pragnąc, i z dawna będącą przyjaźń i pojednanie zatrzymując, posyłamy.

A jako przodkowie naszy w raj u odpoczywający, Mengili Giray chan, i Deulet Giray chan, z przodkiem waszym Augustem królem pokój i przymierze uczyniwszy przyjaciółmi i bracią sobie będąc, wedle dawnych zwyczajów i postanowienia powinny upominki, jakiekolwiek i w czymkolwiek tam, w państwach swoich polskich na własne wozy nałożywszy, do krymskiej ziemi, do mieszkania naszego Bachcia Saraiu zupełnie odsyłali. A z temi upominki i pieniędzmi przyjeżdżającym wielkim i małym posłom, i kupcom, tak samym jako i ich rzeczom, w drodze, w polach, i we włościach nie działo się żadnej szkody. A jeśliby się też jakimkolwiek sposobem jaka szkoda stała, to nagrodzono być

miało, i kto by to uczynił, karany być miał, lubo by też przy samym chanie należony był.

Więc bratu naszemu, gałdze sułtanowi, i nuradyn sułtanowi, i inszym ilu jest sułtanów, tak samym jako i ich agom upominki przysyłane bywały. Także też przy chanie będącym agom: podskarbiemu, pisarzowi dywańskiemu, koniuszemu, nad odźwiernemi starszemu, szpiżarnię chańską w mocy mającemu, nad dworem chańskim starszemu, miody wybierającemu, i inszym znacznym dwunastom agom upominki przychodziły. Nuż karadzi begom i murzom rok podle roku koźdemu oddawano bywało. Zaczym też pokój i przymierze w poszanowaniu zostawając, obuch państw ubodzy poddani w pokoju siedzieli. I po obu stron rzeki Dniepru siedzący Tatarowie i Nachayczycy dniewrową wodę pijąc, konie pasąc, w pokoju i bezpiecznie poddaństwo odprawując, i od kozackiego łotrostwa na rzece Dnieprze będącego państwa w pokoju będąc, za panów swoich bezpieczni pięćkroć na dzień Bogu się modlili.

Według tego tedy czyniąc wszytkiemu dosyć, mało przedtym będący ociec nasz Gazy Giray chan (któremu niech da Bóg miłosierdzie swoje) z ojcem waszym przyjacielem i bratem zostawszy postanowienie uczynili, aby tak w pewnych rzeczach, fantach i materiach, co wszystko uczyni czerwonych złotych tysięcy...,<sup>a</sup> z Polski na wozy nałożwszy do Dżiankirmanu przywozili. Przeciwno którym z owej strony ludzie posyłano, aby to wszystko do Bachcia Saraiu całe przywieziono było, posyłani bywali.

To wszystko aby stwirdzono było ja, wielki Inaiet Giray chan z Wami, bratem naszym Władysławem Czwartym, bratem naszym królem polskim, od tego dnia dzisiejszego począcwszy przyjaźń i braterstwo czynię, a gwoli czemu wielki przemierny list nasz napisawszy z wielkim posłem posyłamy.

Wy, brat nasz, król polski, w przyjaźni cesarskiej powolność swą ukazując, państw otomańskich, tak wołoskiej, multańskiej ziemi, Białogrodu, Kiliej, jako też i inszych wszytkich wojski swemi zaczepiać nie macie. Owszem z Dniepru kozackie łotrostwo uprzątnąwszy, na Czarne Morze czółnami aby nie wychodzili, więc państwu krymskiemu aby od nich szkody nie było. A na każdy rok zwyczajne upominki tak nam, jako też dwunastom znacznym agom naszym i karadzi bejom, także bratu naszemu, gałdze Husam Giray sułtanowi, także bratu naszemu, Sadet Giray sułtanowi nuradynowi, i inszej braciej sułtanom, i ich starszym agom, upominki aby oddane były. Według tedy wspomnionego zwyczaju o dosyć czynienie postanowieniu staranie ma być, aby list przymierny napisawszy z wielkim posłem naszym przy zupełnych upominkach przysyłano było.

Ja zatym, wielki Inaiet Giray chan, pod czasem panowania mego tak osobą swą, jako i wojski swymi, więc i Husam Giray sułtan, brat nasz, także nuradyn sułtan, trzeci brat nasz, Sadet Giray sułtan, i inszy tak mali jako i wielcy sułtanowie, także karadzi begowie, i krymscy murzowie, także nachayscy murzowie, i wszyscy w Krymie będący przedniejszy ludzie, także wojska krymskie i nachayskie, i wszyscy ludzie, którzykolwiek rozkazaniu naszemu carskiemu posłuszni są, niewolnicy naszy, podejmujemy się i podejmują tego

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<sup>a</sup> Empty space was left for the amount to be entered.

wszytkiego, cokolwiek w przymiernym liście napisano jest. Dla tegoż wielkiego posła z tym posyłamy.

A jeśliby się tak stało, żeby wedle dawnych zwyczajów i postanowienia od Was, brata naszego, upominki i pieniądze posyłane nie były, i kozacy z Dniepru jeśliby zniesieni nie byli, i jeśliby jako i przedtym na Dnieprze mieszkając czółnami na morze wychodząc, państwu cesarskiemu okręty szarpając szkody czynili, ja, Inaiet Giray chan wojsko swe do państwa waszego posławszy lecie i zimie pustoszyć bym kazał; i ze stem tysięcy Tatarów wcale nienaruszone państwo wasze wszedłszy, za bożą pomocą a przytomnością Proroka naszego włości wasze ogniem, szablą wojując, małych i wielkich w niewolę zabrawszy, na każdego Tatara po jednemu więźniowi i po jednemu bydłociu rachując, jeśliby to nie więcej uczyniło, niżli tamte upominki, które mają być dawane od was, rozsądzicie. Ale to jest przedsięwzięcie moje, aby ubodzy poddani za czasu mego w pokoju bezpiecznie siedzieli, i państwa aby pustyniami nie zostawały. Nie to, abym łakomstwem jakim uwiedziony, abo jakoby potęgą i siłą tylko nie miał, zgody pragnął, gdyż *złożywszy* wszyscy Tatarowie, Nachaycowie, Czerkiesowie, Kabartusowie, Kumukowie,<sup>b</sup> i inszych wiele w państwach rozkazowania naszego mieszkaniem są, ci wszyscy lekko kładąc sta tysięcy wojska nie będą li mieli? Kiedy tedy po dwakroć sto tysięcy wojska mając w państwa krześcijańskie się obróć, *azali* zemścić się krzywdy wiary prawowiernej nie będę mógł? Ale najlepszy pokój widząc, według niego aby łotrostwo pokarane było i Wy, brat nasz, król polski, jako się godzi Wielmożności Waszej o tym pilno myśleć macie; za bożą pomocą z owej strony cokolwiek będzie godnego i przystojnego odrzucone i pogardzone nie będzie; o czem szerzej wielki poseł nasz Rustem aga, mając nasze zlecenie pomówi. Myśmy w przyjaźni mocno stali, Wy, to jest brat nasz, król polski, w postanowionym przymierzu macie mocno stać, dlatego się to napisało.

Pisan w Bachcia Saraiu we środku miesiąca mucherrem nazwanego, roku od przeprowadzenia się Mechmeda Mustafy, proroka naszego 1045, to jest 29 Junij Anno 1635.

Translation:

*The letter from Inayet Giray Khan, the new Crimean khan, to His Royal Majesty Vladislaus IV, [brought] through a courier, Ghazi Agha.<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>b</sup> Initially written: *wszytkich Tatarów, Nachayców, Czerkiesów, Kabartusów, Kumuków*, but corrected by the scribe.

<sup>1</sup> Later in the document Ghazi Agha is referred to as "great courier" (*wielki goniec*), who was followed by Rüstem Agha, referred to below as "great envoy" (*wielki poseł*). Ghazi Agha should not be confused with Ghazi Bey, who at the same time carried a separate letter issued by the nureddin, Sa'adet Giray. In Sa'adet Giray's letter, preserved in Turkish original, Ghazi Agha is referred to as *uluğ çapqun elçileri* ("the great courier of His [Excellency]"), while Ghazi Bey simply as *çapqun elçimiz* ("our courier"); see AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 63, t. 8, no. 466. The Crimean embassy was received in Warsaw in October 1635. Bohdan Baranowski had at his disposal the now lost manuscript of the Polish National Library (ms. B. N. Pol. F IV 94), but he did

The great tsar of the Great Horde and great nations, the Crimean throne, the Kipchak Steppe, innumerable Tatars, countless Nogays, mountain Circassians,<sup>2</sup> unsettled Tats,<sup>3</sup> and the hundreds, tens, thousands, and tens of thousands [tümens] of the right and the left side, the great Crimean khan, the elevated, great, decorous, illustrious, magnificent, extending his grace unto the common people, Inayet Giray Khan (may God assist his majesty with prosperity until the day of His will [i.e., the khan's death!]), to the great emperor of Ruthenia, Prussia, Lithuania, Mazovia, Samogitia, Livonia, Kiev, Podlachia [Podlasie], Smolensk, Černihiv, and of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, and of many other Christians, our brother, the king of Poland, Vladislaus IV (may God conduct his affairs until the Day of Judgment!), the commander of many states; having expressed great many salutations and asked about Your Majesty's health and prosperity, we have written and sent our present imperial letter:

Almighty God has assisted us by His will and grace, glanced [favorably] and let me, the great tsar Inayet Giray Khan, to attain [the reign of] the Crimean state and the throne of our former ancestors, resting in paradise, and of our father. Having pronounced great many thanks to His Holiness [i.e., God], we ordered to announce it by our letters to our close as well as distant friends. Hence we send to you, our majestic brother, our great courier Ghazi Agha, from among our merited servants, in desire to keep good friendship until the end of our time, to be a friend of [your] friend and an enemy of [your] enemy, and to retain the ancient friendship and reconciliation.

As our ancestors, resting in paradise, Mengli Giray Khan and Devlet Giray Khan, had commenced peace and friendship with your ancestor, King Augustus,<sup>4</sup> being friends and brothers to each other, they used to send gifts, due according to the ancient customs and settlements, to our residence in Baghchasaray, having loaded them on their own carts. And the great and small envoys, coming along with the gifts and money, and merchants alike, were not harmed by any damage done to them or their goods on their way, in the steppe, or in [our] domains. And if any damage occurred in whichever way, it was to be compensated and those, who had committed it, were to be punished, even if they were found in the khan's retinue.

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not record any names of the Tatar envoys; cf. *idem*, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie w latach 1632–1648*, pp. 41–46.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "Circassians dwelling among mountains," a literal translation of the Turkish expression *tağ ara Çerkes*.

<sup>3</sup> On the Tats, see Document 48, n. 8. The description "unsettled" (Pol. *bez osiedla żyjących*) apparently results from a misunderstanding, as the Tats were not nomads. Since in the khan's *intitulatio* the Tats were typically paired with the Tavgaches, and the latter term was unknown to Otwinowski (cf. Document 48, n. 8), the Crown translator perhaps mistook *Tavgaç* for *Tav-göç*, "wandering in the mountains," and erroneously applied this term to the Tats ("wandering" > "leading unsettled life" > "unsettled").

<sup>4</sup> The examples of Mengli Giray Khan and King Sigismund Augustus do not match chronologically as the first one died in 1515 while the second was born in 1520. Yet, Devlet Giray (r. 1551–1577) and Sigismund Augustus (r. 1548–1572) were contemporaries.

Moreover, gifts were sent to our brother,<sup>5</sup> the *qalga* sultan, to the *nured*din sultan and other sultans, whatever their number, both to them and their aghas. Gifts were also received by the aghas in the khan's retinue: the treasurer,<sup>6</sup> the scribe of the *divan*,<sup>7</sup> the master of the horse,<sup>8</sup> the head doorkeeper,<sup>9</sup> the butler,<sup>10</sup> the majordomo,<sup>11</sup> the mead cupbearer,<sup>12</sup> and other prominent aghas amounting to twelve.<sup>13</sup> And [gifts] were given year by year to each of the *qaraçı* beys and mirzas. Hence the peace and agreement was respected and the poor subjects of the two states remained in peace. And the Tatars and Nogays, who dwelled on both sides of the Dnieper river, drinking the Dnieper water and grazing horses, fulfilled their subject duties in peace and safety, and enjoying peace and security from Cossack brigands, based on the Dnieper river, prayed to God for their rulers five times a day.

Shortly before, in fulfillment of the above conditions, our father Ghazi Giray Khan (may God grant him his mercy!) became a friend and brother of your father, and they agreed that [gifts] in goods, objects, and textiles, worth...<sup>14</sup> thousand golden florins [*czerwonych złotych*] should be loaded on carts and brought from Poland to Djankerman [i.e., Očakiv]. From this side men were sent to fetch all these [goods from Djankerman] to Baghchasaray.

In order to confirm all the above [conditions], from this day on I, the great khan Inayet Giray, declare friendship and brotherhood with you, our brother, Vladislaus IV, the king of Poland, and therefore, having written our great letter of agreement, we send it along with our great envoy.

You, our brother, the king of Poland, in respect to the [Ottoman] emperor's friendship, should not let your troops invade the Ottoman domains, either

<sup>5</sup> This phrase evidently refers to the past, i.e., the *qalga* of each reigning khan in the past, and not to Inayet's brother.

<sup>6</sup> Pol. *podskarbi*; apparently a translation of Tur. *hazinedar* or *hazinedar başı*.

<sup>7</sup> Pol. *pisarz dywański*; apparently a translation of Tur. *divan katibi*.

<sup>8</sup> Pol. *koniusz*; apparently a translation of Tur. *mirahor*.

<sup>9</sup> Pol. *nad odźwiernemi starszy*; apparently a translation of Tur. *qapıcı başı*.

<sup>10</sup> Pol. *spizarnię chańską w mocy mający* ("the one responsible for the khan's larder"); cf. *spizarny* in Document 48, apparently a translation of Tur. *kilerci başı*.

<sup>11</sup> Pol. *nad dworem chańskim starszy* ("the head of the court"); apparently a translation of Tur. *kahya*.

<sup>12</sup> Pol. *miody wybierający* ("the one collecting mead"); apparently a translation of Tur. *balcı başı*, referring to an official responsible for the delivery of honey and mead to the khan's palace; cf. Document 49, n. 18.

<sup>13</sup> The Polish text: *i inszym znacznym dwunastom agom* ("and other prominent twelve aghas") suggests that the total number of aghas entitled to the gifts was nineteen—the seven aforementioned functionaries plus twelve other aghas; yet, the analogous fragment in Document 48 suggests that the total number of aghas entitled to gifts was twelve; cf. also the paragraph below referring to the "twelve prominent aghas" (written in the dative: *dwunastom znacznym agom*).

<sup>14</sup> Empty space was left for the amount to be entered. In 1599, during the negotiations between the envoys of Ghazi Giray and Sigismund III, it was agreed that the value of annual gifts should amount to 15,000 florins; cf. Document 36, n. 9.

Moldavia or Wallachia,<sup>15</sup> Akkerman, Kilia, or any other [lands]. Moreover, you should remove the Cossack brigands from the Dnieper, so that they would not set out to the Black Sea in their boats and so that no damage be caused by them to the Crimean state. Each year customary gifts should be delivered to us, our twelve prominent aghas, and the qaraçı beys, also to our brother, the qalga Hüsam Giray Sultan, also to our [another] brother, the nureddin Sa'adet Giray Sultan, and to other brothers, the sultans, as well as their elder aghas. While no effort should be spared in order to fulfill this engagement in accordance with the aforementioned custom, a [royal] letter of agreement should be written and sent through our great envoy along with the complete set of gifts.

Hence I, the great khan Inayet Giray, [engage] for the duration of my reign with my person and troops, and our brother, Hüsam Giray Sultan, and our other<sup>16</sup> brother, the nureddin sultan, Sa'adet Giray Sultan, and other younger and older sultans, also the qaraçı beys, Crimean mirzas, Nogay mirzas, all prominent men being in the Crimea, the Crimean and Nogay troops, and all men, who obey our imperial order, [being] our servants,<sup>17</sup> we engage and they engage to fulfill everything that is recorded in the letter of agreement [list *przymiery*]. For this sake we send our great envoy.

And if it so happens that gifts and money, due according to the ancient customs and agreement, are not sent by you, our brother, and the Cossacks are not removed from the Dnieper, and if they continue to dwell on the Dnieper, set out in their boats to the sea, attack [Ottoman] ships and bring damage to imperial domains, as they have done before, then I, Inayet Giray Khan, will send my troops to your state and order to raid it in summer as well as in winter; and if [I] enter your [presently] undisturbed state along with a hundred thousand Tatars, raid it with fire and sword with the assistance of God and our Prophet, and capture the commoners and the noble ones,<sup>18</sup> assuming that each Tatar would take one captive and one head of cattle, you should consider whether it would not exceed the value of the gifts that you are to send. Yet, it is my desire that during my reign the poor subjects remain safely in peace and states do not turn into deserts. Not that I want reconciliation tempted by greed [of your gifts] or for the lack of power and troops, as having put together all the Tatars, Nogays, Circassians, Kabardinians, Kumyks, and many others, dwelling in the domains under our command, do they not altogether constitute at least a hundred thousand of troops? Then, if I turn against Christian

<sup>15</sup> Respectively referred to as *ziemia wołoska* and *ziemia multańska*; cf. Document 47, notes 4 and 13.

<sup>16</sup> Lit. "our third brother" (*trzeci brat nasz*), apparently referring to the khan as the first brother, and to the qalga as the second one. Both Hüsam and Sa'adet Girays were later killed in the Nogay rebellion of 1637.

<sup>17</sup> The Polish term *niewolnicy* refers to slaves, but in the given context the term "servants" fits better.

<sup>18</sup> Lit. "the small and big ones" (*małych i wielkich*); though this phrase can be alternatively translated as "the young and old ones," probably the khan's intention was to warn the nobles that his raid might affect them and their families as well.

*states having two hundred thousand of troops,<sup>19</sup> will I not be able to take revenge for the harm done to the true faith [i.e., Islam]? Yet, as I regard peace an optimal measure, Your Excellency, our brother, the king of Poland, should diligently look for suitable means of punishing the brigands in accordance with its requirements; whatever sound and decent [proposal] comes [from your side], with God's help it will not be rejected or scorned at by this side; this matter will be further discussed by our great envoy, Rüstem Agha, who is commissioned by us. As we have firmly kept friendship, [also] you, our brother, the king of Poland, should firmly keep the resolved agreement, therefore this [document] has been written.*

*Written in Baghchasaray, in the second decade<sup>20</sup> of the month named Muharrem, of the year 1045 since the relocation [i.e., Hegira] of our prophet, Muhammad Mustafa, that is on 29 June 1635.<sup>21</sup>*

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<sup>19</sup> It is hard to guess how the khan obtained this rather unrealistic number; probably he added one hundred thousand troops obtainable by the mobilization of the Nogays and Caucasian tribes to another one hundred thousand of "regular" Crimean troops listed earlier in the same paragraph.

<sup>20</sup> The Polish phrase *we środku* ("in the middle") is an apparent translation of the Turkish term *evasıt* (lit. "the middle") referring to the second, middle decade of a month.

<sup>21</sup> The second decade of Muharrem 1045 A.H. lasted from 27 June till 6 July 1635.



DOCUMENT 52 (15–23 JULY 1637)  
The *‘ahdname* (*list przymierny*) sent by Khan Bahadır Giray  
to King Vladislaus IV

The original document is missing.

Polish translation: Bibl. Czart., ms. 134 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 153–159.

List od chana krymskiego przymierny do Króla Jego Miłości Władysława Czwartego:

Niechaj będą Panu Bogu wielkie nieskończone zawsze dzięki oddawane, który z wszechmocności swej stworzywszy tak piękne niebo z niczego, po tym świat i człeka stworzył, i onego nad wszystkie bydłęta rozumu daniem wywyższywszy, wszelkie stworzone rzeczy pod moc dał. Niechaj będą nieskończone dzięki Bogu najwyższemu, uprzejme chęci i dzięki oddawane, że z opatrności Jego stany wszelkiego stworzenia tak dobrze są sporządzone. Ale niemniej i za to niechaj wieczna i nieskończona sława Jego słyńie, że za pomocą przodków<sup>a</sup> świętych w rozmaitych krajach wszystkie narody wiarą są oświecone, przez którą za zrządzeniem Jego, prawa wszyscy ludzie pewne na się przyjęli, któremi się wszyscy prawie monarchowie od wieku wiązać i przyjaźń jednoczyć zwykli. Tych i sam Pan Bóg najprzód aby na ziemi wszelkiego pospółstwa zasłoną byli, nad ludźmi swemi postanowił.

Czego że też i nam tych szczęśliwych czasów udzielił, żeśmy za łaską i pomocą Jego, za co Mu po wszystkie dni wieku naszego nieskończone czynić dzięki będziemy, najszcześniejszą stolicę przodków naszych osiedli, zaczyn najprzystojniejszą i najszluszniejszą zacnemu stanowi naszemu tośmy upatrzyli, abyśmy na wszystkie strony otworzyli wrota przyjaźni naszej, której z dawnych czasów przodkowie nasi świątobliwie dotrzymywać każdemu byli zwykli. Za których przykładem idąc my, wielkich państw i Wielkiej Ordy, i stolicy krymskiej, wielkich gór<sup>b</sup> kipczackich i cerkieskich pól,<sup>c</sup> i niezliczonych wojsk tatarskich i nachayskich na prawej i lewej stronie wielki car i chan Bahadyr Gierey chan, syn Selamet Gierey chanów, syna Dewlet Gierejowego, wielkich królestw i wielkich księstw polskich, szwedzkich, ruskich, pruskich, mazowieckich, litewskich, inflantskich, gotskich, żmudzkich, wandalskich, samogickich wielkiemu królowi i monarsze, najjaśniejszemu bratu naszemu Władysławowi Czwartemu, którego Pan Bóg po wszystkie dni niechaj szczęści i błogosławi, po nawidzeniu uprzejmym zdrowia dobrego przez to pisanie z najjaśniejszym znakiem naszym wiadomo czyniemy, że skorośmy stolicę przodków naszych i krymskie państwo za łaską Boga wszechmogącego

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<sup>a</sup> Apparently misspelled; it should read *proroków*.

<sup>b</sup> Evidently misplaced; it should read *pól*; cf. n. c below.

<sup>c</sup> Evidently misplaced; it should read *gór*; cf. n. b above.

osiedli, zarazem bracie nasz, Władysławie Czwarty, z przyjaźnią naszą i potwierdzeniem przymierza odezwać mi się wam przyszło.

Że za szczęśliwych czasów i pamięci przodków i dziadów naszych, a osobliwie od czasów Wangli [sic] Gieray i Dewlet Gieray chanów, a od czasów przodka Waszej Królewskiej Miłości, brata naszego, króla Augusta stanęły były takie przysięgą zobopólną utwierdzone przymierne pakta, i przyjacielska i braterska miłość tak była ugruntowana, że nie tylko z daleka i z bliska społecznie sobie tej przyjaźni dotrzymywali, ale też według postanowienia zupełna, zawsze i wcześniej upominki zwyczajne polskimi wozami aż do Krymu odwożone były, i w stolicy naszej Bachcze Saraju przez polskie posły bywały oddawane po wszystkie czasy, a mianowicie posłowie żadnej szkody nigdy najmniejszej ani sami na osobie, ani przy nich kupcy odjeżdżający i przyjeżdżający tak w drodze, jako i Dzikich Polach i w najmniejszej rzeczy nie odnosili, a kiedy by też którego co kiedy przypadkowym sposobem potkało, natychmiast z wielką pilnością swawoleństwo wynalazszy, surowo zwykło było karać. Ale upominki nie tylko im samym oddawane bywały, ale też i na dworze ich ustawicznie będącym wielmożnym braci, to jest galdze i nuradynowi, i inszym synom, sołtanom, także przedniejszym przy boku mieszkającym agom, jako wezyrowi, podskarbiemu, pisarzowi, koniuszemu, kapudzi baszy, i inszym urzędnikom, których krom bejów inszych, murzow co znaczniejszych, jest dwanaście, zawsze się wszystkim tych upominków dostawało. Co że każdego roku z pilnością obserwowano, dla tego też pokoju i przymierza pilnie i świątobliwie przestrzegano i szanowano, zaczynam zobopólne pospółstwo w miłym pokoju mile zażywało, odpoczywało. I lubo Tatarowie tak krymscy, jako i nachayscy przy obudwu brzegach dniewprowych wodę pijali i trawy pasali, przecie jednak nienaruszonej przyjaźni zachowując posłuszeństwo cesarskie w tej mierze z pilnością przestrzegali. Co że się też i z waszej strony zachowało, pospółstwo nasze będąc bezpieczne od najazdów kozackich z pilnością za szczęśliwe panowanie cesarskie Pana Boga prosiło.

A ponieważ też i potym brat nasz świętej pamięci, Gazy Gieray chan w Wołosznych na Cecorze przez Zamoyskiego kancelerza i hetmana od świętej pamięci ojca Waszej Królewskiej Miłości Zygmunta powtarzającego to przymierze nowe pakta był otrzymał, gdzie zostawszy całym bratem i przyjacielem waszym według dawnego zwyczaju na tychże upominkach przestawał, co uczyni...<sup>d</sup> tysięcy czerwonych złotych. Dla tego my też dla tych pomienionych upominków, które mają być według zwyczaju polskimi wozami aż do Dżiankiernu odwiezione, i przeciwko którym my sługi nasze zesłać, aby je wcale do Bachacz Saraju przyprowadzili, wyprawić powinniśmy.

Posłaliśmy według starożytnego zwyczaju z temi naszymi najszcześliwszemi i poprzysiężonemi paktami z przedniejszych sług naszych Kotłuszę beja, życząc sobie tego, abyś nie tylko tak, jako kiedy przodkowie nasi Mengli Gieray i Dewlet Gieray chanowie z przodkami Waszej Królewskiej Miłości, królem Augustem, którzy z sobą w wielkiej przyjaźni i braterskiej miłości żyli, ale też jako niedawnych czasów brat nasz, Kazy Gieray chan za kanclerza Zamoyskiego

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<sup>d</sup> Empty space was left for the amount to be entered.

jakim był bratem i przyjacielem Waszej Królewskiej Miłości został, tak i my też, Bahader Gieray chan usilnie tego pragniemy, abyśmy od dzisiejszego dnia całym bratem i przyjacielem Waszej Królewskiej Miłości zostali.

Któremu z tą kondycją te pakta nasze oddaćemy chcieli rozkazali, że odtąd jeżeli Wasza Królewska Miłość, brat nasz przestrzegając przyjaźni cesarskiej w państwach wszystkiej monarchii jego, a osobliwie tak w wołoskiej jako i multańskiej ziemi, tudzież i około Biłogrodu, Tehini, i Kiliej, ani sam ani wojskom swoim żadnych szkód czynić nie dopuścisz, także by swawoleństwo kozackie mocno poskromione czołnami mimo Dziańkierman przeprowadzać się przez Dniepr ani na morze wpadać nie mogło, więc jeżeli to swawoleństwo w włościach naszych krymskich żadnych szkód czynić nie będzie, ale zwyczajne upominki tak nam, jako i wszystkim wzwyż mianowanym braci, sołtanom, begom, agom, i inszym murzom od was oddawane nam będą, i jeżeli się we wszystkim według dawnego zwyczaju około zatrzymania społecznej przyjaźni ochotnym nam być pokażecie, tedy my też, Bohadyr Gieray chan tak wszystko wojsko nasze, jako i bracią naszą, mianowicie gałdze Islam Giereja, nuradyna Sefa Gieray sołtana, ze wszystkimi inszemi małemi i wielkimi sułtanami, ze wszystkimi agami i bejami, i wszystkimi wojski krymskimi i nachajskimi bierzemy na szyję nasze, że nigdy najmniejszym sposobem przeciwko tym poprzysiężonym paktom, które z tym najwyższym znakiem do was posyłamy, nigdy żaden od tych czas w żadnej wsi ani mieście, miasteczku waszym i jedną nogą postać ważyć się nie będzie. I owszem, wszyscy starać się o to będą, aby byli wszystkich przyjaciół waszych przyjaciółmi, a nieprzyjaciółom nieprzyjaciółmi. A ponieważ odtąd waszych nieprzyjaciół wszystkich zostawamy nieprzyjaciółmi, a przyjaciół przyjaciółmi, słuszna aby też przyjaciele wasi byli naszymi przyjaciółmi, a nieprzyjaciele nieprzyjaciółmi, bo my gdyby się jaki wasz nieprzyjaciel zjawił, a wy byście od nas przeciwko niemu pomocy potrzebowali, zawsze według potrzeby wojska wam posłać gotowi będziemy ufając, że też i wy, gdyby tego potrzeba jaka była, na żądanie nasze tożbyście dla nas uczynili.

Przeto odtąd posłowie i kupcy wasi niechaj do nas wolno przyjeżdżają, tymże sposobem posłowie i kupcy nasi do was niechaj wolny przejazd mają, bez szkód wszelakich. A jeżeli by się trafunkiem przydało, że by którego gdziekolwiek szkoda jaka spotkała, tak u nas jako i u was, tychżemiast wszystkie dobra ich wynalazszy zobopólnie niechaj wcale powracane będą, i złoczyńcy niechaj nieodwłocznie odniosą karanie słuszne tak dalece, żeby te poprzysiężone pakta nasze nienaruszone zostawały.

A jeźliby się też nam iść trafiło na którąkolwiek stronę z wojski, lubo któremu z braci naszej, tedy powinni będą mijać wszystkie włości polskie tak, aby się najmniejsza szkoda od żadnego człowieka z wojska tatarskiego i nachajskiego w państwie Waszej Królewskiej Miłości, brata naszego nigdy nie działa.

Zaczym te punkta wszystkie w tych paktach naszych wypisane dla dotrzymania statecznej przyjaźni po wszystkie dni panowania naszego przysięgą naszą mocno utwierdzając, przysięgamy na jednego i wielkiego Boga, i proroka naszego prawdziwego, że tym paktom we wszystkim czynić dosyć chcemy, które utwierdzone przysięgą zawierają; aby były oddane do rąk przyjacielskich, one przyjacielską pieczęcią pieczętujemy.

Na końcu seferulachyr<sup>e</sup> miesiąca nazwanego, roku po zejściu z tego świata proroka naszego Machometa Mustafy 1047, w stołecznym mieście naszym Bachcze Saraju.

Translation:

*The letter of agreement [sent] from the Crimean khan to His Royal Majesty Vladislaus IV:*

*Let the great and infinite gratitude be permanently pronounced to God, who through His almightiness created such beautiful heaven from nothing, and then created the world and a man, whom He elevated above all the animals by giving him reason and placed all the creatures under his power. Let infinite gratitude be pronounced to the highest God, who so perfectly arranged the creation through His providence. Moreover, thanks to His eternal and infinite glory, all the nations in different countries were enlightened with faith by holy prophets and, by His ordonance, received firm laws which all the monarchs used to respect and through which they had united in friendship since the ancient times. God has elevated the latter [i.e., the monarchs] above their peoples so that they should protect all the commoners on earth.*

*As in these prosperous times He has conferred a similar duty upon us, and—through His grace and assistance, for which we will infinitely thank Him until our last days—we have ascended to the most fortunate throne of our ancestors, we have regarded as the most fitting and right thing to open in all directions the door of friendship, which our ancestors used to devotedly observe since the ancient times in regard to anyone. Following their example, we, the great tsar and khan of the great states and Great Horde, the Crimean throne, the Kipchak Steppe and the Circassian mountains, and the innumerable Tatar and Nogay troops of the right and the left side, Bahadır Giray Khan, son of Selamet Giray Khan, son of Devlet Giray, after having politely wished good health to the great king and monarch of the great kingdoms and great duchies of Poland, Sweden, Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, Lithuania, Livonia, Gothia, Samogitia, Vandalia, and Samogitia,<sup>1</sup> our illustrious brother Vladislaus the Fourth (may God favor and bless him until the end of his days!), we make known by this writing provided with our illustrious sign [i.e., tuğra] that as—by the grace of Almighty God—we have ascended to the throne of our ancestors and the Crimean state, we have deemed proper to address you, our brother Vladislaus the Fourth, with our friendship and the confirmation of an agreement.*

*In the prosperous times of our ancestors and grandfathers, especially the khans Mengli Giray and Devlet Giray, and in the times of King Augustus,<sup>2</sup> the*

<sup>e</sup> On this corrupt form, see n. 19 below.

<sup>1</sup> Erroneously repeated; first listed as *žmudzkich* and then as *samogickich* whereas both terms refer to Samogitia.

<sup>2</sup> Devlet Giray (r. 1551–1577) and Sigismund Augustus (r. 1548–1572) were contemporaries; cf. Document 48, n. 11.

ancestor of our brother, Your Royal Majesty, agreements [przymierne pakta] were established, mutually confirmed with oaths, and brotherly amity was so solid that not only friendship was jointly maintained by both sides, but the customary gifts were transported on Polish carts as far as the Crimea and delivered by Polish envoys in our capital in Baghchasaray, in complete quantity, always, and on time, as stipulated [by the agreements]; envoys and merchants who accompanied the former ones upon their departure and arrival, never suffered any harm, either in person or in property, on their way [through the two states] or in the Wild Fields [i.e., steppe];<sup>3</sup> and if something happened to one of them by accident, the culprits were duly found and severely punished. Gifts were delivered not merely to them [i.e., the khans], but to their noble brothers, who remained at their court, namely the qalga and the nureddin as well as their <other> sons, the sultans; also to the leading aghas in their retinue, such as the vizier, the treasurer,<sup>4</sup> the scribe,<sup>5</sup> the master of the horse,<sup>6</sup> the head doorkeeper [i.e., qapıcı başı],<sup>7</sup> and other officials who [altogether] amount to twelve, not counting the beys and prominent mirzas; they all used to receive gifts. As this custom was duly observed year after year and the peace and alliance were diligently and devotedly respected and honored, commoners of both sides enjoyed peace and rest. Albeit the Crimean and Nogay Tatars drank water and grazed [herds] on both sides of the Dnieper, they diligently observed the imperial authority<sup>8</sup> and the inviolable [rules of] friendship. As the same [rules] were observed on your part, our commoners were safe from Cossack raids and prayed to God for the fortunate imperial reign.<sup>9</sup>

Thereafter, our late brother,<sup>10</sup> Ghazi Giray Khan, obtained a new instrument, renewing the agreement, from Your Royal Majesty's late father, Sigismund, through [the mediation of] Chancellor and Hetman Zamoyski, in Țuțora [Cecora] in Moldavia;<sup>11</sup> and having become your brother and friend, he accepted the quota of [annual] gifts worth...<sup>12</sup> thousand golden florins [czerwonych złotych], according to the ancient custom. According to the custom, the aforementioned gifts should be transported on Polish carts as far as Djankerman

<sup>3</sup> The Polish term *Dzikie Pola* (Ruth. *Dykyja Polja*), lit. "Wild Fields," referred to the barely inhabited steppe area extending to the north from the Black Sea.

<sup>4</sup> Pol. *podskarbi*; apparently a translation of Tur. *hazinedar* or *hazinedar başı*.

<sup>5</sup> The Polish term *pisarz* apparently refers to the scribe of the divan (Tur. *divan katibi*); cf. Document 48, n. 18.

<sup>6</sup> Pol. *koniusz*; apparently a translation of Tur. *mirahor*.

<sup>7</sup> The Turkish term *qapıcı başı* is rendered in Polish as *kapudzi baszy*.

<sup>8</sup> The term "imperial" (*cesarskie*) apparently refers to the Ottoman sultan; cf. Document 48, n. 19.

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps the original Turkish text read "prayed to God for their rulers;" cf. Document 51.

<sup>10</sup> *Sic*; Ghazi II Giray was Bahadır's uncle.

<sup>11</sup> In seventeenth-century Polish, the term *Wołochy* (*w Wołoszech* in the locative) referred to either Wallachia or Moldavia. In the given case it refers to Moldavia.

<sup>12</sup> Empty space was left for the amount to be entered. In 1599, during the negotiations between the envoys of Ghazi II Giray and Sigismund III, it was agreed that the value of annual gifts should amount to 15,000 florins; cf. Document 36, n. 9.

[i.e., Očakiv]; hence, on our part we should send our servants to fetch them and bring to Baghchasaray.

According to the ancient custom, we have sent Qutlu-shah Bey,<sup>13</sup> from among our most prominent servants, along with our present fortunate and sworn instrument of agreement [poprzysiężone pakta], in desire that from the present day on we should become a brother and friend of Your Royal Majesty, just like our ancestors, the khans Mengli Giray and Devlet Giray, used to live in great friendship and brotherly amity with the ancestors of Your Royal Majesty, [such as] King Augustus, and, moreover, like recently, in the times of Chancellor Zamoyski, our brother,<sup>14</sup> Ghazi Giray Khan, became a brother and friend of Your Royal Majesty[’s father].<sup>15</sup>

We have ordered him [i.e., Qutlu-shah] to deliver our present instrument of agreement with the condition that if Your Royal Majesty, our brother, out of respect for the [Ottoman] emperor’s friendship, do not bring any damage or let your troops bring damage in any of his domains, and especially in Moldavia and Wallachia,<sup>16</sup> or in the surroundings of Akkerman, Tighina [i.e., Bender], or Kilia, moreover, if the Cossack brigands are firmly restrained from crossing the Dnieper near Djankerman [i.e., Očakiv] or setting out to the sea in their boats, hence if these brigands do not bring any damage in our Crimean domains, while your customary gifts are delivered to us and all the aforementioned brothers, sultans, beys, aghas, and other mirzas, and if you display your desire to maintain the mutual friendship in all aspects, according to the ancient custom, then, on our part, we, Bahadır Giray Khan, along with all our troops as well as our brothers, namely Qalga Islam Giray, Nureddin Safa Giray, all the remaining small and great [i.e., younger and older] sultans, all the aghas, beys, and all the Crimean and Nogay troops, we guarantee with our lives<sup>17</sup> that from now on, none [of our subjects] will ever dare to set his foot into any of your villages, towns, or boroughs in violation of the sworn instrument of agreement that we send you along with the lofty sign. On the contrary, they will all strive to be friends of your friends and enemies to your enemies. And because from now on, we will remain enemies of all your enemies and friends of [all your] friends, it is only right that your friends should be our friends, and [your] enemies [our] enemies, because if an enemy of yours appears and you need our help against him, we will always send you as many troops as

<sup>13</sup> Qutlu-shah was received by Hetman Koniecpolski in Bar on 24 October 1637 and then proceeded to the royal court in Warsaw; see *Korespondencja Stanisława Koniecpolskiego*, pp. 43–44, 423. Although he brought peaceful proposals, he was detained in Poland until 1639; cf. Document 55, n. 8.

<sup>14</sup> *Sic*; cf. n. 10 above.

<sup>15</sup> The passage refers to Sigismund III; cf. the previous paragraph.

<sup>16</sup> Respectively referred to as *ziemia wołoska* and *ziemia młtańska*; cf. Document 47, notes 4 and 13.

<sup>17</sup> Pol. *bierzemy na szyję nasze* (lit. “we take upon our necks”), a literal translation of the Turkish idiomatic expression *boyuna almaq*, “to take upon oneself,” i.e., “to pledge;” this expression can also be found in Document 49, preserved in the Turkish original.

needed, trusting that you will do likewise in response to our request, if such need arises.

Thus from now on, your envoys and merchants may come to us freely, and likewise our envoys and merchants should be able to travel freely to your domains, without experiencing any damage. And if by accident any of them suffers any damage, in our domains or yours, all [stolen] goods should be immediately found and restored [to their owners] while evildoers should receive their deserved punishment on the spot, so that this sworn agreement should remain intact.

And if it so happens that we, or any of our brothers, set out with [our] troops in whichever direction, then [these troops] should pass round any Polish domains so that not even the slightest harm be ever done in the state of Your Royal Majesty, our brother, by anyone from among the Tatar or Nogay troops.

Thus, firmly cementing all the articles written in our present instrument of agreement with our oath so that the solid friendship should last until the final days of our reign, we swear by one and great God and by our true Prophet that we want to thoroughly honor the contents of the present agreement, cemented with [our] oath; and we stamp them with our friendly seal so that they should be delivered to [your] friendly hands.

[Written] in the third decade<sup>18</sup> of the prosperous<sup>19</sup> month named Safer, of the year 1047 after the departure of our prophet, Muhammad Mustafa, from this world,<sup>20</sup> in our capital city of Baghchasaray.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> The Polish phrase *na końcu* ("at the end") is an apparent translation of the Turkish term *evahir* (lit. "the end") referring to the third, last decade of a month.

<sup>19</sup> The Polish translator apparently did not understand the standard formula *Seferü'l-hayr* ("the prosperous Safer") and erroneously rendered it as *Seferü'l-ahir* (Pol. *seferulachyr*, lit. "the last Safer;" the Arabic adjective *al-ahir* ("the last") is used only in reference to the months Rebi and Djumada (*Rebi'ü'l-ahir* for Rebi II and *Cemaziyü'l-ahir* for Djumada II) in order to distinguish them from Rebi I (*Rebi'ü'l-evvel*) and Djumada I (*Cemaziyü'l-evvel*), respectively.

<sup>20</sup> Sic; of course it should refer to the Hegira and not Muhammad's death. The third decade of Safer 1047 A.H. lasted from 15 till 23 July 1637.

<sup>21</sup> In the preserved Polish copy, the *locatio* is followed by a fragment, in which the khan notifies the king that the Crimean envoy, Qutlu-shah Bey, has been entrusted with additional matters which will be discussed orally; Bibl. Czart., ms. 134 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 159–160. The fragment contains a separate *intitulatio* of Bahadır Giray and a separate royal address, hence it is probably a translation of Qutlu-shah's credential letter; still, one cannot exclude that it was inscribed at the bottom of the *'ahdname* and thus constituted its integral part.

DOCUMENT 53 (JULY 1637)  
The *'ahdname* (*list przymierny*) sent by Qalga Islam Giray  
to King Vladislaus IV

The original document is missing.

Polish translation: Bibl. Czart., ms. 134 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 161–164.

List przymierny od gałgi do Jego Królewskiej Miłości Władysława Czwartego:

Panu Bogu najwyższemu niechaj wieczna chwała i dzięki oddawane będą, że z wszechmocności swej z niszczonego świat i ziemię, i wszystkie rzeczy na nim będące stworzył, a człeka rozumu daniem *przysłuchawszy* nad wszystkie stworzone rzeczy wywyższył. Niechaj będą Stwórcy temu wieczne i nieskończone oddawane dzięki, że On z wszechmocności swej tak na niebie między gwiazdami i planetami, jako i na ziemi między wszystkimi stworzonymi rzeczami, sam przez się i przez zacne święte proroki swe wszelki porządek postanowił i różne narody wiarą swą świętą uczył i ubogacił, aż do czasów szczęśliwych naszych.

My, Wielkiej Hordy i wielkich państw krymskich, wielkich gór i szerokich pól tackich i nachayskich, cerkieskich, po lewej i prawej stronie wielkich wojsk wiary musułmańskiej wielki carowicz i kałga krymski, Islam Gieray sołtan, wielkich królestw i wielkich księstw polskich, szwedzkich, litewskich, ruskich, pruskich, mazowieckich, żmudzkich, inflantskich, gotskich, wandalaskich, wielkiemu i najjaśniejszemu monarsze polskiemu, Władysławowi Czwartemu bratu naszemu, po nawiedzeniu pilnym zdrowia dobrego przez to nasze pisanie z najwyższym znakiem naszym sułtańskim wiadomo będzie, że zostawszy z zacnych przodków naszych krymskich stolice wielkim gałgą za szczęściem i łaską bożą, za co niechaj Mu będą wieczne i nieskończone dzięki oddawane, zarazem jeżeliśmy do postronnych przyjaciół listy nasze przyjacielskie rozesłali; pogotowiu do Waszej Królewskiej Miłości, brata naszego dla potwierdzenia i ugruntowania starożytnych pakt wyprawić nam przyszło wielkiego posła naszego Hussein czausa, życząc sobie każdemu przyjacielowi Waszej Królewskiej Miłości przyjacielem być, a nieprzyjacielowi nieprzyjacielem, i tak w bliskim, jako i w dalekim sąsiedztwie w przyjaźni nienaruszonej żyć nie inaczej jako zacny przodek Waszej Królewskiej Miłości, król August świętej pamięci z przodkami naszymi żyjąc czas niemały, wzajemnie sobie zawsze statecznie, w niczym nigdy nie wykraczając przyjaźni i wiary dotrzymywali, postanowione pakta z pilnością szanowali.

Temu że we wszystkim chce dosyć czynić Bohadyr Gieray, chan i brat nasz, posyła poprzysiężone pakta Waszej Królewskiej Miłości; a że też i my we wszystkim chcemy się skromnie zachować i te poprzysiężone pakta świątobliwie szanować, dla tego my wielkiego posła naszego Hussein czausa do Waszej



Królewskiej Miłości wyprawili. Słuszna tedy, żebyś też Wasza Królewska Miłość przyjąwszy te pakta i obietnice nasze, onym we wszystkim z tej tam strony swej czyniąc dosyć, te zwyczajne upominki nam odesłać raczył. Także zachowując sobie przyjaźń cesarza tureckiego w państwach jego, tak wołoskich i multańskiej ziemi, jako też i około Tehini, Biłogrodu, i Kiliej aby ani wojska Waszej Królewskiej Miłości, ani wojska kozackie wtargnieniem na morze czołnami przez Dniepr ani lądem żadnych szkód najmniejszych w państwach cesarskich, ani w włościach naszych krymskich czynić nie ważyli się.

Jeżeli tedy te wszystkie upominki, które z dawnych czasów oddawane antecessorom i braci naszym, gałgom, nam i agom naszym natenczas wcale odeślecie, i kozackie swawoleństwo mocno poskromicie, tedy i my też wszystkiego krymskiego jako i nachayskiego wojska na nasze szyje tak dalece bierzemy, że nie tylko by miał jeden nogą z wojsk naszych tatarskich postać w ziemi waszej, ale i my sami lubo to z daleka lubo z bliska, zostawszy bratem i przyjacielem waszym, każdego przyjaciela waszego przyjacielem, a nieprzyjaciela nieprzyjacielem zostawszy, na żądanie wasze przeciwko każdemu nieprzyjacielowi, ile tylko potrzeba będzie wojska posłać gotowi będziemy ufając, że i wy też dla nas toż uczynicie, gdyby tego potrzeba była jaka.

Zaczyn niechaj do nas posłowie i kupcy wasi spokojnie przyjeżdżają i odjeżdżają, podobnym sposobem nasi do was, zobopólnie żadnych szkód ani na osobie, ani na dobrach i towarach swoich nie ponosząc, niechaj wolno przyjeżdżają i odjeżdżają. A jeżeliby trafunkiem gdziekolwiek którego szkoda spotkała, tak u was jako i u nas, niechaj zarazem wynalazłszy zgubę jego, swawoleństwo surowo karane niech zostawa.

Lecz gdyby też nam przyszło dokąd wojska posyłać nasze, polskie włości daleko mijać będą; żadem z tatarskiego wojska w ziemi Waszej Królewskiej Miłości, brata naszego Władysława Czwartego i nogą jedną postać, ani szkód najmniejszych czynić ważyć się nie będzie.

Dlatego te szczęśliwe pakta nasze i wszystkie w nich opisane kondycyje przysięgą naszą, że do śmierci po wszystkie dni panowania naszego dosyć czynić chcemy, utwierdzają[c], przysięgliśmy na jednego i miłościwego Boga i proroka naszego prawdziwego. Że tedy tej przysiędze dosyć czynić chcemy, pakta te nasze zawierając szczęśliwie spokojną ręką pieczęć przyjacielską przyciskamy. Życzymy przy tym od Pana Boga zdrowia dobrego i szczęśliwego panowania Waszej Królewskiej Miłości.

Roku po zejściu wielkiego i prawdziwego naszego proroka 1047, w stolicy i rezydencji naszej Lutfi Saraju.

Translation:

*The letter of agreement [sent] from the qalga to His Royal Majesty Vladislaus IV:*

*Let the eternal praise and gratitude be pronounced to the highest God, who through His almightiness created the world, earth, and all things from nothing, and elevated the man above the whole creation by giving him reason. Let the eternal and infinite gratitude be pronounced to the Creator, who through His*

*almightiness created order in heaven, among stars and planets, and on earth, among all the created beings, Himself or through noble and holy prophets, and has ennobled and enriched various nations with His holy faith, and continues doing so until our fortunate times.*

We, the great prince [carowicz] of the Great Horde and the great Crimean domains, the great mountains and wide fields [i.e., steppes] of the Tats,<sup>1</sup> Nogays, and Circassians, the great Muslim troops arranged into the left and the right side, the Crimean qalga, Islam Giray Sultan, after having promptly wished good health to the great and illustrious Polish monarch of the great kingdoms and great duchies of Poland, Sweden, Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, Samogitia, Livonia, Gothia, and Vandalia, our illustrious brother Vladislaus the Fourth, it will be known through our present writing provided with our lofty princely<sup>2</sup> sign [i.e., tuğra] that, as we have ascended the seat of our noble Crimean ancestors and become—by the favor and grace of God, let the eternal and infinite gratitude be pronounced to Him!—the great qalga, we have immediately sent our friendly letters to foreign friends; hence, in order to confirm and cement the ancient agreement we have sent our great envoy, Hüseyin Chavush, to our brother, Your Royal Majesty, in desire to be a friend of any friend of Your Royal Majesty, and an enemy of your enemy, and to live in inviolable friendship and neighborliness, just like the noble ancestor of Your Royal Majesty, the late King Augustus, used to live for a long time with our ancestors, without any deviation from the rules of mutual friendship and trust, in solid and due respect for the established agreements.

As Bahadır Giray, the khan and our brother, intends to entirely honor the above rules, he sends a sworn instrument of agreement [poprzysiężone pakta] to Your Royal Majesty; and as we, too, intend to keep a complete decency and devotedly respect the sworn agreement, we have dispatched our great envoy, Hüseyin Chavush, to Your Royal Majesty. Thus, it is only right that upon receiving the instruments of agreement and our engagements, Your Royal Majesty should entirely respect them on his part and should send us the customary gifts. Moreover, in order to maintain the friendship of the Turkish emperor, the troops of Your Royal Majesty should not bring any damage to his domains: Moldavia, Wallachia,<sup>3</sup> or the surroundings of Tighina [i.e., Bender], Akkerman, and Kilia, while the Cossack troops should not dare to bring any damage to the imperial domains or our Crimean estates by setting out from the Dnieper to the sea in their boats, or [coming] by land.

If you now send us and our aghas all the gifts, which used to be given since the ancient times to our ancestors and brothers, the [former] qalgas, in their

<sup>1</sup> On the Tats, who indeed lived in the mountains of the southern Crimea, see Document 48, n. 8.

<sup>2</sup> The qalga refers to his tuğra as “our lofty sultanic sign” (Pol. *najwyższy znak nasz sultański*); as in the Crimean context the title *sultan* applied to any prince from the Giray dynasty, but not to the ruling monarch, the adjective *sultański* (<Tur. *sultani*) is rendered here as “princely.”

<sup>3</sup> Respectively referred to as *państwa wołoskie* and *ziemia multańska*; cf. Document 47, notes 4 and 13.

entirety, and you firmly restrain the Cossack brigands, then, on our part, we guarantee with our lives,<sup>4</sup> also on behalf of the Crimean and Nogay troops, that no individual from among our Tatar troops will set his foot into your land; moreover, as having become your brother and friend we will become a friend of each of your friends and an enemy of [each of your] enemies, on your request we will be ready to send as many troops as needed against any of [your] enemies, trusting that you will do likewise for our sake, if such need arises.

Thus, your envoys and merchants may come to us and depart in peace, and likewise our [envoys and merchants] should be able to come to your domains and depart; may they come and depart freely, without suffering any damage in person or in goods and merchandise from whichever of the two sides. And if by accident any of them suffers a damage, in your domains or ours, his lost goods should be found on the spot while the culprits should be severely punished.

And if it so happens that we send our troops in any direction, they should pass round the Polish domains keeping a large distance; nobody from among the Tatar troops should set even one foot into the land of Your Royal Majesty, our brother Vladislaus IV, or dare to bring even the slightest harm.

Having cemented our prosperous instrument of agreement and all its conditions with our oath stipulating that we will respect them for all the days of our reign<sup>5</sup> until our death, we have sworn by one and gracious God and our true Prophet. As we wish to fulfill this oath, while happily concluding our present agreement we impress [our] friendly seal with a firm hand. We wish Your Royal Majesty a happy reign and may God preserve you in good health.

[Written] in the year 1047<sup>6</sup> after the death<sup>7</sup> of our great and true Prophet, in our seat and residence of Lutfi Saray.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Pol. *na nasze szyje [...] bierzemy*; on this Turkish idiomatic expression, here literally translated into Polish, cf. Document 52, n. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps it should rather read: "as long as we remain in the post of the qalga."

<sup>6</sup> The Muslim year 1047 A.H. lasted from 26 May 1637 till 14 May 1638, but we may date the qalga's instrument more precisely; it was probably issued at the same time as the khan's letter, i.e., in July 1637; cf. Document 52.

<sup>7</sup> *Sic*; of course it should refer to the Hegira and not Muhammad's death.

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps Lutfi Saray (lit. "Graceful Palace") should be identified with Aq Mesdjid Saray, the qalga's customary residence; cf. n. 418 in Part I.

DOCUMENT 54 (NOVEMBER<sup>1</sup> 1637)

The letter of agreement (*list przymierny*) sent by King Vladislaus IV  
to Qalga Islam Giray

The original document is missing.

Polish copy:<sup>2</sup> Bibl. Czart., ms. 134 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 165–166.

Respons do gałgi od Jego Królewskiej Miłości na list przymierny:

Jużeśmy Tobie powinszowali stolice przodków Twoich przez Arslana gońca Twego, toż i teraz przez posła wielkiego Husseina czausza czyniemy chwałąc i bratu Twemu Bohadir Gieriejowi chanowi, i Tobie ten mądry i godny przodków Waszych postępkek, iż odezawszy się innym sąsiedzkim panom z przyjaźnią, wprzód majestat nasz szanujecie, i obadwa z nuradynem i innemi bracią swą carowiczami życzliwą chęć i przyjaźń swą offiarujecie. Powinszowawszy Tobie tedy i powtórę miejsca przodków Twoich, wiadomo tym naszym listem królewskim przymiernym oznajmujemy, że i my stałą przyjaźń państwowi Waszym dotrzymać chcemy, a stosując się do dawnych pakt i mając wzgląd na offiarowaną życzliwość, wedle zwyczaju upominki na czas i miejsce jako dawno bywało posyłamy. Która chęć nasza jako dobrowolna, nie z powinności ale łaski naszej królewskiej offiarowana, ufamy wdzięcznie przyjęta będzie; czego i na potym tym pewniej spodziewać się macie, im chętniejsi i do usługi naszej wojennej, i do wszelakiego przyjacielskiego oświadczenia stawiać się będziecie.

Kazaliśmy nadto wojskom i hetmanom naszym, którzy już ku Dnieprowi poszli, Kozaki znosić, i one rozpędziwszy z swawolnej kupy i surowie pokarawszy, i pokój pograniczny w słuszną rezę wprawić, podając to do wiadomości

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<sup>1</sup> The document is undated but it was probably issued in November 1637, along with other royal letters addressed to Crimean dignitaries; see Baranowski, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie w latach 1632–1648*, p. 88. Baranowski maintained that the whole Tatar embassy had been promptly sent back to the Crimea. Yet, his statement is contradicted by the fact that Qutlu-shah, the khan's great envoy, was still in Poland in July 1638. In 1640, Bahadır Giray complained that he had waited over two years for his envoy's return; cf. Document 55, n. 8. Apparently only less important members of the Crimean embassy were sent back in the fall of 1637, while Qutlu-shah was detained in Poland. The king promptly issued the present instrument addressed to the qalga and sent it through Hüseyin Chavush, but apparently he did not issue an analogous instrument addressed to the khan. The reconstruction of chronology is hampered by the fact that a collection of the Polish-Crimean correspondence, preserved in a copy of the Polish National Library (ms. B. N. Pol. F IV 94), which was known to Baranowski, perished in Warsaw during WW2.

<sup>2</sup> This copy is incomplete; it lacks the preamble, the royal *intitulatio*, the *inscriptio*, and the ending formula, including the *datatio* and *locatio*.

Twojej, że jeźliby jaki Kozak swawolnie gdzie szkodę na pograniczu uczynił, aby to pokoju nie targało. Trudno tych ludzi, co się w tak wielką kupę wzbili, razem wykorzenić, bo choć ich wojsko nasze rozpędzi, po rzekach i wodach się pokryją, i stamtąd przekradłszy się tajemnie, czynić szkodę mogą, na co my jednak pilną straż mieć każemy, aby się i z morza, i od pól biłogrodzkich, także od Multan i Wołoch, i Wam i najjaśniejszego Cesarza Jego Miłości ottomańskiego ludziom żadna szkoda nie działa.

Posłom też i kupcom i z naszej i z Waszej strony bezpieczeństwo będzie. Jeźliby się co kiedy przeciwnego trafiło, skuteczną i nieodwłoczną sprawiedliwość czynić rozkażemy. I we wszystkim Wam wedle starych pakt i natenczas poprzysiężonej obietnice naszej tym naszym listem przymiernym pokój stateczny dotrzymamy, obowiązując się bydz' spólnym przyjaciółom przyjaciółmi, i nieprzyjaciółom nieprzyjaciółmi.

A Ty, będąc pamiętny chęci naszej królewskiej starać się zechcesz o nieodmienną państw zobopólnych przyjaźń. My też oświadczon[e]j raz i teraz już obiecan[e]j chęci dotrzymywając, tym większą przyjaźń i łaskę naszą obiecujemy, które na żądanie Twoje chętnie zawsze Tobie oświadczamy. Życzemy zatym etc. etc.

Translation:

*An answer [sent] from His Royal Majesty to the qalga in response to his letter of agreement:*

*We have already congratulated you on your ascension to the seat of your ancestors through your courier, Arslan,<sup>3</sup> and now we repeat [our wishes] through [your] great envoy, Hüseyin Chavush, praising your brother, Bahadır Giray Khan, and you for your clever act, worthy of your ancestors, namely that upon addressing neighboring rulers with your friendship, you first pay respect to our majesty and you both, along with the nureddin and your other brothers, the sultans [carowiczami], offer us your goodwill and friendship. Thus having congratulated you for the second time on your ascension to the seat of your ancestors, we make known with our present royal letter of agreement [listem królewskim przymiernym] that, on our part, we also wish to keep permanent friendship with your states and, following the ancient agreements and having in mind [your] expressed goodwill, we send gifts in the usual time and to the customary place, as they used to [be sent] in the ancient times. As our well-disposition is voluntary, conditioned by our royal favor and not imposed by duty, we trust that [our gifts] will be received with [your] gratitude; and hereafter, the better disposed you are to serve us with troops and display your friendship in any [other] way, the more you can count on such favors [i.e., gifts].*

<sup>3</sup> Arslan Bey arrived in Poland in the summer of 1637 with the notification of Islam Giray's accession to the post of qalga; cf. n. 427 in Part I. In 1640, he again traveled to Poland with the qalga's new *'ahdname*; cf. Document 57, n. 5.

Moreover, we have ordered our troops and hetmans, who have already set out to the Dnieper, to rout the Cossacks and, having dispersed their bands and severely punished them, to restore the peace on the frontiers, [yet simultaneously] notifying you that if a [single] Cossack brings a damage in the frontier area, it should not break the peace. It is [indeed] difficult to completely eradicate these men, who have multiplied to such an extent; even though our troops routed them, they would hide in rivers and waters and, having stolen through [into new places], they would [again] commit harm; nevertheless, we will order to diligently guard that no damage should be brought to you or the people of His illustrious Ottoman Imperial Majesty from the direction of the sea, the Akkerman steppe, Wallachia or Moldavia.<sup>4</sup>

Envoys and merchants will enjoy security from both our side and yours. If something contrary happens, we will order to mete out effective and immediate justice. By [sending] our present letter of agreement, we will keep solid peace with you, in all aspects, in accordance with the ancient agreements and our formerly sworn promise, engaging to be friends of each other's friends and enemies of [each other's] enemies.

And you, while having in mind our royal goodwill, should endeavor to maintain inviolable mutual friendship between the two states. On our part, while confirming our goodwill, once declared and presently expressed anew, we promise our ever-increasing friendship and favor, which we are always ready to declare on your request. Thus we wish [you] etc., etc.

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<sup>4</sup> Respectively referred to as *Multany* and *Wołochy*; cf. Document 47, notes 4 and 13.

DOCUMENT 55 (21 JULY–18 AUGUST 1640)  
The *‘ahdname* sent by Khan Bahadır Giray to King Vladislaus IV  
[Facs. VII]

Original paper document in Turkish (Crimean Tatar mixed with Ottoman Turkish): AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 63, t. 49, no. 514.

198 × 40 cm. (4 sheets glued together)

invocation (gold): *divani* script

*tuğra* (gold): 13.5 × 21.5 cm.

text (black with gold insertions): *divani* script

the black almond-like seal of Bahadır Giray (2.2 cm. in height) is impressed at the bottom

Published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, pp. 252–256.

Polish 17th-century translation by Samuel Otwinowski: a) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 63, t. 49, no. 515 (copied by Antoni Crutta from the Turkish document's reverse side); b) Bibl. Ossol., ms. 3555, fol. 353a–357a; c) Bibl. Czart., ms. 137 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 513–518.

### Hüve al-mu‘in

#### Bahadır Gërey Han bin Selamet [Gërey] Han sözüümüz<sup>a</sup>

- [1] Allahu tebareke ve ta‘ala hazretine köb şükürler ve peygamberimiz Hazret-i **Muhammad** ‘aleyhi’s-salavat hazretlerine köbdin köb salavat ve tahiyat qılğanımızdın sonra uluğ orda uluğ
- [2] yurtnın taht-i Qırımın uluğ han ‘azimü’s-şanı **Bahadır Gërey Han** hazretlerindin haliya Lëh memleketinin ve Litvanın ve köb Urusunın ve Purusunın
- [3] padişahı bolğan qardaşımız Vıladıslaf Qıralğa bu yüzdin ‘ahdname-i hümayunumdur ki zıkr olunur Allahu tebareke ve te‘ala ‘amme nevalühü ve tevali hazretleri öz lutfından
- [4] mën şah ‘adalet-nişannı bu zaman sa‘adet-evanda şah-i cihan ve halife-i devran ëdüb südde-i seniye-i sa‘adetimni mesned-i enam ve ‘atebe-i ‘ali-yemizni
- [5] melaz ve mülteca-i has ve ‘am eyledi taqı umur-i cumhur-i Beni Ademni qabza-i dest-i meymenet-peyvestime tefviz ëdüb yarlıgı belig-i sa‘adet-tebligimni cari qılb tevqi‘-i refi‘-i ‘ali-şan

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<sup>a</sup> This *tuğra* is more simple than the *tuğra* of Bahadır Giray appended to his *sartname* and other letters sent to Moscow; for color reproductions of the latter, see Faizov, *Tugra i Vselennaja*, pp. 46–49, 52–55, ill. 12–14, 18, 20–22.

- [6] ve hatt-i şerif-i dil-küşam birle dostlarımni mesrur ve şadkam eyledi  
 érse hamden ‘ala tilke`n-ni‘am uluğ orda uluğ yurtnın
- [7] ve Deşt-i Qıpçaqnın ve taht-i Qırımın ve sansız köb çerivnin ve sağışsız  
 Noğaynın ve Tat bile Tavgaçnın ve tav ara Çerkeçnin
- [8] ve ong qolnın ve sol qolnın uluğ han ‘ali-şanı **Bahadır Gérey Han** haz-  
 retlerindin uluğ Urusnın ve Purusnın ve barça
- [9] Léh memleketlerinin ve Litvanın ve Jyumayutnın Mazavşanun ve sair  
 köb yerlernin uluğ qıralı ve hükümdarığa köpdin köp selam aytıb
- [10] nedir halinüz yahşımısız ve hoşmısız déb<sup>b</sup> muhabbetlik ve qardaşlıq  
 birle sorğanımızdın sonra i‘lam-i yarlıg-i şerif-i hani oldur ki bundan  
 aqdem siz qardaşımız
- [11] milen dost ve qardaş bolurğa yahşı söyleşüb eki yurtnın arasında tüzen-  
 lik bolurin tileb uluğ elçilerimiz cibergen êrdik Al-i ‘Osman padişahı
- [12] sa‘adetlü ve devletlü **hünkâr hazretleri** taqı sizinmilen barışq bolurğa  
 ol zamanda ‘ahdname-i hümayun cibergenlerinde öz memleketlerine ve  
 bizim vilayetimiz Qırım yurtuna barçadın
- [13] İslam éline sizin qarada bolğan serhadlarınuzdın hırsız ve harami çıqub  
 zarar u ziyân étmemek üzere yahşı zabt ve muhkem tenbih éterinüzge  
 ve taqı Özüdin
- [14] şayqa milen qazaq çıqarmay yahşı zabt édüb Qara Deniz yalılarında  
 bolğan halq rahat bolurğa ve taqı biz uluğ han-i a‘zam hazretlerine  
 ötken ata ve dedelerimiz
- [15] ve ağaçalarımız bolğan havaqin-i salifin ‘aleyhime`r-rahmet ve`r-rızvan  
 zamanlarında siz qardaşımızın *tataları*<sup>c</sup> bolğan qıralların dostluq  
 étüb cibere-kelgen vèrgü ve hazineni
- [16] her yıl zamanındın qaldırmay bi-qusur cibermek şartı üzere barça ‘ahd  
 ü peyman ‘ayan ve beyan qılınğan êrdi mundın sonra vilayetinizge aqın  
 etdirmey ve beş-baş
- [17] cibermey zabt édüb qaçub barğan eşqıyanın muhkem haqqından kelüb  
 Aqkermen ve Cankermen etrafında bolğan barça Tatar ve Noğay halqını  
 taqı sürüb Qırımğa ketürüb
- [18] eşqıya ve haramzade bolğan taifeni öltürüb cezasın bérüb bizge tüşken  
 barça dostluqnı ve barışqlıqnı murad üzere yerine ketürüb hiç bir
- [19] sözümüzde hata ve hilaf bolmağan êrdi bu ortalıqda sizni dost ve qardaş  
 déb cibergen elçimiz ve niçe kişilerimizni muhabbetname yarlıg-i  
 şerifimiz birle siz qardaşımızğa
- [20] ve hetmanlarınuzğa dostluq ve qardaşlıq için cibergenimizde sav-esen  
 vilayetinizge dahil bolğan sonra öz memleketiniz içinde kişilerimizni  
 tib-tiri ga‘ib
- [21] étüb bizge qayta cibermey yoq etdinüz tekrar savlıgın bilüb haber alub  
 zabtla memleketde munday iş bolurmi ba-husus qardaşlıqğa barğan  
 elçini şulay

<sup>b</sup> It can be also read *deyib*.

<sup>c</sup> Apparently the term *tataları* refers to ancestors; in the nureddin’s document this fragment reads: *ata ve babaları* (translated there as “ancestors and fathers”); cf. Document 56.



- [22] éterlermi sizniñ padişahlığınızğa tüşer iş tüküldür deb yine muhabbet-namemiz ile tiley cibergenmizde yoqdur tapmadıq deb elçimizni yoq etdiñüz mundın gayri
- [23] serhad cerlerimizde Ordın tışqarı çevire-turğan elimizge ve Qırım ve Noğay mallarına qaradın atlu qazağınız niçe kerre kelüb köb mal ve niçe tusnaq<sup>d</sup> aldılar
- [24] hiç eksik bolmadı niçe kerre kelgenlerinde serhadlarımızda bolğan qullarımız bozub niçesin tüşürüb ve alğan malların taqı ba'zısın saldırub tiller ketürüb
- [25] söyletdüğümüzde aslıyle haber bildik ve l-hasıl bir kerre Öziden qazaq eksik bolmadı ve Kara Denizge taqı şayqalarınız çıqub Rum-êlinde niçe yalıları ve köyleri urub
- [26] köb tusnaq ve mal aldılar ve Qırım yalılarına taqı niçe kerre kelüb denizge yaqın köylerimizge çıqub gafil êken hırsızlıq milen tusnaqlar alub yine yıraqdın turub
- [27] cıyluvlaşdılar<sup>e</sup> ve köp zarar etdiler alayda bolsa biz 'ahdimizde turub sizge sefer etmedik ve beş-başnı zabt edüb qaçub barganlarını taqı talab cezasın
- [28] bėrdik siz qardaşımızğa cibergen elçimiz Qutlu-şah Beyni qadimi vėrgü ve hedayamız milen tiz cibermeginüzni tiley eki yıldan artıq sabr eyledik siz taqı bu kün yarın
- [29] deb cubatıb<sup>f</sup> hazine ve elçinizni çaq Bağdad qal'esi feth olunğança ciber-mey elçimizni tutduğunuznı tahqiq bildik bu kerre elçiniz keldüğünde ayın-i qadimimiz üzere
- [30] say ve ri'ayet-milen elçinizni ketürüb hazine ve hedayanıznı aldugumuzda ötken 'adetçe tamam kelmedi biz burunğı ağaçalarımız qadar dostluq etmedükmi deb sorğanımızda

<sup>d</sup> The term *tusnaq*, referring to a hostage, can be found in a fourteenth-century Arabic treatise on the Turkish language titled *Kitab at-tuhfat az-zakiya fi'l-lugati t-turkiya*; see *Izyskannyj dar tjurkskomu jazyku (Grammatičeskij traktat XIV v. na arab-skom jazyke)*. Edited by È. Fazylov and M. Zijaeva (Tashkent, 1978), p. 394 (I thank Henryk Janowski for drawing my attention to this text). In the seventeenth-century Polish translation of the present document by Otwinowski, the expression *tusnaq aldılar* is rendered as *więźniów nabrali* ("they took prisoners"); hence the term *tusnaq* will be translated here as "captive."

<sup>e</sup> جيلولاشديلار; perhaps a verb derived from *yigilmaq*, "to gather;" hence the fragment *yine yıraqdın turub cıyluvlaşdılar ve köp zarar etdiler* would be translated "and again, keeping at a distance, they gathered [again] and caused much damage." I thank Henryk Janowski for this suggestion.

<sup>f</sup> Apparently a verb derived from *yubatmaq < yuvatmaq*; I thank Henryk Janowski for this suggestion. In Radlov's dictionary, the verb *yuvanmaq* (whereas the reflexive suffix *-n* can be replaced with the causative suffix *-t*) is translated as *medlit'* (Rus.) or *zögern* (Germ.); see Vasilij Radlov [Friedrich Wilhelm Radloff], *Opyt slovarja tjurkskix narečij*, vol. 3, pt. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1905), col. 570. Here the phrase *siz taqı bu kün yarın deb cubatıb* is translated as "and you procrastinated saying 'today, tomorrow'." In the seventeenth-century Polish translation by Otwinowski, the same fragment reads *dziś, jutro złączaliście*.

- [31] az da bolsa budur bahşışnıñ yüzine baqılmaz dēb ēlçiniz cevap vērduğūde biz taqı ēlçinizge hıç cefa ētmey yahşı say ve ri'ayetimiz milen soyurğalımıznı bērüb
- [32] bu zamañga dek cibermey qonuqladıq ve burundın dostluq arasında hilaf ēdüb vilayetimizdin alıñan tusnaq ve kōb malnı ve hazinemizniñ noqsanın taqı
- [33] bi-'inayeti'llahi'l-meliki'l-mu'in tamam haqlaşdıq imdi siz de bolsañuz sa'adetlü ve devletlü hünkar hazretlerine ēlçi ciberüb yine burunğıday barışılıq tilebsiz gerçi hünkar
- [34] hazretleri uluğ padişah ve bizim taqı ulumızdır biz taqı siz qardaşımız milen barışa-kelgenimiz sizde şimdi haqqımız ve sözümüz qalmadı şimden sonra 'ahdname-i hümayun mucibince
- [35] eger qaradan ve eger denizden qazağınızın yahşı zabt ēdüb ehl-i İslamdan bir ferde zarar olmamaq üzere ve hırsızınıznı yahşı zabt ēdüb öltürüb alğan malın
- [36] qayta cibermek üzere ve qanun-i qadim üzere her yıl dostluğıyçün vaqt u zamanındın bir kün keçkedirmey on beş miñ altun naqd ve on beş miñ altunlıq çoqa ve kürk
- [37] ve sair tokuzlama hedaya ve vėrgülerinüzni bi't-temam cibermek şartıyla niçük kim 'ahdname-i hümayun içinde taqı beyan qılınğandır bu minval üzere sözde tovrı tabılub dost ve qardaş
- [38] bolur için ēlçinüzni siz qardaşımızga qayta ciberib qıdvetü'l-emasil ve'l-aqran uluğ ēlçimiz Quvvat Bey zide qadruhını sizge cibergenimiz imdi siz taqı sözde tovrı
- [39] ve muhkem dost ve qardaş bolub minval-i muharrer üzere qaradan ve denizdin qazağınızın zabt ēdüb hazinemizni bi't-temam cibergeysiz şulay kim 'ahd ve şartımızda muhalif iş
- [40] bolmağay biz Tatar 'askerin ve qarındaşlarımız selatin-i 'uzam ve qaraçı ve qullarımıznı barçasın men' ve zabt eyledik sözümüz bir dir hıç hilaf bolmasdır ba'de'l-yevm barça
- [41] dostunuzga dost ve düşmanınızga düşmanımız şol şartla kim sözde tovrı ve muhkem tabılub ēlçi ve hazine milen dostluq ve qardaşlıgınızın bildirüb 'ömr-i ahırığaça
- [42] dostluq ve muhabbetlikde ve barça 'ahd ü peymanda hilaf ētmey çnılıq ētkeysiz taqı haliya cibergen uluğ ēlçimiz bolğan yaqın qulumuz qıdvetü'l-a'yan Quvvat Bey
- [43] zide qadruhını say ve ri'ayet-milen yahşı söyleşüb her ne ki sımır qılğan sözlerimizi yahşı yetiştirgeninde 'amel ve inam qılub siz taqı muhabbetlik kağıdınız ve uluğ ēlçinüz
- [44] ve say kişilerinüzni qoşub eglendirmey qayta tiz cibergeysiz taqı qadimi-den dostluq için cibere-kelgen bölek ve vėrgülerinüzni taqı burunğı 'adetçe
- [45] bi-qusur cibergey ērdinüz ol sebebdin ēki curtnıñ arasında söz sav bolmay yahşı dostluq ve tüzenlik bolğay ērdi mēn uluğ
- [46] han-i a'zam bu minval üzere siz qardaşımız milen dostluq ve qardaşlıqga 'ahd ü peyman eyledim ve uluğ ēlçinizni yahşı say ve ri'ayet-milen kōrünüşümüzge ketürüb

- [47] barça elçilerdin artuq saylab muhabbetlik ve dostluq sözlerimizni aytub  
‘ahd ü peyman qılub ciberdimki siz taqı şulay barça sözümüzde tovrı ve  
muhkem
- [48] tabılğaysız ve elçimizni köp tutmağaysız gerçi biz sizin elçinizni tutduq  
ërse ne sebebdin tutduğumuzni yuqarıda ‘ayan ve beyan qılğanmız ve  
elçiniz taqı ayta-
- [49] barır ri‘ayet etkenmiz ve hala sizinle yahşı söyleşmek için burundın  
bara-kelgen beylerni cibermey özümüzge yaqın bolğan iç qullarımızdın
- [50] yaqın qulumuz bolğanıyçün Quvvat Beyni cibergenmiz yahşı tovrı  
qulumuzdur siz taqı yahşı muradımızça söyleşüb ri‘ayet-milen qayta  
tiz cibergeysiz şulay bilgeysiz
- [51] dëb hat bitildi tarih-i ming elli yılında Rebi‘ü’l-ahir ayında tahtgahımız  
Bağçe Sarayında

bi-maqami  
Bağçesaray  
el-mahruse

### **Bahadır Gërey Han bin Selamet Gërey Han<sup>8</sup>**

Translation:

*He, the Helper!*

[tuğra] *Bahadır Giray Khan, son of Selamet [Giray] Khan: our word:*

*After we have pronounced many thanks to His Excellency, God (may He be blessed and exalted!), and great many prayers and salutations to his excellency, our prophet Muhammad (prayers be upon him!), from his [i.e., my] excellency, the great and most glorious khan of the Great Horde, the great country [yurt], and the Crimean throne, Bahadır Giray Khan, to our brother, King Vladislaus, being presently the emperor [padişah] of Poland, Lithuania, and many [lands of] Ruthenia and Prussia:*

*Thus, my imperial ‘ahdname is as follows: His Excellency, God (may He be blessed and exalted!), whose beneficence is universal and continuous, made me out of His favor the just shah in this prosperous time, the ruler of the world and the caliph of the epoch, and He turned my prosperous exalted threshold [i.e., court] into the basis of mankind, and our elevated court into the asylum and refuge of the high and the low [i.e., elite and commoners]. And as He committed the affairs of the community of the sons of Adam [i.e., mankind] to the grasp of my auspicious hand, He put my eloquent yarliq, announcing prosperity, into circulation, making my friends happy and rejoicing by means*

<sup>8</sup> Text of the seal.

of my illustrious sublime rescript and noble joy-giving writing. Praise [to Him] for those favors!

From his excellency, the great illustrious khan of the Great Horde and great country [yurt], the Kipchak Steppe, the Crimean throne, innumerable troops and countless Nogays, Tats and Tavgaches,<sup>1</sup> mountain Circassians,<sup>2</sup> the [troops of the] right wing and the left wing, Bahadır Giray Khan, to the great king and ruler of Ruthenia, Prussia, all the Polish domains, Lithuania, Samogitia,<sup>3</sup> Mazovia, and many other places: after having expressed great many salutations and asked with affection and brotherliness: “how are you?,” “do you feel well?” and “are you doing well?,” the message of the noble monarchic yarliq is that:

Previously, in order to keep friendship and brotherhood with you, our brother, we exchanged good words, and in desire of harmony between the two countries we sent our great envoys. At that time also his excellency, the Ottoman padishah, the prosperous and illustrious sovereign, sent an imperial ‘ahdname in order to make peace with you, providing that you should well guard and firmly order so that the thieves and robbers could not set out through your land borders and commit damage and harm to his own dominions, or our country, the Crimean land, or any Islamic land; moreover, that you should stand guard so that the Cossacks could not set out from the Dnieper on their boats [şayqa] and the people dwelling on the Black Sea shores may live in peace. Moreover, in the times of the previous khans (may God’s mercy and approbation be upon them!), who were the father, grandfathers, and elder brothers of our excellency, the great khan, all treaties and agreements remained manifest and clear on the condition that the gifts [vèrgü] and treasure [hazine], which used to be sent in expression of friendship, were to be sent each year, without any delay or omission, by the kings, who were the ancestors<sup>4</sup> of yours, our brother.

Thereafter, we assured that there would be no raid or small raid [beş-baş<sup>5</sup>] against your country, we severely punished runaway brigands, we resettled all Tatars and Nogays, who had been dwelling in the vicinity of Akkerman and Djankerman [i.e., Očakiv], to the Crimea, and we killed and punished brigands and villains; [in short,] we fulfilled all the requirements of friendship and reconciliation that fell to us, without any fraud or contravention.

Meanwhile, for the sake of friendship and brotherhood we sent to you, our brother, and to your hetmans, our envoy and a number of our men along with our friendly letter [muhabbetname] and noble yarliq, announcing friendship and brotherly affection towards you; though they were well and in good health when we sent them, after they entered your country, well and healthy, you made our men disappear in your own country and you never sent them

<sup>1</sup> On the Tats and Tavgaches, see Document 48, n. 8, and Document 49, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. “Circassians [living] among mountains.”

<sup>3</sup> The Tatar term *Jyumayut* must be a corrupt rendering of the Polish term *Żmudź* (Lith. *Žemaitija*, i.e., Samogitia).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. n. c above.

<sup>5</sup> Lit. “[a raid committed by] five heads.”

back to us! As we knew that they were healthy, upon receiving news [of their disappearance] we again sent our friendly letter asking: "how could such a thing happen in an orderly state, especially to an envoy going with a brotherly purpose? it is your responsibility as a ruler to investigate [the matter]!" And you replied: "they are not here; we did not find [them]," [thus] making our envoy disappear.

Besides, your mounted Cossacks came many times by land [raiding] our subjects wandering on the outer side of Or [i.e., Perekop], situated on our border moat,<sup>6</sup> and [capturing] the Tatar and Nogay property [i.e., cattle], and they captured a lot of property and many captives, and it never stopped. Many times when they came, they defeated our servants guarding the borders, killed many of them, and they rushed some of the captured cattle and prisoners taken for information [tiller] to go with them. And when we let [you] know it, [you answered:] "we had absolutely no idea." In sum, in no way did the Cossacks disappear from the Dnieper. Also your [Cossack] boats [şayqalar] set out to the Black Sea, raided many shores and villages in Rumelia, and captured numerous captives and property. They also came many times to the Crimean shores, appeared in our villages situated close to the sea, and treacherously captured those unaware; and again, keeping at a distance, they gathered [again] and caused much damage.

Nevertheless, we kept our oath, did not commit raids against you, prevented small raids [beş-baş], and administered desired punishments to those who escaped [our control]. We patiently waited over two years for our envoy, Qutlu-shah Bey,<sup>8</sup> sent to you, our brother, with the request that you promptly send [him back] along with the ancient gifts [vèrgü] and presents [hedaya]. And you procrastinated saying: "today, tomorrow," and did not send the treasure [hazine] and your envoy until the conquest of the fortress of Baghdad,<sup>9</sup> while we knew well that you had detained our envoy. Then, when your envoy [finally] arrived,<sup>10</sup> we received him with respect and attention according to our

<sup>6</sup> Or (lit. "ditch"), known in the Slavic languages under analogous terms as Perekop (Ukr.) or Przekop (Pol.), was situated on the moat dug out in order to separate the Crimean peninsula from the mainland thus providing its security; see Jankowski, *Historical-Etymological Dictionary*, pp. 748–750.

<sup>7</sup> The term *mal* refers to any kind of property, but in the given context especially to cattle.

<sup>8</sup> Qutlu-shah arrived at Warsaw in November 1637 with Bahadır Giray's instrument of agreement (cf. Document 52). Although he transmitted peaceful proposals on behalf of the new khan, he was detained because the royal treasury lacked money for the customary gifts. He was still in Poland in July 1638, and was apparently sent back only in 1639, along with a royal envoy, Krzysztof Dzierżek; see Bibl. Czart., ms. 135 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 395–398 (a royal letter to the khan, dated in Warsaw on 13 July 1638, in which Vladislaus IV promises to send back Qutlu-shah shortly along with a royal envoy and gifts); *Korespondencja Stanisława Koniecpolskiego*, p. 554.

<sup>9</sup> The Ottomans reconquered Baghdad, lost to the Safavids in 1624, in December 1638.

<sup>10</sup> I.e., Krzysztof Dzierżek, the royal translator and envoy, sent to the Crimea early in 1639 and detained until 1640; see his biography by Bohdan Baranowski in *PSB*, vol. 6, p. 161.

ancient custom; [yet,] when we collected your treasure and presents, they were incomplete, [un]fitting the former custom. When we asked: “did not we display as much friendship as our past [i.e., formerly reigning] elder brothers?,” your envoy answered: “even if it is not much, that’s it; one should not measure a [freely given] tip;<sup>11</sup>” nevertheless, we did not oppress your envoy, but we paid him respect and attention, granted him our favor, and did not send him [back], putting him up until the present time. And, by the grace of God, the Lord and the Helper, we entirely resigned from any [past] claims regarding the captives and large property, captured in our country in violation of the ancient friendship, as well as the deficiency in our treasure [that you sent us].

Now, you sent an envoy to his excellency, the prosperous and illustrious [Ottoman] sovereign, and requested to restore the old peace. Although his excellency, the sovereign, is a great padishah, we are great, too. We also used to make peace with you, our brother. Now, we have no more claims from you. From now on, if, according to the imperial ‘ahdname,<sup>12</sup> you firmly hold your Cossacks on land and on sea so that they do not bring harm to any Muslim, you promptly arrest and kill the thieves and send back the property stolen by them, and on the condition that, according to the ancient law, each year, for the sake of friendship, you send [us] 15,000 florins [altun] in cash, cloth and furs worth [another] 15,000 florins, and your other presents [hedaya] and gifts [vèrgüler] arranged in sets of nine objects,<sup>13</sup> without deficiency or even one day delay, as is also declared in the imperial ‘ahdname, in this manner the agreement will be loyally respected; [and] in order to keep friendship and brotherhood, we have sent back to you, our brother, your envoy, and we have [also] sent you our great envoy, Quvvat Bey (may his value increase!), the model of nobles and peers.

Now, while you should loyally and firmly keep the agreement, preserving friendship and brotherhood, and, in the manner described, hold your Cossacks on land and on sea, and send our treasure without deficiency, so that nothing should happen contrary to our oath and engagements, [also] we have stopped and taken in hold the Tatar troops, our brothers, [being] the great sultans [i.e., princes], the qaraçıs, and all our servants. Our word is sound and nothing contrary will happen. Henceforth, we will be a friend of all your friends and an enemy of your enemies, on such a condition that you should loyally and firmly respect the agreement and let [us] know your friendship and brotherly affection through your envoy and by [sending] a treasure, keeping friendship and affection until the end of [your] life, not doing anything against the treaty and agreement, and being honest. Moreover, you should pay respect and attention

<sup>11</sup> The expression *başışın yüzüne bakılmaz* is similar to the Turkish proverb *atın dişine bakılmaz* (“never look into the mouth of a gift horse”).

<sup>12</sup> The term “imperial ‘ahdname” refers here to the document issued by the khan, and not the Ottoman sultan; cf. an analogous fragment in Document 56, where the nureddin refers to the “imperial ‘ahdname of his excellency, our elder brother, the prosperous khan.”

<sup>13</sup> On the Turco-Mongolian custom, according to which a gift should have consisted of nine objects, see Document 31, n. 15.

to our close servant, our great envoy, Quvvat Bey (may his value increase!), the model of notables, and converse with him amicably; whatever he announces, you should perform and trust as he properly conveys our words; also, you should promptly and without delay send [us] back your friendly letter [muhabbetlik kağıdı] through your great envoy, accompanied by your respected men. And, following the old custom, you should send without deficiency your gifts [bölek<sup>14</sup> ve vergülerinüz] that used to be sent from the ancient times for the sake of friendship. For that reason no mere words but a good friendship and harmony will reign between the two countries.

In this manner I, the great and exalted khan, have concluded a treaty and agreement for the sake of friendship and brotherhood with you, our brother. We received your envoy at our audience with respect and attention, honoring him more than all [other] envoys, spoke to him in words full of affection and friendliness, concluded the treaty and agreement, and sent. You, too, should loyally and firmly respect all our agreements, and should not detain our envoy for long. Although we detained your envoy, above we explained and made clear why we detained him. Your envoy will arrive and tell you [himself] that we respected [him].

And now, in order to have fruitful negotiations with you, we have not sent the beys who used to go previously, but we have sent Quvvat Bey, because he has been our close servant from among our courtiers being close to us. He is our good and loyal servant. And, following our wish, you should converse [with him] amicably, respect [him] and promptly send back. Thus you must know!

Thus saying, the letter has been written in the month of Rebi II, in the year 1050, in our capital of Baghchasaray, in the abode of Baghchasaray,<sup>15</sup> the well-protected.

[seal] Bahadır Giray Khan, son of Selamet Giray Khan<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> On the term *bölek* ("gift"), cf. Document 20, n. 32.

<sup>15</sup> The *locatio* is redundantly repeated.

<sup>16</sup> In the middle of the seal there is the trident-shaped emblem of the Girays (*taraq tamğa*).

DOCUMENT 56 (10–18 AUGUST 1640)

The *‘ahdname* sent by Nureddin Qırım Giray to King Vladislaus IV  
[Facs. VIII]

Original paper document in Turkish (Crimean Tatar mixed with Ottoman Turkish): AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 63, t. 47, no. 510.

123.5 × 30 cm. (3 sheets glued together)

invocation (gold): *divani* script

*tuğra* (gold): 12.5 × 23 cm.

text (black with gold insertions): *divani* script

the black almond-like seal of Qırım Giray (1.5 cm. in height) is impressed at the bottom

Published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, pp. 256–260.

Polish 17th-century translation by Samuel Otwinowski: a) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 63, t. 47, no. 511 (copied by Antoni Crutta from the Turkish document's reverse side); b) Bibl. Ossol., ms. 3555, fol. 359b–363b.

**Hüve al-mu‘in**

**Qırım Gërey Sultan bin Selamet [Gërey] Han sözüümü<sup>a</sup>**

- [1] Allahu tebareke ve ta‘ala hazretine köb şükürler ve peygamberimiz Hazret-i Muhammad ‘aleyhi’s-salavat hazretlerine köpdin köb salavat ve tahiyat qılğanımızdın sonra uluğ
- [2] yurtnın ve taht-i Qırımın uluğ nureddin **Qırım Gërey Sultan** dame fi hıfzı Rabbına’l-müste‘an hazretlerimizdın haliya Lëh memleketinin ve Litvanın
- [3] ve köb Urusunın ve Purusunın padişahı bolğan qardaşımız...<sup>b</sup> Qıralğa ‘ahdname-i hümayunumdur ki zıkr olunur Allahu tebareke ve te‘ala
- [4] ‘amme nevalühü ve tevali hazretleri öz lutfından ağaçamız han şah ‘adalet-nişannı bu zaman sa‘adet-evanda şah-i cihan ve halife-i devran ve bizni sultan
- [5] ëdüb südde-i seniye-i sa‘adetimizni mesned-i enam ve ‘atebe-i ‘aliyemizni melaz ve mülteca-i has ve ‘am eyledi umur-i cumhur-i Beni Ademni qabza-i dest-i meymenet-
- [6] -peyvistemizge tefviz ëdüb yarlıg-i belig-i sa‘adet-tebliğimizni cari qılıb tevqi‘-i refi‘-i ‘ali-şan ve hatt-i şerif-i dil-küşamız birle [dostlarımıznı]<sup>c</sup> mesrur

<sup>a</sup> Faizxanov read this *tuğra* differently: *Qırım Gërey Sultan hazretlerimiz sözüümü*; cf. *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, p. 256.

<sup>b</sup> Empty space was left to fill in the king's name.

<sup>c</sup> The word *dostlarımıznı* is evidently missing; cf. Document 55. As the khan's document is written in the first person singular, while the present document in the first person



- [7] ve şadkam eyledi érse hamden ‘ala tilke`n-ni‘am uluğ orda ve uluğ yurtnın ve Deşt-i Qıpçaqnın ve taht-i Qırımın ve sansız
- [8] köb Tatarnın ve sağışsız köb Nogaynın ve Tat bile Tavgaçnın ve tağ ara <Tavgaçnın ve><sup>d</sup> Çerkeçnin on qolnın ve sol
- [9] qolnın uluğ nureddin **Qırım Gërey Sultan** hazretlerindin uluğ Urusnın ve Purusnın ve barça Lëh memleketlerinin ve Litvanın
- [10] ve Jyumayutnın ve Mazavşanın ve sair köb yerlernin uluğ qıralı ve hükümdarına köpdin köb selam aytıb nedir halinüz
- [11] yahşımız ve hoşmız deb<sup>e</sup> muhabbetlik ve qardaşlıq birle sorğanımızdan sonra i‘lam-i yarlıg-i şerif-i sultani oldur ki bundan
- [12] aqdem siz qardaşımız bilen ağaçamız han ‘ali-şan ve haqan zi-şan hazretleri dost ve qardaş bolurğa yahşı söyleşüb
- [13] eki yurtnın arasında tüzenlik bolurın tileb uluğ elçilerin göndürgen êrdiler Al-i ‘Osman padişahı sa‘adettü ve devletlü hünkar
- [14] hazretleri dahi sizin bilen barışlıq bolurğa ol zamanda ‘ahdname-i hümayun cibergenlerinde öz memleketlerine ve bizim vilayetimiz Qırım yurtuna
- [15] barcadın İslam êline sizin qarada bolğan serhadlarıñuzdın hırsız ve harami çıqub zarar u ziyan etmemek üzere yahşı
- [16] zabt ve muhkem tenbih êternüzge ve dahi Özüden şayqa bilen qazaq çıqarmay yahşı zabt êdüb Qara Deniz yalılarında bolğan
- [17] halq rahat bolurğa ve dahi ôtken ata ve dedelerimiz ve ağaçalarımız bolğan havaqin-i salifin ‘aleyhime`r-rahmet ve`r-rızvan hazretleri zamanlarında
- [18] siz qardaşımızın ata ve babaları bolğan qırallarnın dostluq êtüb ciberekelgen vergü ve hazineni her yıl zamanındın qaldırmay bi-qusur göndürmek
- [19] şartı üzere barça ‘ahd ü peyman ‘ayan ve beyan qılğan êrdi bundan sonra vilayetinüzge aqın etdirmey ve beş-baş göndürmey zabt êdüb qaçub
- [20] barğan eşqıyanın muhkem haqqından kelüb Aqkermen ve Cankermen etrafında bolğan barça Tatar ve Nogay halqını dahi sürüb Qırımğa ketürüb eşqıya
- [21] ve haramzade ta‘ifeni öldürüb cezasın bërüb bizge tüşken barça dostluqını ve barışlıqlıqını murad üzere yerine ketürüb
- [22] hiç bir sözümüzde ve özümüzde hata ve hilaf bolmağan êrdi bu ortalıqda sizni dost ve qardaş deb göndürgen elçimizni ve niçe
- [23] kişilerimizni muhabbetname yarlıg-i şerifler bile siz qardaşımızğa ve hetmanlarıñuzğa dostluq ve qardaşlıq için cibergenimizde sav-esen
- [24] vilayetinüzge dahil bolğan sonra öz memleketinüz içinde kişilerimizni tib-tiri ga‘ib êtib bizge qayta cibermey yoq etdinüz
- [25] tekrar savlıqların bilüb haber alub zabtla memleketde munday iş bolurmu ba-husus qardaşlıqğa barğan elçini şulay
- [26] êterlermi sizin padişahlıqñuzğa tüşer iş tüküldür deb yine muhabbetnameler bile tiley göndürgenimizde yoqdur tapmaduq deb

plural, the word *dostlarımnı* (“my friends”) appearing in Document 55 has been changed here into *dostlarımıznı* (“our friends”).

<sup>d</sup> Apparently repeated by mistake; cf. the *intitulatio* in other documents.

<sup>e</sup> It can be also read *deyib*.

- [27] elçimüzni yoq etdiñüz mundan gayri serhad cerlerimizde Ordın tışqarı köçe-turğan elimizge ve Qırım ve Noğay mallarına qaradın atlu
- [28] qazağınız niçe kerre kelüb köb mal ve niçe tusnaq<sup>f</sup> aldılar hiç eksik bolmadı niçe kerre kelgenlerinde serhadlarımızda bolğan qullarımız bozub
- [29] niçesin tüşürüb ve alğan malların dahi ba'zısın saldırub tiller ketürüb söyletdigimizde asli bile haber bildik ve'l-hasıl bir kerre Öziden
- [30] qazaq eksik bolmadı ve Kara Denizge dahi şayqalarınız çıqub Rum-êlinde niçe êlleri ve köyleri urub köb tusnaq ve mal aldılar ve Qırım
- [31] yalılarına dahi niçe kerre kelüb denizge yaqın köylerimizge çıqub ğafil êken hırsızlıq bilen tusnaqlar alub yine ıraqdan turub cı[yı]lulvlaşdılar<sup>g</sup>
- [32] ve köb zarar etdiler alayda bolsa biz 'ahdimizde turub sizge sefer etmedük ve beş-başnı zabt êdüb qaçub barganlarını dahi talab cezasın
- [33] berdik siz qardaşımızğa cibergen elçimiz Qutlu-şah Beyni qadimi vërgü ve hedayamız bilen tiz cibermeginüzni tiley êki yıldan artıq sabr eyledik
- [34] siz dahi bu kün yarın dëb cubatıb<sup>h</sup> hazine ve elçinüzni çaq Bağdad qal'esi feth bolğança cibermey elçimizni tutduğunuznı tahqiq
- [35] bildik elçinüz keldüğünde ayin-i qadimi üzere say ve ri'ayet bilen elçinüzni keltürüb hedaya ve hazinenüzni alduğumuzda ötken 'adetçe
- [36] tamam kelmedi biz burunğı ağaçarımız qadar dostluq etmedikmi dëb sorğanımızda az da bolsa budur bahşışnıñ yüzine baqılmaz dëb elçinüz
- [37] cevap vërdigide biz dahi elçinüzge cefa êtmey yahşı say ve ri'ayetimiz bilen soyurğalımıznı bërüb bu zamanğa dek cibermey qonladıq ve burundan
- [38] <hilaf êdüb><sup>i</sup> dostluq arasında hilaf êdüb vilayetimizden alınğan tusnaq ve köb malnı ve hazinemizniñ noqsanın dahi bi-'inayeti'llahi
- [39] 'l-meliki'l-mu'in tamam haqlaşdıq imdi siz de bolsanız sa'adetlü ve devletlü hünkar hazretlerine elçi ciberüb yine burunğıday
- [40] barışılıq tilebsiz gerçi hünkar hazretleri uluğ padişah ve bizim dahi ulumuzdur biz dahi<sup>j</sup> siz qardaşımız bilen barışa-kelgenimiz sizde
- [41] şimdi haqqımız sözümüz qalmadı şimden sonra sa'adetlü han ağaçamız hazretlerinin 'ahdname-i hümayunı mucibince eger qaradan ve eger denizden qazağınızın
- [42] yahşı zabt êdüb ehl-i İslamdan bir ferde zarar olmamaq üzere ve hırsızınızın yahşı zabt êdüb öltürüb alğan malın qayta cibermek üzere
- [43] ve qanun-i qadim üzere her yıl dostluğiyçün vaqt u zamanındın bir kün keçkedirmey bi't-temam hazinemizni ve sair tokuzlama hedaya ve vërgülerinüzni

<sup>f</sup> On the term *tusnaq*, see Document 55, n. d.

<sup>g</sup> جولو لاشديلار; perhaps it should read جيلو لاشديلار like in Document 55; for a tentative interpretation of this fragment, see Document 55, n. e.

<sup>h</sup> On this verb, cf. Document 55, n. f.

<sup>i</sup> The phrase *hilaf êdüb*, entered by error, is crossed out.

<sup>j</sup> The word *dahi* is entered below the line.

- [44] bi-qusur göndürmek şartıyla niçük kim han hazretlerinin ‘ahdname-i hümayunları içinde dahi beyan qılınğandır bu minval üzere sözde doğru tabilub
- [45] dost ve qardaş bolur için elçinüzni<sup>k</sup> siz qardaşımızğa qayta göndürüb ‘ahdname bile uluğ elçilerin göndürmegin biz dahi han
- [46] hazretlerinin ‘ahdnameleri üzere ‘ahd edüb dostunuzğa dost ve tüşmanınızğa tüşman bolub dostluq ve qardaşlıq için bizim dahi ‘ahdnamemiz
- [47] bile qıdvetü’ l-emasil ve’ l-aqran uluğ elçimiz Devlet Ğazi zide qadruhunu sizge göndürdük imdi siz<sup>l</sup> dahi sözde doğru tabilub
- [48] ve muhkem dost ve qardaş bolub bu minval üzere qaradan ve denizdin qazağınızni zabt edüb hazinemizni bi’ t-temam cibergeysiz şulay kim ‘ahd
- [49] ve şartımızda muhalif iş bolmağay özimizden ve Tatar ‘askerimizdin ve qaraçı qullarımızni barçasın men’ ve def‘ ve zabt eyledik sözümüz bir dir
- [50] hiç hilaf bolmasdır bu kündin sonra dostunuzğa dost ve tüşmanınızğa tüşmanımız şol şart bile kim sözde doğru ve muhkem tabilub elçi
- [51] ve hazine bilen dostluq ve qardaşlıqınızni bildirüb ‘ömr-i ahırığaça dostluq ve muhabbetlikde ve barça ‘ahd ü peymanda çnliq etkeysiz oşlay
- [52] bolgay dëb hat bitildi baqi ve’ d-du’a ‘ala men at-teba’u’ l-Hüda fi evahiri mah-i Rebi’ü’ l-ahir sene-i 1050

bi-maqami  
Bağcesaray  
el-mahruse

### Qırım Ğerey Sultan bin Selamet Ğerey Han<sup>m</sup>

Translation:

*He, the Helper!*

[tuğra] *Qırım Giray Sultan, son of Selamet [Giray] Khan: our word:*

*After we have pronounced many thanks to His Excellency, God (may He be blessed and exalted!), and great many prayers and salutations to his excellency, our prophet Muhammad (prayers be upon him!), from our excellency, the great nureddin of the great country [yurt] and the Crimean throne, Qırım Giray Sultan (may he last under protection of our Lord, whose aid is implored!), to our brother, King ...,<sup>l</sup> being presently the emperor [padişah] of Poland, Lithuania, and many [lands of] Ruthenia and Prussia:*

*My imperial ‘ahdname is as follows: His Excellency, God (may He be blessed and exalted!), whose beneficence is universal and continuous, made out of His favor my elder brother, the khan, the just shah in this prosperous time, the ruler of the world and the caliph of the epoch, and [also made] me the [nureddin]*

<sup>k</sup> A superfluous stroke is written above the letter *lam*.

<sup>l</sup> The locative suffix *-de* (i.e., *sizde*) added and then erased; cf. Document 55.

<sup>m</sup> Text of the seal.

<sup>1</sup> Empty space was left to fill in the king’s name.

sultan, and He turned our prosperous exalted threshold [i.e., court] into the basis of mankind, and our elevated court into the asylum and refuge of the high and the low [i.e., elite and commoners]. As He committed the affairs of the community of the sons of Adam [i.e., mankind] to the grasp of our auspicious hand[s], He put our eloquent *yarliq*, announcing prosperity, into circulation, making [our friends]<sup>2</sup> happy and rejoicing by means of our illustrious sublime rescript and noble joy-giving writing. Praise [to Him] for those favors!

From his excellency, the great nureddin of the Great Horde and great country [yurt], the Kipchak Steppe, the Crimean throne, innumerable Tatars and countless Nogays, Tats and Tavgaches,<sup>3</sup> mountain Circassians,<sup>4</sup> the [troops of the] right wing and the left wing, Qırım Giray Sultan, to the great king and ruler of Ruthenia, Prussia, all the Polish domains, Lithuania, Samogitia,<sup>5</sup> Mazovia, and many other places: after having expressed great many salutations and asked with affection and brotherliness: "how are you?," "do you feel well?" and "are you doing well?," the message of the noble princely<sup>6</sup> *yarliq* is that:

Previously, in order to keep friendship and brotherhood with you, our brother, his excellency, our elder brother, the illustrious khan and glorious khakan, exchanged good words [with you], and in desire of harmony between the two countries sent his great envoys. At that time also his excellency, the Ottoman padishah, the prosperous and illustrious sovereign, sent an imperial 'ahdname in order to make peace with you, providing that you should stand guard and firmly order so that the thieves and robbers could not set out through your land borders and commit damage and harm to his own dominions, or our country, the Crimean land, or any Islamic land; moreover, that you should stand guard so that the Cossacks could not set out from the Dnieper on their boats [şayqa] and the people dwelling on the Black Sea shores may live in peace. Moreover, in the times of their excellencies, the previous khans (may God's mercy and approbation be upon them!), who were our father, grandfathers, and elder brothers, all treaties and agreements remained manifest and clear on the condition that the gifts [vërgü] and treasure [hazine], which used to be sent in expression of friendship, were to be sent each year, without any delay or omission, by the kings, who were the ancestors and fathers of yours, our brother.

Thereafter, we assured that there would be no raid or small raid [beş-baş<sup>7</sup>] against your country, we severely punished runaway brigands, we resettled all Tatars and Nogays, who had been dwelling in the vicinity of Akkerman and Djankerman [i.e., Očakiv], to the Crimea, and we killed and punished brigands

<sup>2</sup> Cf. n. c above.

<sup>3</sup> On the Tats and Tavgaches, see Document 48, n. 8, and Document 49, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. "Circassians [living] among mountains."

<sup>5</sup> The Tatar term *Jyumayut* must be a corrupt rendering of the Polish term *Żmudź* (Lith. *Žemaitija*, i.e., Samogitia).

<sup>6</sup> While in the khan's letter the adjective *hani* ("monarchic," lit. "of the khan") is used (cf. Document 55), here the nureddin refers to his *yarliq* as *sultani* (lit. "sultanic"); as in the Crimean context the title *sultan* applied to any prince from the Giray dynasty, but not to the ruling monarch, the adjective *sultani* is rendered here as "princely."

<sup>7</sup> Lit. "[a raid committed by] five heads."

and villains; [in short,] we fulfilled all the requirements of friendship and reconciliation that fell to us, without any fraud or contravention.

Meanwhile, for the sake of friendship and brotherhood we sent to you, our brother, and to your hetmans, our envoy and a number of our men along with a friendly letter [muhabbetname] and noble yarliqs, announcing friendship and brotherly affection towards you; though they were well and in good health when we sent them, after they entered your country, well and healthy, you made our men disappear in your own country and you never sent them back to us! As we knew that they were healthy, upon receiving news [of their disappearance] we again sent friendly letters asking: “how could such a thing happen in an orderly state, especially to an envoy going with a brotherly purpose? it is your responsibility as a ruler to investigate [the matter]!” And you replied: “they are not here; we did not find [them],” [thus] making our envoy disappear.

Besides, your mounted Cossacks came many times by land [raiding] our subjects wandering on the outer side of Or [i.e., Perekop], situated on our border moat,<sup>8</sup> and [capturing] the Tatar and Nogay property [i.e., cattle],<sup>9</sup> and they captured a lot of property and many captives, and it never stopped. Many times when they came, they defeated our servants guarding the borders, killed many of them, and they rushed some of the captured cattle and prisoners taken for information [tiller] to go with them. And when we let [you] know it, [you answered:] “we had absolutely no idea.” In sum, in no way did the Cossacks disappear from the Dnieper. Also your [Cossack] boats [şayqalar] set out to the Black Sea, raided many lands and villages in Rumelia, and captured numerous captives and property. They also came many times to the Crimean shores, appeared in our villages situated close to the sea, and treacherously captured those unaware; and again, keeping at a distance, they gathered [again] and caused much damage.

Nevertheless, we kept our oath, did not commit raids against you, prevented small raids [beş-baş], and administered desired punishments to those who escaped [our control]. We patiently waited over two years for our envoy, Qutluşah Bey, sent to you, our brother, with the request that you promptly send [him back] along with the ancient gifts [vërgü] and presents [hedaya]. And you procrastinated saying: “today, tomorrow,” and did not send the treasure [hazine] and your envoy until the conquest of the fortress of Baghdad,<sup>10</sup> while we knew well that you had detained our envoy. When your envoy [finally] arrived, we received him with respect and attention according to the ancient custom; [yet,] when we collected your presents and treasure, they were incomplete, [un]fitting the former custom. When we asked: “did not we display as much friendship as our past [i.e., formerly reigning] elder brothers?,” your envoy answered: “even if it is not much, that’s it; one should not measure a [freely given] tip;”<sup>11</sup> nevertheless, we did not oppress your envoy, but we paid

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Document 55, n. 6.

<sup>9</sup> The term *mal* refers to any kind of property, but in the given context especially to cattle.

<sup>10</sup> The Ottoman reconquest of Baghdad, lost to the Safavids in 1624, occurred in December 1638.

<sup>11</sup> The expression *bağışın yüzüne bağılmaz* is similar to the Turkish proverb *atın dişine bağılmaz* (“never look into the mouth of a gift horse”); on the royal envoy, Krzysztof Dzierżek, cf. Document 55, n. 10.

him respect and attention, granted him our favor, and did not send him [back], putting him up until the present time. And, by the grace of God, the Lord and the Helper, we entirely resigned from any [further] claims regarding the captives and large property, captured in our country in violation of the ancient friendship, as well as the deficiency in our treasure [that you sent us].

Now, you sent an envoy to his excellency, the prosperous and illustrious [Ottoman] sovereign, and requested to restore the old peace. Although his excellency, the sovereign, is a great padishah, we are great, too. We also used to make peace with you, our brother. Now, we have no more claims from you. From now on, if, according to the imperial ‘ahdname of his excellency, our elder brother, the prosperous khan, you firmly hold your Cossacks on land and on sea so that they do not bring harm to any Muslim, you promptly arrest and kill the thieves and send back the property stolen by them, and on the condition that, according to the ancient law, each year, for the sake of friendship, you send [us] our [i.e., owed to us] complete treasure, and your other presents [hedaya] and gifts [vèrgüler] arranged in sets of nine objects,<sup>12</sup> without deficiency or even one day delay, as is also declared in the imperial ‘ahdname of his excellency, the khan, in this manner the agreement will be loyally respected; as in order to keep friendship and brotherhood [the khan] has sent back to you, our brother, your envoy, and he has sent his [own] great envoy along with the ‘ahdname, also we have sworn an oath [‘ahd] in accordance with the ‘ahdname of his excellency, the khan, and for the sake of friendship and brotherhood—being a friend to your friend and an enemy to your enemy—we have sent you our great envoy, Devlet Ghazi (may his value increase!), the model of nobles and peers, along with our ‘ahdname.

Now, while you should loyally and firmly respect the agreement, preserving friendship and brotherhood, and, in this manner, hold your Cossacks on land and on sea, and send our treasure without deficiency, so that nothing should happen contrary to our oath and engagements, [also] from our side and from the side of our Tatar troops [nothing contrary should happen], and we have stopped, restrained, and taken in hold the qaraçis [and] all our servants. Our word is sound and nothing contrary will happen. From this day on, we will be a friend of your friend and an enemy of your enemy, on such a condition that you should loyally and firmly respect the agreement and let [us] know your friendship and brotherly affection through your envoy and by [sending] a treasure, keeping friendship and affection until the end of [your] life, and being completely honest in regard to the treaty and agreement. So it should be!

Thus saying, the letter has been written—I have nothing to add but a prayer for whomsoever is a follower of the right path [i.e., Islam]!—in the third decade of the month of Rebi II of the year 1050, in the abode of Baghchasaray, the well-protected.

[seal] Qırım Giray Sultan, son of Selamet Giray Khan<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> On the Turco-Mongolian custom, according to which a gift should have consisted of nine objects, see Document 31, n. 15.

<sup>13</sup> Unlike the khan’s seal, the nureddin’s seal does not contain the trident-shaped emblem of the Girays (*taraq tamğa*).

DOCUMENT 57 (19–28 AUGUST 1640)  
The ‘*ahdname*’ sent by Qalga İslam Giray to King Vladislaus IV  
[Facs. IX]

Original paper document in Turkish (Crimean Tatar mixed with Ottoman Turkish): AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 63, t. 48, no. 512.

125 × 30 cm. (3 sheets glued together)

invocation (black): *divani* script

*tuğra* (gold on the black floral-shaped background): 12.5 × 21 cm.

text (black with gold insertions, ornamented with scattered golden dots): *divani* script

the black almond-like seal of İslam Giray (2 cm. in height) is impressed at the bottom

Published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, pp. 260–263.

Polish 17th-century translation by Samuel Otwinowski: a) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 63, t. 48, no. 513 (copied by Antoni Crutta from the Turkish document’s reverse side); b) Bibl. Ossol., ms. 3555, fol. 357a–359b.

Hüve al-mu‘in

**İslam Gërey Sultan hazretlerimiz sözümüz**

- [1] Uluğ ordanını ve uluğ yurtını ve taht-i Qırımın ve Deşt-i Qıpçaqın ve sansız köb Tatarın ve sağışsız köb Noğayın
- [2] ve Tat bile Tavgaçın ve tağ ara Çerkeçin ve on qolın<sup>a</sup> ve barça ümmet-i **Muhammad**ın ve yüz on min tûmennin uluğ padişahı ve hem
- [3] uluğ qalğa **sultanı** bolğan halefû’s-selatini’l-‘uzam şerefû’l-havaqini’l-ki-ram sa‘adetlû ve şeca‘atlu mên qağılğay **İslam** Gërey Sultan edame’llahu ta‘ala
- [4] ömrehü ve devletehü ve nasara a‘vanahu ve ansarahu hazretlerimizden uluğ ordanını ve uluğ yurtını ve Lëh memleketini ve Litvanı ve Mazavisqanın
- [5] ve Jmudnı ve İflansqanın ve Kiyovsqanın ve Polotsqanın ve İsmalinsqanın ve köp Hristyannın uluğ padişahı bolğan dördünci

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<sup>a</sup> In the edition of Vel’jaminov-Zernov and Faizxanov this fragment is mistakenly “corrected” by the addition of a redundant phrase *ve sol qolını* (“and of the left wing”); cf. *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, p. 260. According to the Genghisid tradition, the qalga commanded over the right wing of the troops while the khan was responsible for the whole army, commanding from the center; cf. Senai, *Historia chana Islam Gereja III*, pp. 151–152, n. 93. Hence, in the khan’s *intitulatio* both wings should be mentioned, but in the qalga’s one only the right wing.

- [6] qıral qarındaşımız **Viladislav** ve köb yerlernin de bolsa hükümdarığa muhabbetlik birle selam édüb nedir haliniz ve hatırınız yahşımız hoşmısız déb<sup>b</sup>
- [7] haliniz ve hem hatırınız sorganımızdan sonra i'lam-i yarlıg-i şerif muhabbet-redif-i sultani budurki bundan aqdem uluğ uçmaqlı ecdad-i 'uzamım ve aba-i
- [8] kiramımız enara 'llahu merqadahum hazretleri Hacı Gérey **Han** ve Mengli Gérey **Han** ve Sahib Gérey **Han** askanahum Allahu fi'l-girasi'l-cinan hazretleri sizin ceddiñüz
- [9] Ağış qıral ile 'ahd-i iman ve şart-i peyman édüb dost ve qardaş bolğan sebebli mên uluğ qağılgay nusret-aray hazretlerimiz dahi ol
- [10] 'uhud ve şurut üzere qa'im ve sabit bolub işbu 'ahdname ve şartname-miz birle uluğ elçimiz qıdvetü'l-aqran Arslan Ağa zide qadruhunu yiberüb nedir haliniz
- [11] ve hatırınız yahşımız hoşmısız déb sorganımızdan sonra sa'adettü ve şeca'atlu ağaçamız **han** 'ali-şan hazretlerinin emr-i şerifleri ve 'ahdname-i hümayunlarında
- [12] ferman buyurılan buyuruqları birle 'amil ve murad-i şerifleri üzere hareket ve qadimi taraf-i Çingiziye 'aid olan hazine ve hedayaı ber vech-i
- [13] qanun-i qadim tekmlil ve tetmim irsal ve isal olunursa mên qarındaşınız qağılgay nusret-aray hazretlerimiz taqı qadimi 'aqd u rabt olunan 'uhud
- [14] ve şurut üzere muhkem turub ve sa'adettü ve şevketlü ve mehabettü ve devletlü ağaçamız han 'ali-şan halladet hilafetühü ila yevmi'l-mizan
- [15] hazretlerinin emr-i şerifleri [birle]<sup>c</sup> uzun uzaq dost ve qardaş bolub turarmız dostunuzğa dost ve düşmanınızğa düşman bolub
- [16] ve ömr-i ahırğaça qa'im bolub buyurdumki vileyetiñüzge cavlay barmamdır hatırınız hoş dutub dostluq şeraitin ve qardaşlıq merasimin
- [17] yerine ketürüb ber vech-i qanun-i qadim uluğ hazine ve hedayaı yibergeysiz sa'adettü ağaçamız han dame'l-'izz ve'l-'unvan hazretleri birle qalay
- [18] 'ahd-i iman ve şart-i peyman ettiñüz érse ol 'uhud ve şurut üzere olduğumuza i'timad édüb ağaçamız han hazretlerinin
- [19] fermanınca barça buyuruqlarına 'amel qılab her yıl sayın uluğ hazinele-rin vërüb ve elçimizge ri'ayet qılab uluğ elçiñüzni yibergeysiz
- [20] ve Özi qazaqlarını ve sair eşqıyalarınızın zabt ve muhkem tenbih ve yasaq qılğaysız kim kerek bizim memleketimizge ve kerek Al-i 'Osman memleketlerine
- [21] qaradan ve deryadan bir vechle zarar ve ziyan erişdirmeyler ve keçen sefer dahi siz 'ahdiñüzge durmay şayqanuz çıqub
- [22] ve qaradan kelüb mal alub ve elçiniz hedayaı eksik vërüb bahşişin yüzine baqılmaz deyü cevap vërdügiyçün edi şimden sonra

<sup>b</sup> It can be also read *deyib*.

<sup>c</sup> The word *birle* is apparently missing; Vel'jaminov-Zernov and Faizxanov mark this place with three dots; cf. *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskogo xanstva*, p. 261.



- [23] haqlaşdıq min ba'd dost ve qardaşuz siz 'ahdname-i hümayunda olan söz üzere turup tapılğaysız 'ahdimiz sa'adetlü ve şevketlü
- [24] ağaçamız han halladet hilafetühü ila yevmi`l-haşr ve`l-mizan hazretlerinin 'ahdname-i hümayunları üzeredir dostluq ve qardaşlıq
- [25] muradınız ise şol 'ahdname-i hümayun mucibiyle 'amil bolub dostluq merasimi ve qardaşlıq şeraitini yerine ketürgeysiz taqı şol qazaq
- [26] eşqıyasına muhkem tenbih ve yasaq qılğaysız kim min ba'd kerek qara-dan ve kerek deryadan kendi memleketimizge ve Al-i 'Osman memleketlerine bir vechle
- [27] zarar ve ziyan erişdirmeye biz dahi ferman-i şerifimiz birle müstahdem ve me'mur olan beklerimizge ve mirzalarımız ve beş-baş ağalarımızga muhkem tenbih ve yasaq
- [28] étmişüzdür sizin köylerinizge ve kentlerinizge ve şehirlerinizge varmazlar ve düşman bolmazlar ve zarar [ü] ziyan qılmazlar kerek 'asker ve Tatardan bir ferd
- [29] varmaya deyü tenbih étmişüzdür uzun uzaq dost ve qardaş bolduq dostunuzga dost ve düşmanınızga düşman bilgeysiz
- [30] sizin dostunuz bizim dostumuz ve sizin düşmanınız bizim düşmanımızdır siz qarındaşımız qıral-i *Zal*<sup>d</sup> devlet-menal hazretleri de bolsañuz
- [31] dostumuzga dost ve düşmanımızga düşman bolğaysız ve burunğı 'adetçe elçinüz ve bazarganınız Qırım yurdına qorqsız kelsünler ketsünler
- [32] inşa'a'llahu ta'ala bizden zarar ve ziyan körmezler taqı her ne sözünüz bar bolsa mên uluğ qağılgay-i nusret[-aray]<sup>e</sup> İslam Gérey Sultan hazretlerimizge
- [33] bildirgeysiz muradınız üzere sa'adetlü ve 'azametlü ve devletlü ve şevketlü han dame mahfuzan fi savni Meliki`l-Mennan hazretlerine 'arz qılub
- [34] yahşılıqğa ve muhabbetlikge delalet qıalarmız dostluq için can-u başıyla çalışurmuz sözimizde muhkem turub muhabbetlik birle hat yiberdik
- [35] ve dostunuzga dost düşmanınızga düşman bolub turduq hatırınızga hiç nimerse keltürmegeysiz yahşılıqda dostluqda
- [36] bolurmuz siz qarındaşımız qıral hazretleri de bolsañuz dostluq nişanesini ve yahşılıq merasimini yerine ketürüb 'ömr-i evahırğaça dostluqda
- [37] ve qardaşlıqda bolğaysız şulay bilgeysiz déb hat bitildi baqi ve`s-selam 'ala men ittaba'a`l-Hüda tahriren fi evaili şehri Cemaziyyi`l-evveli
- [38] min şuhuri seneti hamsin ve elf

bi-yurt-i  
hendeq-i  
Ferahkermen  
m.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>d</sup> Written in strange orthography as ضال and not زال; for a commentary, see n. 10 below.

<sup>e</sup> The word *-aray* is apparently missing; cf. lines [9] and [13] above.

<sup>f</sup> An abbreviation of the word *temme* ('the end'), a customary closing formula also used in the Ottoman chancery.

**İslam Gërey Sultan bin Selamet Gërey Han<sup>§</sup>**

Translation:

*He, the Helper!*

[tuğra] Our excellency, Islam Giray Sultan: our word:

*From our excellency, me, the prosperous and brave qalga Islam Giray Sultan (may God—may He be exalted!—prolong his [i.e., my] life and reign, and may He grant victory to his [i.e., my] allies and auxiliaries!), the successor of great sultans and the glory of munificent khakans, who am the great padishah and also the great qalga of the Great Horde and great country [yurt], the Crimean throne, the Kipchak Steppe, innumerable Tatars and countless Nogays, Tats and Tavgaches,<sup>1</sup> mountain Circassians,<sup>2</sup> the [troops of the] right wing,<sup>3</sup> the whole community of Muhammad [i.e., the Muslims], [commanding over] hundreds, tens, thousands, and tens of thousands [tümens], to our brother, King Vladislaus the Fourth, the great emperor [padişah] of the great horde [orda] and great country [yurt], Poland, Lithuania, Mazovia, Samogitia, Livonia, Kiev, Polack, Smolensk, and of many Christians, and the ruler of many other places: after having expressed friendly salutations and inquired about your condition and health by asking: “how is your condition and health?,” “do you feel well?” and “are you doing well?,” the message of the noble princely<sup>4</sup> yarliq, accompanied by affection, is that:*

*Since previously their excellencies, my great heavenly [i.e., late] grandfathers and our munificent fathers (may God illuminate their graves!), their excellencies Hadji Giray Khan, Mengli Giray Khan, and Sahib Giray Khan (may God give them lodgings in heavenly plantations!), made sworn oaths and pledged agreements with your grandfather, King [Sigismund] Augustus, and they were friends and brothers, also I, our excellency, the great victorious qalga, observing and keeping those oaths and agreements, have sent our great envoy Arslan Agha<sup>5</sup> (may his value increase!), the model of [his] peers, along with our present ‘ahdname and şartname; having asked: “how is your condition and health?,” “do you feel well?” and “are you doing well?,” [and] provided that the orders contained in the noble firman and imperial ‘ahdname of his excellency, our prosperous and brave elder brother, the illustrious khan, are obeyed, his noble wish is fulfilled, and the treasure [hazine] and gifts [hedaya], due to the*

<sup>§</sup> Text of the seal.

<sup>1</sup> On the Tats and Tavgaches, see Document 48, n. 8, and Document 49, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. “Circassians [living] among mountains.”

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the commentary in n. a above.

<sup>4</sup> While in the khan’s letter the adjective *hani* (“monarchic,” lit. “of the khan”) is used (cf. Document 55), here the qalga refers to his *yarliq* as *sultani* (lit. “sultanic”); as in the Crimean context the title *sultan* applied to any prince from the Giray dynasty, but not to the ruling monarch, the adjective *sultani* is rendered here as “princely.”

<sup>5</sup> In Otwinowski’s translation referred to as Arslan Bey; apparently identical with Arslan Bey, whom Islam Giray sent to Poland already in 1637 after he had been appointed the qalga; cf. Document 54, n. 3.

Genghisids since the ancient times, are fully and completely sent and delivered according to the ancient law, also I, your brother, my excellency the victorious qalga, will firmly keep [the peace] according to the anciently concluded and bound oaths and agreements, and preserve the long lasting friendship and brotherhood [with you], following the noble order of his excellency, our prosperous, mighty, majestic, and fortunate elder brother, the illustrious khan (may his caliphate last until the Day of Judgment!).

While remaining a friend to your friend and an enemy to your enemy until the end of [my] life, I have ordered that I [i.e., my troops] will not set out in hostility to your country. As [we] have in mind your wellbeing, while you should fulfill the conditions of friendship and the ceremonial duties of brotherhood, and send the great treasure and gifts according to the ancient law, you can trust that we will behave in accordance with the same oaths and agreements that you swore and pledged with his excellency, our prosperous elder brother, the khan (may [his] glory and pride last!); you should act in accordance with all orders of his excellency, our elder brother, the khan, give him each year his great treasure, respect our envoys, and send your [own] great envoy; you should guard the Dnieper Cossacks and your other brigands, and you should forbid with a firm order so that they do not commit any damage or harm, by land or by sea, to our dominions or to the Ottoman dominions. [You should know that our] past raid<sup>6</sup> occurred in reaction to the fact that in violation of your oath your [Cossack] boats set out [on sea], [your subjects] arrived by land, capturing [our subjects'] property,<sup>7</sup> and your envoy, who had brought deficient gifts, answered [to our query]: "one should not measure a [freely given] tip."<sup>8</sup>

From now on, we resign from any [past] claims; hereafter we will be friends and brothers, and you should observe and respect the agreement contained in the imperial 'ahdname. Our oath ['ahd] is based on the imperial 'ahdname of his excellency, our prosperous and mighty elder brother, the khan (may his caliphate last until the Day of Resurrection and Judgment!). If you desire friendship and brotherhood, you should act in accordance with that imperial 'ahdname and fulfill the ceremonial duties of friendship and the conditions of brotherhood. Moreover, you should forbid the Cossack brigands with a firm order so that hereafter they do not commit any damage or harm, by land or by sea, to our own dominions or to the Ottoman dominions. We also forbade with a firm order our beys, mirzas, and aghas, [who usually commit] small raids [beş-baş],<sup>9</sup> being our servants and officials, so that they do not set out against your villages, towns, and cities, display enmity, or commit damage and harm.

<sup>6</sup> The qalga refers to a large raid into the area of Fastiv (southwest from Kiev), effected under his command in January and February 1640; according to Baranowski, this was the most successful Tatar raid since the Hotin campaign in 1621; see *idem*, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie w latach 1632–1648*, pp. 105–113.

<sup>7</sup> The term *mal* refers to any kind of property, but in the given context especially to cattle.

<sup>8</sup> The expression *başışın yüzüne bağılmaz* is similar to the Turkish proverb *atın dişine bağılmaz* ("never look into the mouth of a gift horse"); on the royal envoy, Krzysztof Dzierżek, cf. Document 55, n. 10.

<sup>9</sup> Lit. "[a raid committed by] five heads."

“Nobody from among the troops or Tatars should go!”—thus we ordered. And we have entered a long lasting friendship and brotherhood [with you].

You should know that we are a friend of your friend and an enemy of your enemy. Your friend is our friend and your enemy is our enemy. Also you, our brother, his [i.e., your] excellency, the king prosperous like Zal,<sup>10</sup> should be a friend of our friend and an enemy of our enemy.

And according to the ancient custom, your envoys and merchants may come to the Crimea and depart without fear. God—may He be exalted!—willing, they will not experience any damage or harm from our side.

Moreover, if you have any matter [i.e., wish], you should communicate it to me, our excellency, the great victorious qalga, Islam Giray Sultan. According to your wish, we will submit it to his excellency, the prosperous, majestic, fortunate, and mighty khan (may he remain safe under protection of the Munificent King!), and we will strive for good and amity. We will endeavor with heart and soul to attain friendship.

While firmly keeping our word, we have sent our friendly letter and remained a friend of your friend and an enemy of your enemy. You should not worry about anything as we will truly keep friendship. And you, our brother, his [i.e., your] excellency, the king, should display the sign[s] of friendship and fulfill the ceremonial duties of [common] wellbeing, and keep friendship and brotherhood until the end of your life. Thus you must know!

Thus saying, the letter has been written. I have nothing to add but a salutation unto whomsoever has followed the right path [i.e., Islam]! Written in the first decade of the month of Djumada I of the year 1050, in the tent of [i.e., near] the moat of Ferahkerman.<sup>11</sup> The end.<sup>12</sup>

[seal] Islam Giray Sultan, son of Selamet Giray Khan<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Zal was the legendary Persian prince and father of Rustem. Yet, the name is written in erroneous orthography (cf. n. d above) and thus the phrase could be alternatively read as “the king prosperous like an idolater.” Apparently the scribal error was done inadvertently as the qalga had no reason to offend the addressee.

<sup>11</sup> Ferahkerman, also known as Or (“ditch”) in the Turkic languages and as Perekop or Przekop (“ditch”) in the Slavic languages, was situated on the moat dug out in order to separate the Crimean peninsula from the mainland thus providing its security; see Jankowski, *Historical-Etymological Dictionary*, pp. 748–750.

<sup>12</sup> A customary closing formula; cf. n. f above.

<sup>13</sup> Unlike the khan’s seal, the qalga’s seal does not contain the trident-shaped emblem of the Girays (*taraq tamğa*).

DOCUMENT 58 (FEBRUARY<sup>1</sup> 1646)

The *‘ahdname* sent by Khan İslam III Giray to King Vladislaus IV  
[Facs. X]

Original paper document in Turkish (Ottoman Turkish mixed with Crimean Tatar): AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 63, t. 54, no. 521.

168 × 40 cm. (3 sheets glued together)

invocation (gold): *divani* script

*tuğra* (gold): 13.5 × 28.5 cm.

text (black with gold insertions): *divani* script

the black almond-like seal of İslam Giray (2.3 cm. in height) is impressed at the bottom

Published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, pp. 842–844.

Polish 17th-century translation: a) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 63, t. 54, no. 522; b) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 63, t. 54, no. 523 (an 18th-century copy); c) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 63, t. 54, no. 524 (an 18th-century copy by Antoni Crutta).

**Hüve al-mu‘in**

**İslam Gërey Han bin Selamet Gërey Han sözümüz**

- [1] Hamd-i sipas ve şükr-i bi-qıyas ol Haliq-i biçun ve Rezzaq-i hali-fe-i rub‘-i meskun celle celalehü ve ta‘ala ‘amme nevalühü ve tevali hazretleriğe bolsun taqı tahiyat bi-hadd
- [2] ve salavat bi-‘ad ol habib-i Hüda Muhammad Mustafa ‘aleyhi` t-tahiye ve` s-sena ve çar yar ba safa ve al ve ashab ba vefa rızvanu`llahi ta‘ala ‘aleyhim ecma‘in hazretleriğe bolsun kim hilafet-tacın
- [3] farq-i mübarekimge urup saltanat-hil‘atın qamet-i pür-istikametimge giyürüb taht-i Cingizi zat-i sa‘adet-aludum birle müzeyyen qılub der-i devlet-medarımı melce-i enam
- [4] ve melaz-i İslam eyledi el-hamdu li-llah ‘ala tilke`n-ni‘am alay bolsa uluğ yurtnın ve taht-i Qırımın ve Deşt-i Qıpçaqın ve sansız köp Tatarnın
- [5] ve sağışsız Noğaynın ve tağ-ara Çerkesnin ve Tat bile Tavgaçnın uluğ padişahı bolğan ‘ali-hazret ma‘ali-rütbet Hurşid-tal‘at ‘Utarid-fitnat

<sup>1</sup> The document was delivered in Warsaw on 24 April 1646. It is undated, but probably issued in February like the letter of the qalga, Qırım Giray, sent with the same embassy and drawn in the third decade of Zilhijje 1055 A.H., i.e., 7–16 February 1646; see AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 63, t. 38, no. 501; published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, pp. 846–847, but the date is omitted there.

- [6] **İslam Gërey Han** edame'llahu eyyame devletihi mü'ebbedeten ila yevmi'l-mizan hazretlerindin köp Urusnıñ ve Purusnıñ ve Litvanıñ ve Mazavesqanıñ
- [7] ve İflansqanıñ ve Kiyovsqanıñ<sup>a</sup> ve barça Qıstıyan<ulu>nıñ<sup>b</sup> [ul]uğ padişahı bolğan dördünci qıral Vladislav qardaşımız Lëh qıralı olan qıral devlet -ıştimal
- [8] dame musalahatuhu ila yevmi'l-mizan huzurığa muhabbetlik ve tatulıq milen selam édüb nedir halinız ve hatırınız iyümisiz ve hoşmisiz dep<sup>c</sup> sorğanımızdan sonra ma'lumları ola ki
- [9] bundan aqdem ecdad-i 'uzam ve aba-i kiramımız havaqın-i salıfın hazretlerinin zaman-i sa'adetlerinde eslafınız milen mabeyinlerinde 'ahd ü misaq muhkem olup sulh u 'ahda muğayir tarafeynden
- [10] bir vaz' olmayub ol canıbden vilayetimize gelen eger tüccar ve eger gayridir emin ü salim vilayetimizde gezüb bir ferdden zarar u ziyan görülmeyüp kezalık bu vilayetden ol canıblere
- [11] gidüb gelen sadırın ve varidine mazarrat ve hasaret erişmeyüb ve her zaman hedaya ve pişkeşleri la-yenqatı' gelüb muhabbet ve meveddet üzere imişler ol 'ahd-i qadime ri'ayet olunub
- [12] geçen sene 'ahdname-i hümayunumuz ile elçi göndürüb dostluq murad eylemiş idik varan adamımızı niçe zaman alı-qoyub mu'tad-i qadim olan hedayanız göndürmeyüb sıfır ül-yed göndürüldüğünden
- [13] gayri Özüde olan eşkıyalarınızı zabt etmeyüb Qırım dışarısında olan maldan niçe def'a gelüb mal sürüp gıtdiler hatırınız görüp ve sulha ri'ayet olunub
- [14] ardlarından qoğun namında bir ferdi göndürmeyüb 'askerimizi zapt u rapt eyledik ila yevmina haza zapt u rapt üzere iken 'azametlü ve şevketlü **padişah 'ali-veqar** hazretleri
- [15] tarafından bir kaç def'a mektub gelüb Lëh qırallarının qadimden veregeldükleri vërgülerin almayub vilayetlerine zarardan hali degil imişsiz deyü yazmışlar qanun-i qadim üzere
- [16] dostluq édüb hedayalarına adam göndürüb aldırısız deyü rica olunmağla 'ahd-i qadimi tecdid édüb işbu 'ahdname-i şerifemiz tahrir ve tastir olunub inamlu ve emekdar qulumuz
- [17] qıdvetü'l-aqrان zübdetü'l-erkan İslam Ağa ile irsal olundu fi'l-haqıqa 'ahd-i qadimimiz üzere ma damki sizün canıbınızdan ve qazaq eşkıyası tarafından hudud-i memalikimize
- [18] zarar ve hasaretiniz olmaya bu canıbden dahi 'asakir-i Tatardan bir ferd vilayetiniz hududuna zarar erişdirmeyüb üslub-i sabıq üzere sizün adamlarınız

<sup>a</sup> The unusual forms *Mazavesqa*, *İflansqa*, and *Kiyovsqa* are apparently derived from the Polish adjectives: *mazowiecka*, *inflancka*, and *kijowska* ("the Mazovian, Livonian, and Kievian [lands]").

<sup>b</sup> Apparently the scribe began to write a new word (*uluğ*) before having finished the preceding one (*Qıstıyanın*); then he noticed his error but did not cross out the inserted letters beginning the new word.

<sup>c</sup> It can be also read *deyip*.

- [19] ve tacirlerinüz bize gelüb bizim adamlarımız tacirlerimiz size varub iki tarafdən dostluq ve muhabbetlik olup Müslimanlar dahi emniyet ve refahiyyət bulub sizün dahi re'aya ve fuqaranuz istirahət
- [20] eyleyüp memleketinüz ma'mur ve halqınız mesrur olmağa sebep olasız ve her senede qadimü'z-zamandan berü göndürilü-gelen hedayanuzı ke-ma kan tedarik eyleyüb göndüresiz 'ahdimiz anıñla
- [21] üstüvar olduğın muqarrer bilüb mu'ayyen olan vërgünüzü qanun-i sabıq üzere bi-qusur irsal eylesiz ki inşa'llahu ta'ala bundan sonra sizinle 'ahdimiz ve sulhumuz muhkem ve üstüvar olub
- [22] ma damki sizden 'ahda muhalif iş olmayub hedayanuzı vërub ve Özüde olan eşqıyanuzı muhkem zapt u rapt édüp **sa'adetlü padişah** memleketine ve Qırım diyarına ve dışarıda olan
- [23] Qırım maline mazarrat ve hasaretinüz olmaya muhassal-i kelam mu'tad-i qadim olan vërgünüzü vërub ve nehr-i Özüde olan eşqıyaları zapt édüb qaradan ve deryadan memalik-i padişahiye ve Qırım memleketine
- [24] ve maline zarar u ziyan olmayacaq olursa vallahi'l-'azim ve tallahi'l-kerim bi'z-zat kendimiz ve qardaşımız qalğa **Qırım Gërey Sultan** hazretleri ve nureddin **Gazi Gërey Sultan** ve gayri selatin ve Şirin begi
- [25] mirzaları ve Manqıt begi mirzaları ve Uluğ Nogay mirzaları ve Küçük Nogay mirzaları ve Qırım töreleri ve bilcümle Qırım ve Nogay 'askeri ile vilayetinüze varılmazdır ve göndürülmezdir
- [26] inşa'llahu ta'ala bizüm bu sözümüzde ve 'ahd ü qavlimizde hilaf olmazdır işbu 'ahdnamemiz bizüm kendi sözümüzdür ortalıqda fesade ba'is ve badi olan eşqıyaya aman vërilmeyüb iki tarafdən
- [27] haqlarından gelinüb mucib-i 'ibret etmek lazımdır bi-'avni'llahi ta'ala bu tarafdən ol-maqule haramzadelere merhamet olunmayub haqlarından gelinür sizün tarafınızda dahi bozğanlıq isteyan
- [28] eşqıyaların haqlarından gelesiz muradımız mabeyinde olan sulh u salahın istihkam ve ibqası olub 'asker-i Tatara tenbih ve te'kid ve bellü başlularına muhkem tehdid vërilüb vilayetinüze aqın olmadan bilcülliye men'
- [29] ve zapt olunmuşiyken güz aylarından bu zamana degin nehr-i Özüde muhafaza hidmetinde olan qazaqlarınız ve sair avcı ve eşqıyalarınız dört beş kerre Qırım maline çıqub mal sürüp gitdüklerinden gayri niçe Müslimanları götürüp
- [30] esir étdiler bu maqule barışiq ve qardaşlıq ve dostluq olurmı barışılıq etmek muradınız bolsa 'ahdiniz ber-qarar olup haramzadenüzniñ haqqından gelesiz baqi ve 'd-du'a 'ala men tabi'a'l-Hüda

bi-maqamı

[Bağçasaray  
el-mahruse]<sup>d</sup>

**İslam Gërey Han bin Selamet Gërey Han<sup>e</sup>**

<sup>d</sup> The place-name, missing in the original document, is reconstructed in the edition by Vel'jaminov-Zernov and Faizxanov; cf. *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, p. 844.

<sup>e</sup> Text of the seal.

Translation:

*He, the Helper!*

[tuğra] *Islam Giray Khan, son of Selamet Giray Khan: our word:*

*Let the grateful praise and incomparable gratitude be pronounced to His Excellency, the eternal Creator and the Provider of the needs of the caliph of the inhabited portion of the earth (may His glory be exalted and may He be exalted!), whose beneficence is universal and continuous; also, let unlimited salutations and uncounted prayers be pronounced upon their excellencies: God's beloved, Muhammad Mustafa<sup>2</sup> (may salutation and praise be upon Him!), and [his] four sincere helpers,<sup>3</sup> family and loyal companions (may the approbation of God—may He be exalted!—be upon them all!), for [God] placed the crown of caliphate on my blessed head and put the robe of sultanate on my stature full of integrity, adorned the Genghisid throne with my prosperous person, and turned my great gate [i.e., Porte] into the refuge of mankind and the shelter of Islam. Praise to God for those favors!*

*Thus, from his excellency of exalted dignity and great rank, of sunny appearance and mercurial intelligence [i.e., clever], Islam Giray Khan (may God eternally prolong the days of his reign until the Day of Judgment!), being the great padishah of the great country [yurt], the Crimean throne, the Kipchak Steppe, innumerable Tatars and countless Nogays, mountain Circassians,<sup>4</sup> and Tats and Tavgaches,<sup>5</sup> to the presence of the prosperous king of Poland (may his peace [with neighbors] last until the Day of Judgment!), our brother, King Vladislaus the Fourth, being the great emperor [padişah] of many Ruthenian, Prussian, Lithuanian, Mazovian, Livonian, and Kievian [lands], and of all Christians: after having expressed amicable and friendly salutations and asked: "how is your condition and health?," "do you feel well?" and "are you doing well?," they should know that:*

*Previously, in the prosperous times of their excellencies, our great grandfathers and munificent fathers, the former khakans, the oath and treaty with your predecessors was firmly observed and nothing happened from either side against the peace and oath; merchants or others, coming to our country from the other side, traveled in our country safe and sound and did not experience any damage or harm from anybody; likewise, those going from this country to the other side and coming [back] did not experience any detriment or loss while going and coming; as their [i.e., Polish] presents [hedaya] and gifts [pişkeşler]<sup>6</sup> kept arriving incessantly all the time, they lived in affection and friendship.*

*Previous year, respecting the ancient oath, we sent [you] an envoy with our imperial 'ahdname in desire of friendship. [Yet,] you detained our man [i.e.,*

<sup>2</sup> Mustafa (lit. "the Chosen") is the second name of Prophet Muhammad.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., the first four caliphs, venerated by the Sunni Muslims: Abu Bakr, Omar, Osman, and Ali.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. "Circassians [living] among mountains."

<sup>5</sup> On the Tats and Tavgaches, see Document 48, n. 8, and Document 49, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> On the term *pişkeş*, explained in the Redhouse dictionary as a "gift brought to a superior," cf. Document 50, n. 23.



envoy], who arrived [at your court], for a long time, did not deliver your customary gifts, and sent him [back] empty-handed; besides, you did not hold your brigands, dwelling on the Dnieper, and they came many times and drove away the cattle<sup>7</sup> grazing outside the Crimea.<sup>8</sup> Having consideration for the friendship with you and respecting the peace, we did not send anybody to chase them, [on the contrary,] we held and restrained our troops. While we kept them in a perfect hold and restraint until our day, a few times letters arrived from his excellency, the great and mighty [Ottoman] padishah of high dignity, who wrote: "you reportedly have not received the gifts [vèrgüler] that used to be given by the Polish kings since the ancient times, and [therefore] you have not spared their land from destruction." As it was requested [by the padishah]: "you should send your man to fetch their presents [hedaya], [but at the same time] you should keep friendship according to the ancient law," we have renewed the ancient oath [‘ahd], and our present imperial ‘ahdname has been composed, written, and sent through our trusted and loyal servant, Islam Agha, the model of [his] peers and the cream of great men.

Assuredly, as from your side and the side of the Cossack brigands no damage or loss should occur within the borders of our dominions, also from our side, according to our ancient oath, not a single Tatar soldier will bring damage to the borders of your country. Following the old manner, your subjects and merchants will be able to come to us, our subjects and merchants will be able to travel to you, and mutual friendship and amity will reign; while the Muslims will find safety and ease, also your subjects and the poor will rest; you should render your kingdom prosperous and your people happy.

Each year you should prepare and send your presents [hedaya] that used to be sent since the ancient times. As you certainly know that in this way our treaty [‘ahd] will remain solid, you should send your fixed gifts [vèrgü] without deficiency, according to the old law, so that, God—may He be exalted!—willing, thereafter our treaty and peace with you may be firm and solid, provided that from your side nothing happens contrary to the treaty, you give your presents and firmly hold and restrain your brigands dwelling on the Dnieper, and you do not bring any detriment or damage to the dominions of the prosperous [Ottoman] padishah, the Crimean country, or the Crimean cattle grazing outside the Crimea.

To resume: if you give your gifts according to the ancient custom, hold the brigands dwelling on the Dnieper river, and no damage or harm reaches by land or by sea the dominions of the [Ottoman] padishah, the Crimean land, or the Crimean cattle, then—by great God and through munificent God!—neither we personally, nor our brother, his excellency, the qalga Qırım Giray Sultan, nor the nureddin, Ghazi Giray Sultan, nor other princes [sultans], nor the bey [and] mirzas of the Shirins, the bey [and] mirzas of the Manghits,<sup>9</sup> the

<sup>7</sup> The term *mal* refers to any kind of property, but in the given context especially to cattle.

<sup>8</sup> I.e., in the steppe extending north from Perekop.

<sup>9</sup> The term Manghits or Mansurs referred to the earliest Nogay immigrants to the Crimean Khanate, who arrived around 1503, following Tevkel, a former adviser of Sheikh Ahmed, the khan of the Great Horde; Tevkel's descendants rose to the post of *qaraçı* (i.e., *qaraçı bey*), second in hierarchy and power only to the *qaraçı* of the

mirzas of the Great Nogay [horde], the mirzas of the Little Nogay [horde],<sup>10</sup> nor the Crimean officials will set out against your country with the Crimean and Nogay troops, or send [troops there].

God—may He be exalted!—willing, we will not act contrary to our agreement, oath, and word, as our present ‘ahdname equals our proper word. [Nevertheless,] in regard to the brigands, who cause and bring mischief in our surroundings, both sides should mercilessly punish them and thus set a warning [to others]. With the help of God, may He be exalted!, on this side no mercy will be given to such villains, and they will be punished. Also on your side, you should punish those looking for trouble.

While, in desire to render the peace and amity existing between [us] firm and stable, we have given repeated orders to the Tatar troops and severely threatened our notables, restraining them and forbidding any raids against your country, your Cossacks, serving as guards on the Dnieper river, and your other hunters and brigands have come four or five times from the autumn months until the present time and driven away the Crimean cattle; moreover, they have taken away many Muslims captured as prisoners. What kind of peace, brotherhood, and friendship is that? If you wish to make peace, you should observe your oath and punish your villains.

I have nothing to add but a prayer for whomsoever has followed the right path [i.e., Islam]!

In the abode of [Baghchasaray, the well-protected].<sup>11</sup>

[seal] Islam Giray Khan, son of Selamet Giray Khan<sup>12</sup>

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Shirins; see Trepavlov, *Istorija Nogajskoj Ordy*, pp. 131; cf. Senai, *Historia chana Islam Gereja III*, pp. 155–156, n. 113.

<sup>10</sup> In result of a civil war among the Nogays in 1554, a dissatisfied group led by Ghazi Mirza created the so-called Little Nogay horde (to discern from the Great Nogay horde on the Volga), whose grazing lands extended between the Don and northern Caucasus, on the territory loosely controlled by the Crimean khans. In the first half of the 17th century, especially in 1630s, also many clans of the Great Nogay horde, pressed by the Kalmyks, arrived in Budjak and the Black Sea steppes and found themselves under the sovereignty of the Crimean khans. On the particular Nogay clans, cf. Document 64, notes 12–16.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. n. d above.

<sup>12</sup> In the middle of the seal there is the trident-shaped emblem of the Girays (*taraq tamğa*).

DOCUMENT 59 (19 AUGUST 1649)  
The Polish instrument of the Treaty of Zborów (Zboriv), issued  
by King John Casimir

The original document is missing.

Polish copies:<sup>1</sup>

- A. AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 62, t. 3, no. 334.
- B. AGAD, Metryka Koronna, Libri Legationum, no. 33, fol. 72a–72b.
- C. Bibl. Czart., ms. 144 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 433–435.
- D. Biblioteka Gdańska PAN, ms. 724, fol. 180b–181b.
- E. L'vivs'ka Naukova Biblioteka im. V. Stefanyka NAN Ukrainy, fond 5 (Oss.), opys 1, no. II-225 (a digital copy also available in Wrocław in Bibl. Ossol.: kopia elektroniczna sygn. DE-508), fol. 243a–244a.

Yet another, unidentified contemporary copy is published in *Pamjatniki izdannye Kievskoju Kommissieju dlja razbora drevnix aktov*, vol. 1 (2nd ed.) (Kiev, 1898), pp. 364–365.

Latin translations:

- A. Bibl. Czart., ms. 144 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 427–428.
- B. Bibl. Czart., ms. 144 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 429–432.

Zjechawszy się najjaśniejszy, najpotężniejszy i najślawniejszy między królami, sławą i szczęściem od Boga<sup>a</sup> uwielbiony, wielkich królestw i szerokich państw, i wielu narodów monarcha, Jan Kazimierz z łaski bożej<sup>b</sup> król polski, wielkie książę litewskie, ruskie, pruskie, mazowieckie, żmudzkie, inflantskie, smoleńskie, czernihowskie, etc., i też szwedzki, gotski, wandalski dziedziczny król<sup>c</sup> z wolnym Wielkiej Ordy carem Islan Gieriem,<sup>d</sup> cerkaskim, nahaiskim, perekopskim, petiorskim, szemskim,<sup>e</sup> i chanem krymskim, przyjacielem i bratem, takie między sobą pakta postanowili: iż od dnia dzisiejszego zawierają między sobą wieczną przyjaźń, która między najjaśniejszym, najpotężniejszym i najślawniejszym<sup>f</sup> Janem Kazimierzem, królem polskim, i następcami jego kró-

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<sup>1</sup> The copies A. and B., held in the Crown Archives, should be regarded as official ones, even though they do not contain the *locatio* and *datatio* that are present in the remaining copies and must have appeared on the original instrument that was corroborated by the king and sent to the khan. The B. copy also contains numerous shortenings. Nevertheless, these two copies form the basis of the present edition while only major textual variations of the remaining copies are annotated.

<sup>a</sup> B. w Bogu.

<sup>b-c</sup> B. *król polski etc.*; E. *król polski, wielkie książę litewskie, ruskie, pruskie, mazowieckie, podlaskie, wołyńskie, żmudzkie, inflandskie, smoleńskie, czernihowskie, i szwedzki, gottski, wandalski dziedziczny król*.

<sup>d</sup> B. *Islan Gereiem*.

<sup>e</sup> B. *cerkaskim, nahaiskim, perekopskim, petyorskim, szemskim*; on the corrupt term *szemski*, cf. Document 46, n. e.

<sup>f</sup> B. *najjaśniejszym etc.*; hereafter the king is titled in this copy merely as *najjaśniejszy*.

lami polskimi, i domem Sultan<sup>g</sup> Giereiów wieczna i nienaruszona trwać ma; względem której przyjaźni obiecują sobie wzajem pomoc przeciwko spólnemu nieprzyjacielowi, kiedy jeden od drugiego tej pomocy potrzebować będzie.

Naśladując tenże najjaśniejszy, najpotężniejszy i najślawniejszy Jan Kazimierz, król polski, chęci i hojności przodków swoich, królów polskich, przeciwko wolnym Wielkich Ord carom i chanom krymskim, obiecuje dawać zwyczajne<sup>h</sup> temuż chanowi Islan Giereiowi<sup>i</sup> według dawnych pakt upominki, z kondycjami w dawnych paktach wyrażonemi,<sup>j</sup> które upominki najjaśniejszy, najpotężniejszy i najślawniejszy Król Jego Miłość polski<sup>k</sup> do Kamieńca<sup>l</sup> na czas zwyczajny odsyłać rozkaże, a wolny Wielkich Ord car i chan krymski tamże posłańca swego po nie sobie ześle, który je odbierać będzie. Obiecuje przy tym wolny Wielkich Ord car i chan krymski, że od tego czasu wiecznymi<sup>m</sup> czasy ordy krymskie, nahaiskie, kalmudzkie,<sup>n</sup> budziackie, oczakowskie, dobruckie, i zgola żadne, także żaden z murzów i begów,<sup>o</sup> i namniejszą watahą w państwa najjaśniejszego, najpotężniejszego i najślawniejszego Króla Jego Miłości polskiego nigdy wpadać ani szkód żadnych czynić nie będą, o co wszelakim sposobem starać się i bronić tego tenże Wielkiej Ordy wolny car i chan krymski za się i za potomki swe obiecuje.

A że tenże Wielkiej Ordy wolny car i chan krymski wniósł prośbę do najjaśniejszego, najpotężniejszego i najślawniejszego Króla Jego Miłości<sup>p</sup> za wojskiem zaporoskim,<sup>q</sup> aby im ten występki o' bunt i wznieconą wojnę odpuścił, tedy najjaśniejszy, najpotężniejszy i najślawniejszy Król Jego Miłość, za upokorzeniem się i oddaniem wiernego poddaństwa tegoż wojska zaporoskiego uczynił z nimi<sup>r</sup> miłosierdzie, że na przyczynę Wielkiej Ordy wolnego cara i chana krymskiego odpuszcza im ten<sup>t</sup> występki i przy dawnych wojsko to zaporoskie wolnościach zostawuje, według osobnego z nimi postanowienia.

A gdyby wolny Wielkiej Ordy car i chan krymski potrzebował przeciwko spólnym nieprzyjaciołom posiłków, lub wojskiem zaporowskim [*sic*], lub inszym, tedy mu tego najjaśniejszy, najpotężniejszy i najślawniejszy Król Jego Miłość polski pozwolić obiecuje. Wzajem też, gdyby najjaśniejszy, najpotężniejszy i najślawniejszy Król Jego Miłość polski tego potrzebował, tedy bądź wszystką<sup>u</sup> ordą, bądź częścią jej według potrzeby najjaśniejszego, najpotężniejszego i najślawniejszego Króla Jego Miłości polskiego<sup>v</sup> posiłkować go tenże

<sup>g</sup> B. *Sultan*.

<sup>h</sup> Missing in B.

<sup>i</sup> B. *Islan Giereiowi*.

<sup>j</sup> B. *wyrażonymi*.

<sup>k</sup> B. *Jan Kazimierz, król polski*.

<sup>l</sup> B. *Kamieńca Podolskiego*.

<sup>m</sup> B. *wiecznymi*.

<sup>n</sup> B. *nahayskie, kałmudzkie*.

<sup>o</sup> B. *beiów*.

<sup>p</sup> B. *Króla Jego Miłości polskiego*.

<sup>q</sup> In B. here and hereafter: *zaporozkim*.

<sup>r</sup> It should rather read *i* like in B.

<sup>s</sup> B. *nad nimi*.

<sup>t</sup> B. *tenże*.

<sup>u</sup> B. *wszystką*.

wolny Wielkiej Ordy car i chan krymski obiecuje.<sup>v-w</sup> Przyjaciołom zaś spólnym mają być przyjaciołami, jako i nieprzyjaciołom spólnym nieprzyjaciołami.<sup>x</sup>

A iż z tego miejsca obrócić się nie może wolny Wielkiej Ordy car i chan krymski,<sup>y</sup> tylko przez państwa najjaśniejszego, najpotężniejszego i najsławniejszego Króla Jego Miłości polskiego, starać się o to obiecuje<sup>z</sup> tenże wolny Wielkiej Ordy car i chan krymski, aby to powrócenie jego było jako z najmniejszą szkodą państw<sup>aa</sup> najjaśniejszego, najpotężniejszego i najsławniejszego Króla Jego Miłości.

Wojsko to, pod Zbarażem które jest,<sup>ab</sup> przy posłańcu najjaśniejszego, najpotężniejszego i najsławniejszego Króla Jego Miłości<sup>ac</sup> na to naznaczonym i zesłanym ma być nieodwłocznie uwolnione tak, żeby i orda i to, cokolwiek jest wojska zaporoskiego bez wszelakiej odwłoki odstąpiło, a wojsko to ze Zbaraża<sup>ad</sup> bezpiecznie do Króla Jego Miłości ściągnąć się mogło.

Takie tedy między sobą umowy i pakta postanowiwszy, obiecują sobie wzajem wszelkim<sup>ae</sup> sposobem cale i nienaruszenie ich wiecznymi<sup>af</sup> czasy dotrzymać.

[Działo się w obozie pod Zborowem, dnia XIX miesiąca sierpnia roku od narodzenia Boga i Zbawiciela naszego Jezusa Chrystusa tysiąc sześćset czterdziestego dziewiątego, panowania królestw naszych polskiego I, a szwedzkiego II roku].<sup>ag</sup>

Translation:

*Having met, the illustrious, most powerful and glorious among the kings, blessed by God with glory and good fortune, the monarch of great kingdoms, extensive states, and many nations, John Casimir, by the grace of God the king of Poland, the grand duke of Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, Samogitia, Livonia, Smolensk, Černihiv, etc., and also the hereditary king of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, with the free tsar<sup>2</sup> of the Great Horde, Islam Giray, [the*

<sup>v-w</sup> B. *posiłkować obiecuje*.

<sup>x</sup> B. *Przyjaciołom zaś spólnym mają być przyjaciołmi, jako i nieprzyjaciołom nieprzyjaciołmi*.

<sup>y</sup> B. *A iż z tego miejsca wolny Wielkiej Ordy car i chan krymski obrócić się nie może*.

<sup>z</sup> B. *starać się i o to obiecuje*.

<sup>aa</sup> B. *państwa*.

<sup>ab</sup> In A. crossed out and corrected: *wojsko to, które jest pod Zbarażem*.

<sup>ac</sup> B. *Króla Jego Miłości polskiego*.

<sup>ad</sup> B. *a wojsko z pod Zbaraża*.

<sup>ae</sup> B. *wszelakim*.

<sup>af</sup> B. *wiecznymi*.

<sup>ag</sup> Missing in A. and B. Thus in E. (a slightly different version appears in *Pamiętniki: Działo się w obozie pod Zborowem, die 19 augusti 1649 roku od narodzenia Zbawiciela naszego Jezusa Chrystusa, panowania królestw naszych polskiego pierwszego, szwedzkiego 16* [sic; apparently the copyist or editor mistook the Roman numeral II for the Arabic numeral 16] *roku*); in C. *Działo się pod Zborowem die 19 Augusti 1649*; in D. *Działo się w obozie pod Zborowem, dnia 19 Augusti anno 1649*.

<sup>2</sup> On the expression *wolny car* ("free khan," lit. "free tsar"), cf. Document 44, n. 1. In the previous documents this expression is consequently translated as "free khan," but in the present one Islam Giray is repeatedly referred to as "the free tsar of the

ruler] of the Circassians, Nogays, Perekop, the Circassians<sup>3</sup> and innumerable [Tatars],<sup>4</sup> the Crimean khan, the [royal] friend and brother, they have mutually resolved to make the following agreement [stipulating] that from this day on they enter eternal friendship that should last forever and stay intact between the illustrious, most powerful and glorious king of Poland, John Casimir, as well as his successors, the kings of Poland, and the House of the Giray princes [sultans]; in regard to the aforementioned friendship they mutually engage to assist each other against a common enemy, whenever one needs the assistance from the other.

Following the goodwill and generosity of his ancestors, the kings of Poland, towards the free tsars of the Great Hordes, the Crimean khans, the illustrious, most powerful and glorious king of Poland, John Casimir, promises to give the customary gifts to the aforementioned khan, Islam Giray, according to the ancient agreements and following the conditions expressed in the ancient treaties; His illustrious, most powerful and glorious Majesty, the king of Poland, will order to send the above gifts to Kamieniec [Podolski] in due time, while the free tsar of the Great Hordes, the Crimean khan, will send his envoy there so that he may collect them. Consequently, the free tsar of the Great Hordes, the Crimean khan, engages that from now on in perpetuity the Crimean, Nogay, Kalmyk,<sup>5</sup> Budjak, Očakiv, and Dobrudjan hordes, or any other [hordes], or any mirza or bey at the head of even a smallest band, will never invade or bring any damage to the states of His illustrious, most powerful and glorious Majesty, the king of Poland; the free tsar of the Great Horde and the Crimean khan promises on his behalf and on behalf of his descendants to look to it and forbid [such raids] by all means.

And because the free tsar of the Great Horde and the Crimean khan has submitted a request to His illustrious, most powerful and glorious Royal Majesty on behalf of the Zaporozhian troops [i.e., the Cossacks] so that he remit them their crime of rebellion and provoking the war, upon the prostration and declaration of loyal obedience by the Zaporozhian troops, His illustrious, most powerful and glorious Royal Majesty has granted them mercy, [announcing] that he remits their crime on the intercession of the free tsar of the Great Horde

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Great Horde" (*wolny Wielkiej Ordy car*) and "the Crimean khan" (*chan krymski*), hence this differentiation is preserved in the translation.

<sup>3</sup> The Circassians are first referred to by the Polish adjective *cerkaski* (it should rather read *czerkaski* or *czerkieski*), and then by another adjective *petiorski* (it should rather read *petyhorski*); cf. Document 40, n. 6 and Document 47, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. n. e above.

<sup>5</sup> The Kalmyk westward migration to the lower Volga began in the early 17th century; in the 1630s, the Kalmyk pressure caused a massive flight of the Nogays towards the Black Sea steppes and Budjak; in 1644, the Kalmyks attacked Kabarda but were stopped by a local prince, Alayuk, assisted by Nogay horsemen sent by Mehmed IV Giray; in 1648, the Kalmyks crossed the Don in an abortive raid against the Crimea, but were stopped by heavy snow and frost; the Kalmyk raids then repeated several times in the 1650s; cf. Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met. The Russian State and the Kalmyk Nomads, 1600–1771*, pp. 78–90. Hence, Islam III Giray had no ground to claim suzerainty over the Kalmyks in 1649, although some Kalmyk captives or volunteers might have served in his troops.

and the Crimean khan, and he confirms the ancient liberties [i.e., privileges] of the Zaporozhian troops according to a separate agreement with them.

And if the free tsar of the Great Horde, the Crimean khan, needs assistance against common enemies, either with the Zaporozhian troops, or other [troops], then His illustrious, most powerful and glorious Majesty, the king of Poland engages to lend him [these troops]. In return, if His illustrious, most powerful and glorious Majesty, the king of Poland, needs [assistance], then the free tsar of the Great Horde, the Crimean khan, engages to assist him either with the entire horde [i.e., army], or its part, according to the need of His illustrious, most powerful and glorious Majesty, the king of Poland. And they should be friends to common friends and enemies to common enemies.

And because the free tsar of the Great Horde, the Crimean khan, cannot return [home] from here but through the states of His illustrious, most powerful and glorious Majesty, the king of Poland, the free tsar of the Great Horde, the Crimean khan, promises to endeavor that his return would cause the least possible damage to the states of His illustrious, most powerful and glorious Royal Majesty.

The [Polish] troops that are [currently besieged] at Zbaraž should be immediately released in the presence of an envoy of His illustrious, most powerful and glorious Royal Majesty, appointed and sent to look to it, so that the [Crimean] horde and whichever Zaporozhian troops are there, should retreat without any delay, and the [Polish] troops may safely join His Royal Majesty.

Having thus concluded such an agreement and treaty, they [i.e., the two rulers] mutually engage to keep it, by all means, forever, entirely and without any violation.

Took place in a camp near Zboriv, on the 19th day of the month of August of the year 1649 from the birth of our God and Savior, Jesus Christ, in the 1st year of our reign in Poland and the 2nd year [of our reign] in Sweden.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> John Casimir claimed hereditary rights to the Swedish throne from the death of his older brother Vladislaus, i.e., from May 1648. As to the Polish throne, his reign began with his election in November 1648, and formally even later, with his coronation in January 1649.

DOCUMENT 60 (10 AUGUST–7 SEPTEMBER 1649)  
The Crimean instrument of the Treaty of Zborów (Zboriv),  
issued by Khan Islam III Giray  
[Facs. XI]

Original paper<sup>1</sup> document in Turkish (Ottoman Turkish mixed with Crimean Tatar): AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 62, t. 4, no. 335.

58 × 40.5 cm. (shorter on the right side: 57 × 40.5 cm.)

invocation (black): *divani* script

*tuğra* (black): 9 × 25.5 cm.

text (black): *divani* script

the black almond-like seal of Islam Giray (2.3 cm. in height) is impressed at the bottom

Polish 17th-century translation: a) (copied by Antoni Crutta on the original's reverse side): AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 62, t. 4, no. 335; b) AGAD, Metryka Koronna, Libri Legationum, no. 33, fol. 72a–72b; c) L'vivs'ka Naukova Biblioteka im. V. Stefanyka NAN Ukrainy, fond 5 (Oss.), opys 1, no. II-225 (a digital copy also available in Wrocław in Bibl. Ossol.: kopia elektroniczna sygn. DE-508), fol. 245a–245b.

Published in Ludwik Kubala, "Oblężenie Zbaraża i pokój pod Zborowem," in: idem, *Dziela*, vol. 2: *Szkice historyczne, seria I i II*, p. 122.

A 20th-century Polish translation by Abdullah Zihni Soysal is published in idem, *Jartyki krymskie*, pp. 21–22.

A Latin 17th-century translation is published in Stanisław Temberski, *Annales 1647–1656*. Edited by W. Czermak (Cracow, 1897), p. 147.

Hüve

**İslam Gërey Han bin Selamet Gërey Han sözüümüz<sup>a</sup>**

[1] Tengri tebareke ve ta'ala hazretlerinin ruhmi ve 'inayeti milen uluğ orda uluğ yurtnın ve taht-i Qırımın ve tağ-ara Çerkesnin

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<sup>1</sup> The white paper contains a watermark (5 cm. in height) depicting a paschal lamb inscribed within a circle; similar paper was used in the same period by the Ottoman chancery; cf. Asparouh Velkov, *Les filigranes dans les documents ottomans—Divers types d'images*, pp. 1 and 55–56. The watermark was typical for Venetian paper-mills; see Briquet, *Les Filigranes. Dictionnaire Historique des Marques du Papier*, vol. 1, p. 19.

<sup>a</sup> The inscription within the *tuğra* is corrupt and has been reconstructed on the basis of Islam Giray's *tuğra* from the document of 1646 (cf. Document 58); apparently the clerk responsible for drawing the *tuğra* (*tuğrakeş*) did not accompany the Tatar army on the campaign.



- [2] ve köp Tatarınñ ve barça Noğaynñ ve Deşt-i Qıpçaqnñ ve bi-hesab çerüvññ uluğ padişahı olan sa'adetlü ve devletlü ve mahabetlü ve şeca'atlu mën uluğ İslam Gërey Han
- [3] dame devletühü ila yevmi'l-mizan hazretlerindin devletlü ve muhabbetlü Yan Qazimir Lëhnñ ve Litvanñ ve 'Urusnñ Prusnñ ve Mazurnñ ve Çernihovnñ ve Hodnñ
- [4] ve Şvednñ Vandalnñ ve cedişnñ ve barça hrıstyanñ uluğ qıralı qardaşımız dördünci qıral-i devlet-iştimal hazretlerinñ hatırların muhabbetlik ve tatulıq milen
- [5] sorğanımızdın sonra ma'lumları ola ki mabeyinde vaqı' olan bürudet refi' olunup meveddete tebdil ve 'ömr-i ahırğaça dostluq ve qardaşlıqda muhkem olmamız babında olan rıcanuz qabul-i
- [6] qarin-i şahanemiz olmuşdur mabeyinde mün'aqıd olan şurutdur ki zikr olunur madde-i ula budur ki hala Özi hetmanı olan İhminlisky<sup>b</sup> ve cem' edüp yazduğı kırq bin
- [7] Qazaq taifesine bi'z-zat kendinüzden vükela vüzera ve ümerañuzdan hasıl-i kelim zir-i hükümetinüzde olan qullarınuzdan 'adavet ve zarar [u] ziyan etmeyecekinize ve bir harşa ve sefere gitmek
- [8] lazım geldikde evleri halidir deyü zarar ve ziyan qasdında olmayacağınıza saniya qanun-i qadim olan vergü ve pişkeşlerinüz her yıl bila-'özür göndürecekñize ve Öziniñ canib-i şimalinde İngil<sup>c</sup>
- [9] ve Ungul<sup>d</sup> ve Çubartıl<sup>e</sup>da Qırım vilayetiniñ çera-gah ve otlaqları olup hayvanatları gelüp otladıqlarında tarafınuzdan ve ümerañuzdan müdahale etmeyeceklerine sizin ve bizim 'ömrümüz ahir olunca dostumuza dost
- [10] ve düşmanımıza düşmanlıq edecekñize ve lazım gelüp 'asker ve imdad istendikde 'asker vërüb imdad edecekñize sa'adetlü padişah-i rub'-i meskun hazretleriniñ vilayetlerine deryadan ve qaradan zarar ve ziyan
- [11] etmeyüp dostlarına dost düşmanlarına düşman olacağınıza bu yazdıqlarımızın hilafı bi'z-zat kendinüzden ve beklerinüzden ve 'askerinüzden zuhur etmeyüp sulh u salaha ri'ayet olunursa
- [12] vallahi'l-'azim ve tallahi'l-kerim bi'z-zat kendimizden ve qardaşımız qalğa sultan ve nureddin sultan ve ğayri sultanlardan ve Şirin begi ve mirzaları ve Manqıt begi ve mirzaları ve Uluğ Noğay ve Küçük Noğay
- [13] mirzaları ve 'askerleri ve ulan küyenleri<sup>f</sup> ve içki beklerimiz ve 'umumen qara 'askerimizden vilayetlerinüze 'asker göndürüp zarar ve ziyan etdirilmezdir bu yazdığımızın hilafı sizin tarafınuzdan olursa
- [14] naqz-i 'ahd kendi tarafınuzdan olmuş olur inşa'allahu ta'ala naqz-i 'ahd bizim tarafımızdan olmayup 'ömr-i ahırğaça oğul oğuldan dostluq etmek muradımızdır siz dahi dostluqda muhkem

<sup>b</sup> Written with a final Arabic *he* (اخنلسكيه), which can be read as *-i* like in the word *ki* (كه).

<sup>c</sup> انكل.

<sup>d</sup> اونكل.

<sup>e</sup> چبارتل.

<sup>f</sup> اولان کویلاری; for a tentative interpretation of the word *küyen*, see Document 49, n. e.

[15] olup ‘ömr-i ahırğaça qardaşlıq édesiz böyle bilesiz tahriren fi mah-i  
Şa‘bani`l-mu‘azzam sene-i 1059

bi-yurt-i  
qal‘e-i İzborov<sup>g</sup>

### İslam Gërey Han bin Selamet Gërey Han<sup>h</sup>

Translation:

*He!*

[tuğra] *Islam Giray Khan, son of Selamet Giray Khan: our word:*

*From his excellency, me, the great, prosperous, illustrious, majestic, and brave Islam Giray Khan (may his [i.e., my] reign last till the Day of Judgment!), who am—by the compassion and grace of His Excellency, God (may He be blessed and exalted!)—the great padishah of the Great Horde, the great country [yurt], the Crimean throne, mountain Circassians, numerous Tatars, all the Nogays, the Kipchak Steppe, and countless troops:*

*After we have asked with affection and friendship about the health of his excellency, our illustrious and dear brother John Casimir, the great king of Poland, Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, and Černihiv, the hereditary [king]<sup>2</sup> of the Goths,<sup>3</sup> Swedes, and Vandals, and [the great king] of all Christians, the fourth<sup>4</sup> prosperous king, they [i.e., you] should know that your request to remove the unfriendliness existing between us and to replace it with affection,*

<sup>g</sup> ازبرو.

<sup>h</sup> Text of the seal.

<sup>2</sup> Zihni Soysal correctly assumed that the Turkish word *cediş* must have been a rendering of the Polish *dziedzic*, i.e., “heir” (see *idem*, *Jarłyki krymskie*, p. 21); as the Polish Vasas consistently claimed their hereditary rights to the Swedish throne, their *intitulatio*, written in Polish, contained the formula: *szwedzki, gotski, wandalski dziedziczny król*, i.e., “the hereditary king of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals” (cf. Document 59); apparently the Crimean scribe had at his disposal a document in Polish, containing the *intitulatio* of the Polish king, and he erroneously took the word *dziedziczny* (“hereditary”) for its yet another geographic or ethnic component; thus instead of *Vandalnıj ve cedişnıj ... qıralı* (“the king of the Vandals and of *cediş*”), the Turkish text should read: *Vandalnıj cedişi* or rather *Vandalnıj varisi* (“the heir of the Vandals”); cf. the Ottoman ‘*ahdname* issued in 1640 by Sultan Ibrahim to Vladislaus IV, where the Polish king is referred to as *İşveçya vilayetinin varisi ve kıralı olacak* (“the heir and the future king of Sweden”); Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 460 and 465. The corrupt title of the Polish king might have already figured in an earlier Tatar document, addressed to Vladislaus IV, whose copy apparently served as a model for the Crimean scribe (cf. n. 4 below).

<sup>3</sup> *Hodnıj* in the Turkish text; cf. the contemporary Polish translation: *Gotskiego*, i.e., “of the Goths.”

<sup>4</sup> The Crimean scribe apparently copied the title of the Polish king from an older Tatar document addressed to Vladislaus IV (Tur. *Dördüncü qıral Vladıslav*, cf. Document 58), perhaps assuming that the word *dördüncü* (Tur., “the fourth”) was a permanent element of the royal *intitulatio*?

*and to keep strongly friendship and brotherhood till the end of [our] lives, has been associated with our royal acceptance. The conditions agreed upon between [us] are as follows:*

*This is the first article:*

*Neither you in person, nor your representatives, ministers [viziers], and commanders, in short: nobody from among the servants being under your rule, should display hostility or commit harm or damage to the present Dnieper hetman, Xmel'nyc'kyj, or to the registered forty thousand Cossacks; and if it is necessary that they go to earn [their living] or for a campaign, you should not commit harm or damage under the pretext that their houses are empty.*

*Secondly:*

*Your should send each year, without any excuse, the gifts [vèrgü]<sup>5</sup> and presents [piškeš]<sup>6</sup> due according to the old law. As on the northern side of the Dnieper, on the [rivers] Ingul, Ingulec', and Chubartil [Velykaja Vis']<sup>7</sup> there are pasturages and grasslands belonging to the Crimea, when animals arrive [there from the Crimea], while they graze, neither you, nor your commanders should interfere. Until the end of your life, and [the end of] ours, you should be a friend to our friend and an enemy to our enemy. And if we are in need of troops and help, when we ask you, you should provide us with troops and help. You should not commit harm or damage, either by sea, or by land, to the domains of his excellency, the prosperous padishah of the inhabited portion of the earth;<sup>8</sup> you should be a friend to his friends and an enemy to his enemies.*

*If nothing arises contrary to our present writing on your part or on the part of your lords [beks] or your soldiers, and the peace and amity is observed, [then]—by powerful God and through munificent God!—no troops should be sent to your domains and no harm or damage should be committed by me in person, my brother, the qalga sultan, the nureddin sultan, and other princes [sultans], and the bey and mirzas of the Shirins, the bey and mirzas of the Manghits, the mirzas and soldiers of the Great Nogay and Little Nogay [hordes],<sup>9</sup> the ulans' clan members, our courtiers [içki beks], and generally our common soldiers.*

*[But] if anything contrary to our present writing is done by you, it will be you who will have violated the engagement ['ahd]. God—may He be exalted!—willing, we will not violate the engagement ['ahd] as it is our wish to keep friendship till the end of [our] life, and [then] from father to son. You, too,*

<sup>5</sup> Vèrgü means also "tax" or "tribute."

<sup>6</sup> On the term piškeš, cf. Document 50, n. 23.

<sup>7</sup> The Ingul is a left tributary of the Boh, the Ingulec' is a right tributary of the Dnieper, and the Velykaja Vis' (Tur. Chubartil) is a left tributary of the Synjuxa (Pol. Sine Wody), which in turn is a left tributary of the Boh. All the three rivers were identified by Zygmunt Abrahamowicz on the basis of the campaign itinerary of Islam III Giray contained in the Crimean chronicle by Hadji Mehmed Senai; see Senai, *Historia chana Islam Gereja III*, pp. 33–34, 69–70 and 119.

<sup>8</sup> I.e., the Ottoman sultan.

<sup>9</sup> On the Manghits, the Great Nogay and Little Nogay hordes, cf. Document 58, notes 9–10.

*should keep strongly the friendship and brotherhood till the end of [your] life. Thus you must know!*

*Written in the esteemed month of Shaban of the year 1059, in the tent of [i.e., near] the fortress of Zboriv.*

[seal] *Islam Giray Khan, son of Selamet Giray Khan*<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> In the middle of the seal there is the trident-shaped emblem of the Girays (*taraq tamğa*).

DOCUMENT 61 (18 JULY 1654)

The Polish instrument of peace and alliance, corroborated and sworn in Warsaw by King John Casimir, the representatives of the Senate and Diet, and the Crimean envoy, Süleyman Agha

The original document is missing.

Polish copies:

A. Bibl. Kórn., ms. 991, fol. 486b–487b.

B. Bibl. Czart., ms. 147 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 597–600.<sup>1</sup>

An earlier rough draft, undated and lacking the corroborating formula is preserved in AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 62, t. 34, no. 365.

Published (with minor mistakes) along with a Russian translation in *Dokumenty ob osvoboditel'noj vojne ukrainskogo naroda 1648–1654* (Kiev, 1965), pp. 759–763.

Najjaśniejszy, najpotężniejszy i najślawniejszy między królami, sławą i szczęściem od Boga uwielbiony, wielkich królestw i szerokich państw, i wielu narodów monarcha, Jan Kazimierz, z bożej łaski król polski, wielkie księżę litewskie, ruskie, pruskie, mazowieckie, żmudzkie, inflantskie, smoleńskie, czernihowskie, a szwedzki, gotski, wandalski dziedziczny król, z wolnym wielkich ord carem Islan Gereiem, cyrkaskim, nahayskim, perekopskim, petiorskim, szemskim,<sup>a</sup> i chanem krymskim, przyjacielem i bratem, takie od dnia dzisiejszego pakta wieczne stanowią:

Torem idąc najjaśniejszych królów, przed sobą szczęśliwie panujących, którzy tego przestrzegali, aby z wolnymi wielkich ord carami i chanami krymskimi, i ordami ich w pokoju i przyjaźni żyli, najjaśniejszy Jan Kazimierz, król polski, od dnia dzisiejszego wedle dawnych i starożytnych pakt wieczną między sobą, królestwem swoim, i następcami swymi z jednej, a wolnym carem i Chanem Jego Miłością krymskim Islan Gereiem i następcami jego, i ordami wszystkimi jemu podległymi [z drugiej strony],<sup>b</sup> wieczną i nierozrwaną przyjaźń tymi paktami zawierają.

Ponieważ najjaśniejszy Król Jego Miłość, Jan Kazimierz zawziętą przyjaźń i braterski affekt wolnego wolnych<sup>c</sup> ord cara i Chana Jego Miłości krymskiego, Islan Gereia przeciwko sobie i Rzeczypospolitej uznał, którą przez posła swego wielkiego Soliman agę pod ten czas sejmu walnego koronnego

<sup>1</sup> This copy is much later and incomplete, hence its minor variations are not annotated.

<sup>a</sup> The adjective *petiorski* < *petyhorski*, following the adjective *cyrkaski* < *czerkaski*, seems redundant since both adjectives refer to the Circassians (cf. Document 59, n. 3); on the corrupt term *szemski*, see Document 46, n. e; cf. also Document 59, on whose preamble the present preamble is based.

<sup>b</sup> In B. only.

<sup>c</sup> B. *wielkich*.

warszawskiego najjaśniejszemu Królowi Jego Miłości, Janowi Kazimierzowi i wszystkim stanom Rzeczypospolitej ofiarował, i onę wiecznie dotrzymać i przysięgą swoją ztwierdzić obiecał, tedy najjaśniejszy Król Jego Miłość, Jan Kazimierz, za zgodą wszystkich stanów Rzeczypospolitej idąc, takąż przyjaźń wiecznie trwałą poprzysiężonym summieniem swoim królewskim wolnemu wolnych ord carowi Islan Gereiowi i następcom jego, i wielkim ordom do państw jego należącym ofiaruje i wiecznie dotrzymać obiecuje.

Wzajemnie wolny car i Chan Jego Miłość krymski Islan Gerei też z bejami, agami, murzami, i urzędnikami wszystkimi takąż przysięgę przed posłem Jego Królewskiej Miłości najjaśniejszemu Królowi Jego Miłości polskiemu Janowi Kazimierzowi i następcom jego, tudzież wszystkiej Rzeczypospolitej wykona.

Od tego tedy czasu ani najjaśniejszy Jan Kazimierz, król polski sam przez się, ani przez wojska swoje na państwa wolnego cara i Chana Jego Miłości krymskiego Iszlan Gereia i następców jego następować będzie; wzajem też wolny car i Chan Jego Miłość krymski ani sam przez się, ani przez najmniejszą ordę swoją nie ma w państwa najjaśniejszego Króla Jego Miłości sposobem nieprzyjacielskim wchodzić i żadnych krzywd czynić wiecznemi czasami. A nie tylko ordy krymskie, nahayskie, kalmuckie, budziackie, oczakowskie, dobruckie, i zgoła żadne, które są pod panowaniem wolnego cara i Chana Jego Miłości krymskiego, ale żaden z bejów, agów, murzów i najmniejszą watahą szkód żadnych w państwach najjaśniejszego Króla Jego Miłości polskiego czynić nie mają i nie będą, co wszelakim sposobem zstrzymać i bronić wolny car i Chan Jego Miłość krymski, z domem Sołtan Gereiów, póki trwać będzie, ze wszystkimi następcami, wolnymi wielkich<sup>d</sup> ord carami i Chanami Ich Miłościami krymskimi obiecuje i poprzysięga.

Wzajemnie najjaśniejszy Król Jego Miłość polski Jan Kazimierz, naśladując hojności najjaśniejszych przodków swoich, wedle dawnych pakt wolnemu carowi i Chanowi Jego Miłości krymskiemu Islan Gereiowi na każdy rok upominki zwyczajne, z kondycjami w dawnych paktach wyrażonymi dawać obiecuje, które upominki najjaśniejszy Jan Kazimierz, król polski na czas zwyczajny do Kamieńca Podolskiego odsyłać ma, a wolny car i Chan Jego Miłość krymski posła swego wedle zwyczaju do odbierania przysyłać powinien, a do tego na żądanie najjaśniejszego Króla Jego Miłości polskiego, dotrzymując obietnicę poprzysiężoną od przodków swoich, lubo wszystkimi ordami, lub częścią, jako najjaśniejszy Król Jego Miłość polski potrzebować będzie, przeciwko każdemu nieprzyjacielowi Jego Królewskiej Miłości stawać teraz i na potym obowiązują się.

A że teraz car moskiewski bez żadnej<sup>e</sup> od najjaśniejszego Króla Jego Miłości polskiego danej przyczyny poprzysiężony złamał pokój i z Kozakami, wiarołomnym poddaństwem najjaśniejszego Króla Jego Miłości złączył się, i do przysięgi ich przywiodszy w państwa Jego Królewskiej Miłości ukraiinne, w Białą Ruś i Xięstwo Litewskie wtargnął, zamki częścią zdradliwie poddane, częścią nieprzyjacielsko opanowane wziął i ludźmi swymi osadził, tedy najjaśniejszy Król Jego Miłość polski Jan Kazimierz, z wolnym carem i Chanem

<sup>d</sup> B. *wolnych*.

<sup>e</sup> The B. copy abruptly ends here.

Jego Miłością krymskim Islan Gereiem i następcami jego, chanami krymskimi, tak przeciwko wiarołomnemu carowi moskiewskiemu, jako i przeciwko Kozakom zaporowskim zawiera przyjaźń i związek wojenny, mocą którego związku wolny car i Chan Jego Miłość krymski ze wszystkimi ordami swoimi, wespół z najjaśniejszym Królem Jego Miłością polskim, Pana Boga wzięwszy na pomoc, przeciwko wiarołomnemu carowi moskiewskiemu, i przeciwko rebellizantom Kozakom i chłopstwu, którzy by do dawnego poddaństwa wrócić się nie chcieli, wojnę podnieść i ich znosić, lubo wespół, lubo rozdzielnie, jako wojenna potrzeba pokaże, obiecuje i poprzysiąc ma. Poprzysiężony zaś ten związek nie tylko póki ta wojna trwać będzie w mocy swojej i zachowaniu całe zostawać ma, ale też i na potym, na wieczne czasy najjaśniejszy Król Jego Miłość polski wolnemu carowi i Chanowi Jego Miłości krymskiemu przeciwko Moskwie wojskami swymi pomagać, i nie odstępować go aż do skończenia wojny powinien będzie, jako też wzajem wolny car i Chan Jego Miłość krymski najjaśniejszemu królowi polskiemu ze wszystkimi ordami swoimi przeciwko Moskwie pomagać, i jego nie odstępować aż do skończenia wojny będzie powinien.

Do tego wolny car i Chan Jego Miłość krymski, i następcy jego, póki wojna trwać będzie, żadnego pokoju ani traktatów żadnych z posłami moskiewskimi ani kozackimi postanawiać i zawierać bez wiadomości i zezwolenia najjaśniejszego Króla Jego Miłości polskiego nie będzie, który też żadnej zgody z carem moskiewskim czynić nie będzie, jedno co by było z dobrym tak swoim, jako i wolnego cara i Chana Jego Miłości krymskiego; i owszem jeden drugiemu oznajmować ma, z czym by posłowie posyłani byli.

A gdy Kozacy i chłopstwo ukraińskie rozswawolone przyjdą do pierwszego pożądanego posłuszeństwa najjaśniejszego Króla Jego Miłości i panów swoich, tedy najjaśniejszy Król Jego Miłość wedle dawnych pakt tak ich trzymać będzie, aby żadnej przyczyny do rozerwania pokoju <ani traktatów żadnych> [między Królem Jego Miłością]<sup>f</sup> a Chanem Jego Miłością krymskim nie dali, i żeby przeciwko niemu nie powstawali.

A że się to w dawnych zawiera paktach, żeby być przyjaciółmi przyjaciół, a nieprzyjaciółmi nieprzyjaciół, a Książę Jego Miłość siedmigródzki Rakocy, także wojewoda wołoski, i wojewoda multański [w zawartej]<sup>g</sup> przyjaźni zostają z najjaśniejszym Królem Jego Miłością polskim i państwami jego, a oraz są ci wszyscy trzej hołdownikami najjaśniejszego Cesarza Jego Miłości tureckiego, tedy wolny car i Chan Jego Miłość krymski ma ich mieć za przyjaciół swoich i tego przestrzegać, aby w państwa ich nie wpadał, spólną przyjaźń we wszystkim zatrzymując, ale owszem, żeby teraz posłał do nich posłów swoich, co i teraz najjaśniejszy Król Jego Miłość uczyni, żądając aby jako spólni przyjaciele tak najjaśniejszego Króla Jego Miłości polskiego, jako wolnego cara i Chana Jego Miłości krymskiego wojska swe znaczne na teraźniejszą potrzebę przeciwko Moskwie do wojsk Jego Królewskiej Miło-

<sup>f</sup> The scribe erroneously repeated the fragment *pokoju ani traktatów żadnych* which appears in the paragraph above and forbids separatist negotiations with Moscow. This passage has been reconstructed on the basis of the draft preserved in AGAD.

<sup>g</sup> Erroneously written *wzajemnej*; reconstructed on the basis of the draft preserved in AGAD.

ści posłali, tym przyjaźń swoją wyświadczać. Za co też powinien będzie wolny car i Chan Jego Miłość krymski, ku dobremu najjaśniejszego Cesarza Jego Miłości tureckiego, i ku oświadczeniu przyjaźni swojej najjaśniejszemu Królowi Jego Miłości polskiemu, ich od wszelakich najazdów ord swoich w pokoju zachować.

Które to pakta jako przez nas są sumnieniem poprzysiężonym potwierdzone, tak i od najwielebniejszego księdza Andrzeja z Leszna Lesczyńskiego, arcybiskupa gnieźnieńskiego, i przez niektórych panów senatorów, wojewodów i hetmanów, jako też i przez wielmożnego Stephana z Pilce [sic] Korycińskiego, kanclerza wielkiego koronnego, i imieniem wszytkiego stanu rycerskiego urodzonego Krzysztofa Grzymałtowskiego [sic], podkomorzego kaliskiego, marszałka na ten czas Izby Poselskiej, na sejm terazniejszy zgromadzonych.

Działo się w mieście naszym królewskim w Warszawie na sejmie walnym koronnym, dnia XVIII<sup>o</sup> miesiąca lipca, roku od narodzenia Christusa Jesusa, Pana i Zbawiciela naszego MDCLIV<sup>o</sup>, panowania królestw naszych polskiego VI<sup>o</sup>, a szwedzkiego VII<sup>o</sup> roku.

Translation:

*The illustrious, most powerful and glorious among the kings, blessed by God with glory and good fortune, the monarch of great kingdoms, extensive states, and many nations, John Casimir, by the grace of God the king of Poland, the grand duke of Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, Samogitia, Livonia, Smolensk, Cernihiv, and the hereditary king of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, with the free tsar<sup>2</sup> of great hordes,<sup>3</sup> Islam Giray, [the ruler] of the Circassians, Nogays, Perekop, the Circassians and innumerable [Tatars],<sup>4</sup> the Crimean khan, the [royal] friend and brother, from now on they proclaim [together] the following eternal treaty:*

*Following the example of the illustrious kings, who had happily reigned before him and observed to live in peace and friendship with the free tsars of great hordes, the Crimean khans and their hordes, John Casimir, the illustrious king of Poland, proclaims with the present treaty an eternal, inviolable friendship that is to last from now on, according to the old and ancient treaties, between him, his kingdom, and his successors on the one hand, and the free tsar, His Majesty, the Crimean khan Islam Giray, his successors, and all the hordes that obey him, on the other.*

<sup>2</sup> On the expression *wolny car* ("free khan," lit. "free tsar"), cf. Document 44, n. 1. In the earlier documents this expression is consequently translated as "free khan," but in the present one Islam Giray is referred to with both terms: *car* ("tsar") and *chan* ("khan"), hence this differentiation is preserved in the translation; the same solution is adopted in the translation of the Polish instrument from 1649 (cf. Document 59, n. 2).

<sup>3</sup> The Polish text should rather read *Wielkiej Ordy* ("of the Great Horde") like in the draft preserved in AGAD, and not *wielkich ord* ("of great hordes"), since the former expression renders more precisely the original *intitulatio* of the Crimean khans: *uluğ orda uluğ hanı*. Nevertheless, the translation follows the actual Polish text of the royal instrument.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. n. a above.



And since His illustrious Royal Majesty, John Casimir, has witnessed the persevering friendship and brotherly affection of the free tsar of free hordes, His Majesty, the Crimean khan, towards him and the Commonwealth, which [His Majesty, the khan] has offered through his great envoy, Süleyman Agha,<sup>5</sup> to His illustrious Royal Majesty, John Casimir, and all the estates of the Commonwealth during the present time of the general Crown<sup>6</sup> Diet [held] in Warsaw, and has promised to keep forever and confirm with his oath, then His illustrious Royal Majesty, John Casimir, following the consent of all the estates of the Commonwealth, likewise offers an eternal friendship, sworn with his royal conscience [i.e., heart], towards the free tsar of free hordes, Islam Giray, his successors, and the great hordes belonging to his states, and promises to keep it forever.

In return, the free tsar, His Majesty, the Crimean khan Islam Giray, along with all the beys, aghas, mirzas, and officials, will take an analogous oath to His Majesty, John Casimir, the illustrious king of Poland, his successors, and the whole Commonwealth, in front of His Royal Majesty's envoy.

And from now on, John Casimir, the illustrious king of Poland, will never invade the states of the free tsar, His Majesty, the Crimean khan Islam Giray, or the latter's successors, either in person or by sending his troops; likewise, the free tsar, His Majesty, the Crimean khan, should never bring enmity or cause harm to the states of His illustrious Royal Majesty, either in person or by sending even his smallest horde. Not only the Crimean, Nogay, Kalmyk,<sup>7</sup> Budjak, Očakiv, Dobrudžan, or any other hordes that are under the rule of the free tsar, His Majesty, the Crimean khan, but even a single bey, agha, or mirza at the head of even a smallest band, should not and will not bring any damage to the states of His illustrious Majesty, the king of Poland; the free tsar, His Majesty, the Crimean khan, promises and swears, also on behalf of the House of the Giray princes [sultans], as long as it lasts, and on behalf of all his successors,

<sup>5</sup> Probably identical with the Crimean envoy, who traveled to Istanbul between December 1653 and April 1654 with the khan's notification to the Porte of the Treaty of Żwaniec; see Jaroslav Fedoruk, *Mižnarodna dyplomacija i polityka Ukrajinu*, pp. 102–103 and 111–112.

<sup>6</sup> Although the adjective *koronny* ("of the Crown") usually referred to the Polish Crown as opposite to the adjective *litewski* ("Lithuanian") that referred to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in this case the name *sejm koronny* ("Crown Diet") refers to the common assembly composed of the representatives of both Poland and Lithuania.

<sup>7</sup> On Islam III Giray's earlier claim to a suzerainty over the Kalmyks, recorded in the Polish (but curiously not in the Tatar) version of the Treaty of Zborów, cf. Document 59, n. 5. The different religion (Buddhism) and socio-political organization of the Kalmyks made their cohabitation with the Tatars and Nogays uneasy; in fact, they often raided the Crimea and allied with Muscovy. Nevertheless, in the spring of 1654, Jaskólski reported of a Kalmyk envoy, who had come to the Crimea in order to negotiate an anti-Muscovian alliance; cf. Fedoruk, *Mižnarodna dyplomacija i polityka Ukrajinu*, pp. 47–48 and 217. Perhaps that embassy strengthened Islam III Giray's claim to treat the Kalmyks as his subjects. In 1658, also Mehmed IV Giray notified Tsar Alexis that, with God's help, the Kalmyks had become his subjects; see Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met. The Russian State and the Kalmyk Nomads, 1600–1771*, p. 93.

the free tsars of great hordes, Their Majesties, the Crimean khans, to prevent and forbid [such raids] by all means.

In return, His illustrious Majesty, John Casimir, the king of Poland, following the generosity of his illustrious ancestors, promises to give each year the customary gifts to the free tsar, His Majesty, the Crimean khan Islam Giray, according to the ancient agreements and following the conditions expressed in the ancient treaties; John Casimir, the illustrious king of Poland, should send the above gifts to Kamieniec Podolski in due time, while the free tsar, His Majesty, the Crimean khan, should send his envoy [there], according to the custom, in order to collect [them]; moreover, while keeping the promise sworn by his ancestors, [His Majesty, the khan,] promises to face—now and in the future—any enemy of His Royal Majesty on the request of His illustrious Majesty, the king of Poland, along with all the hordes, or with a part of them, depending on the need of His illustrious Majesty, the king of Poland.

And as the Muscovian tsar has recently broken the sworn peace without any reason given from the side of His illustrious Majesty, the king of Poland, united with the Cossacks, the traitorous subjects of His illustrious Royal Majesty, caused them to swear him their allegiance and invaded His Royal Majesty's border domains,<sup>8</sup> Belarus and the Lithuanian Duchy, capturing and garrisoning with his troops the castles that had been treacherously surrendered or taken by force, therefore His illustrious Majesty, John Casimir, the king of Poland enters friendship and a military alliance with the free tsar, His Majesty, the Crimean khan Islam Giray, and the latter's successors, the Crimean khans, directed against the traitorous Muscovian tsar as well as the Zaporozhian Cossacks; with the force of the above alliance, the free tsar, His Majesty, the Crimean khan, promises and is to swear to wage war, at the head of all his hordes and in concert with His illustrious Majesty, the king of Poland, against the traitorous Muscovian tsar and against the rebellious Cossacks and peasants, who would object to return to their previous submission, and to rout them, with God's assistance, together [with the king] or separately, according to military needs. The sworn alliance should remain in force not only during the present war, but also in the future: His illustrious Majesty, the king of Poland should always assist with his troops the free tsar, His Majesty, the Crimean khan, against Muscovy, and should not desert him as long as there is a war; likewise, the free tsar, His Majesty, the Crimean khan, should assist with all his hordes the illustrious king of Poland, and should not desert him as long as there is a war.

Moreover, as long as the war lasts, the free tsar, His Majesty, the Crimean khan, and his successors, will not establish or negotiate any peace or treaty with Muscovian or Cossack envoys without the knowledge and authorization of His

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<sup>8</sup> The original meaning of the Slavic word *ukraina* is "frontier," hence the phrase *państwa ukraiinne* is translated here as "border domains" rather than "Ukrainian domains." Admittedly, in the 17th century the term *ukraina* typically referred to the southeastern borderlands of Poland-Lithuania, gradually turning into a proper name (*Ukraina* = the Ukraine); yet, the Muscovian offensive in 1654 was primarily directed not against the Ukraine proper, but against the eastern provinces of Lithuania, situated today in western Russia (Smolensk) and Belarus.

illustrious Majesty, the king of Poland, who likewise, on his part, will not reach any reconciliation with the Muscovian tsar, unless it is beneficial both to him [i.e., the king] and the free tsar, His Majesty, the Crimean khan; and they [i.e., the allies] should inform each other of the contents of any embassies.

And when the Cossacks and the licentious Ukrainian<sup>9</sup> peasants reenter their previous state of due obedience towards His illustrious Royal Majesty and their lords, then His illustrious Royal Majesty will restrain them, as it is provided by the ancient treaties, so that they should not give any reason for breaking the peace between His Royal Majesty and His Majesty, the Crimean khan, and so that they should not raise arms<sup>10</sup> against him.

As it is provided in the ancient treaties that [we] should be friends of [each other's] friends and enemies of [each other's] enemies, and His Majesty, the Transylvanian prince Rákóczi,<sup>11</sup> as well as the Moldavian hospodar<sup>12</sup> and the Wallachian hospodar,<sup>13</sup> remain in the established friendship with His illustrious Majesty, the king of Poland, and his states, and all the three ones are tributaries of His illustrious Majesty, the Turkish emperor, then the free tsar, His Majesty, the Crimean khan, should regard them as his friends and restrain himself from raiding their states, maintaining mutual friendship; moreover, he should now send his envoys to them, as His illustrious Royal Majesty will do, requiring that they—as befits the common friends of both His illustrious Majesty, the king of Poland, and the free tsar, His Majesty, the Crimean khan—should send their troops in substantial quantity for the sake of the present campaign against Muscovy, to assist His Royal Majesty's troops and thus demonstrate their friendship. In return, the free tsar, His Majesty, the Crimean khan, should protect them in peace from any raids of his hordes, for the benefit of His illustrious Majesty, the Turkish emperor, and in order to display his friendship towards His illustrious Majesty, the king of Poland.

<sup>9</sup> Here the adjective *ukrainne* is rendered as "Ukrainian;" cf. n. 8 above.

<sup>10</sup> Lit. "so that they should not rise against him;" yet, as the khan was not the Cossacks' suzerain, the expression "raise arms" fits better in the context.

<sup>11</sup> George [György] Rákóczi II (r. 1648–1660); in 1653, he assisted the Polish troops in expelling the Cossacks from Moldavia, but after the Swedish invasion of Poland (1655) he sided with Sweden and the Cossacks and in 1657 invaded Poland hoping to secure its throne for himself; defeated by a Polish-Crimean coalition in 1657, in 1658–1660 he faced an Ottoman-Crimean intervention that resulted in his deposal and death.

<sup>12</sup> Gheorghe Ștefan (r. 1653–1658), introduced to the throne by a Transylvanian-Polish coalition that expelled the Cossacks from Moldavia and deposed Vasile Lupu, Bohdan Xmel'nyč'kyj's son-in-law. He is referred to as *wojewoda wołoski*, whereas the term *wojewoda* (lit. "palatine," cf. Tur. *voyvoda*) was used in Polish alternatively with the term *hospodar*, and the adjective *wołoski* referred to either Wallachia or Moldavia, but in the given case it refers to Moldavia since the ruler of Wallachia is listed below.

<sup>13</sup> Constantin Șerban (r. 1654–1658), elected to the throne after the death of Mathias Basarab in April 1654. He is referred to as *wojewoda multański* (on the term *wojewoda*, see n. 12 above); in early modern Polish sources the adjective *multański*, derived from Muntenia (i.e., eastern Wallachia), referred to the whole of Wallachia.

*The present treaty is hereby confirmed and sworn by us with our conscience [i.e., heart], and by the reverend priest, Andrzej from Leszno Leszczyński,<sup>14</sup> the archbishop of Gniezno, and several lords senators, the palatines and hetmans, and also by the eminent Stefan from Pilcza Koryciński,<sup>15</sup> the grand Crown chancellor, and—on behalf of the entire noble estate [stan rycerski]—by Krzysztof Grzymułtowski,<sup>16</sup> the chamberlain [podkomorzy] of Kalisz and the current marshal of the Lower Chamber [Izba Poselska], [all those present] assembled for the current Diet.*

*Took place in our royal city of Warsaw, during the general Crown Diet, on the 18th day of the month of July of the year 1654 from the birth of Christ Jesus, our Lord and Saviour, in the 6th year of our reign in Poland and the 7th year [of our reign] in Sweden.<sup>17</sup>*

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<sup>14</sup> Andrzej Leszczyński, the archbishop of Gniezno since 1653; see his biography by Władysław Czapliński in *PSB*, vol. 17 (Wrocław etc., 1972), pp. 105–107.

<sup>15</sup> Stefan Koryciński from Pilcza (today Pilica), the Crown chancellor since 1653, also the chief negotiator of the Treaty of Żwaniec; see his biography by Adam Przyboś in *PSB*, vol. 14, pp. 131–133.

<sup>16</sup> Krzysztof Grzymułtowski, the future palatine of Poznań and the envoy to Moscow who negotiated the treaty of 1686 that came to be known in Polish historiography as “Grzymułtowski’s Treaty;” see his biography (signed collectively by the Editorial Board) in *PSB*, vol. 9, pp. 124–126.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Document 59, n. 6.

DOCUMENT 62 (20 JULY 1654)

The oath by King John Casimir, taken in Warsaw in the presence  
of the Crimean envoy, Süleyman Agha

Polish copy: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 62, t. 35, no. 366.

Published in a) Zbigniew Wójcik, "Feudalna Rzeczpospolita wobec umowy w Perejasławiu," p. 103; b) *Dokumenty ob osvoboditel'noj vojne ukrainskogo naroda 1648–1654*, p. 764 (along with a Russian translation).

Ja, Jan Kazimierz król polski, sumnieniem moim Bogu widomym przyrzekam chanowi krymskiemu Islan Gereiowi i wszystkim ordom jemu podległym stateczną przyjaźń, i że przeciwko państwowi jego broni nie podniosę, ale postanowione pakta przeciwko Moskwie z nim zawieram i poprzysięgam, która to przysięga nasza moc swoją weźmie, gdy także chan krymski Islan Gerei przy pośle naszym z przedniejszemi pany poprzysięże i ony na potym nie naruszy. Tak mi Panie Jesu dopomóż i Ewangelia jego święta!

Translation:

*I, John Casimir, the king of Poland, promise with my [clean] conscience, which is known to God, to maintain stable friendship with Islam Giray, the khan of the Crimea, and all the hordes that obey him, and that I will not raise arms against his states, but I hereby enter and confirm with an oath the treaty against Muscovy that has been agreed on with him; our present oath will come into force when also Islam Giray, the khan of the Crimea, along with his most prominent lords, confirm [the treaty] with [their] oaths, taken in the presence of our envoy, and do not violate it in the future. So help me Lord Jesus and his Holy Gospel!*

DOCUMENT 63 (20 JULY 1654)

The oath by the senators and high officials of the Commonwealth,  
taken in Warsaw in the presence of the Crimean envoy,  
Süleyman Agha

Polish copy: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 62, t. 33, no. 364.

Published along with a Russian translation in *Dokumenty ob osvoboditel'noj vojne ukrainskogo naroda 1648–1654*, pp. 764–765.

My, senatorowie i urzędnicy poprzysięgamy Panu Bogu wszechmogącemu na świętą Pana Jesussa Ewangelię, że zawartą przyjaźń i pakta z Królem Jego Miłością, panem naszym a z Chanem Jego Miłością krymskim, i ze wszystkimi hordami jego cale i nienaruszenie trzymać będziemy, i związek przeciwko Moskwie uczyniony w cale zachowamy, która to przysięga nasza moc swoją weźmie, gdy w Krymie przy pośle Króla Jego Miłości Chan Jego Miłość krymski z przedniejszemi pany poprzysięże wzajem, i onej na potym nie naruszy.

Translation:

*We, the senators and officials, swear to Almighty God upon the Holy Gospel of Lord Jesus that we will entirely and inviolably maintain the friendship and treaty concluded [by us] along with His Royal Majesty, our lord, with His Majesty, the Crimean khan, and all his hordes, and we will entirely preserve the alliance against Muscovy that has been agreed on; our present oath will come into force when, in return, His Majesty, the Crimean khan, along with his most prominent lords, confirm [the treaty] with [their] oaths, taken in the Crimea in the presence of an envoy of His Royal Majesty, and do not violate it in the future.*

DOCUMENT 64 (11 NOVEMBER–10 DECEMBER 1654)  
The *‘ahdname* sent by Khan Mehmed IV Giray to King John Casimir  
[Facs. XII]

Original paper document in Turkish (Ottoman Turkish mixed with Crimean Tatar): AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 65, t. 152, no. 733.

145 × 40.5 cm. (3 sheets glued together)

invocation (gold): *divani* script

*tuğra* (gold): 15 × 29 cm.

text (black): *divani* script

the black almond-like seal of Mehmed Giray (2 cm. in height) is impressed at the bottom

in addition, a round golden seal, measuring 4.8 cm in diameter, (now lost but visible on the microfilm made in 1976) was attached with a silvered string (the string is preserved)

Published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, pp. 494–496.

Polish 17th-century translation: a) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 62, t. 72, no. 404; b) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 65, t. 152, no. 734 (an 18th-century copy by Antoni Crutta); c) Bibl. Kórn., ms. 991, fol. 498b–499a.

Published along with a Russian translation from Polish in *Dokumenty ob osvoboditel’noj vojne ukrainskogo naroda 1648–1654*, pp. 768–771 [incomplete; the content of the last page of ms. no. 734 (copy b), which served as the basis, is omitted].

A 20th-century Polish translation by Abdullah Zihni Soysal is published in idem, *Jarłyki krymskie*, pp. 55–57.

A 20th-century Russian translation by Sagit Faizov, along with a Latin-script transcription of the text based on its Arabic-script edition in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, is published in idem (ed.), *Pis’ma xanov Islam-Gireja III i Muxammed-Gireja IV k carju Alekseju Mixajloviču i korolju Janu Kazimiru. 1654–1658*, pp. 98–110.

## Hüve

### Mehmed Gérey Han bin Selamet Gérey Han sözümüz

[1] Hamd-i firavan ve şükr-i bi-payan ol Haliq-i biçun ve Razıq-i rub‘-i meskun celle şane hü ve ta‘ala ve ‘amme nevalühü ve tevali hazretlerine olsun taqı salat bi-‘ad ve tahiyyat bi-hadd

- [2] ol müfahhar-i mevcudat ve server-i ka'inat hatimü'l-enbiya şefi'-i ruz-i ceza a'ni hazret-i Muhammad el-Mustafa salla'llahu ta'ala 'aleyhi ve sellem üzerine olsun ve al ve evlad ve ashab ke-zeyyene
- [3] rızvanu'llahi ta'ala 'aleyhim ecma'in üzerine olsun kim Allahu tebareke ve ta'ala meymun ve mübarek eyleye kemal-i qudretiyle meniñ zat-i sa'adet-aludumı cümleden berter édüp hil'at-i hilafeti
- [4] duş-i hümayunuma giyürüp ve tac-i kiyaseti farq-i mübarekime urup taht-i 'adalet-bahtimi vücud-i bihbud 'adalet-nümudum ile müzeyyen ve müretteb eyledi ala bolsa uluğ orda
- [5] ve uluğ yurtnın ve Deşt-i Qıpçaqnın ve taht-i Qırımın ve sansız köb Tatarın ve sağışız köp Noğaynın ve tağ-ara Çerkeçnın ve Tat bile Tavgaçnın
- [6] uluğ padişahı olan 'ali-hazret ma'ali-rütbet Hurşid-tal'at 'Utarid-fitnat men uluğ Mehmed Gërey Han dame devletühü ile yevmi'l-mizan hazretlerindin
- [7] uluğ Urusnın ve Purusnın ve Lëhnın ve Litvanın ve Mazurnın ve Çerniqovanın ve cümle millet-i nasraniyenin qıralı olan qardaşımız Yan Qazimir
- [8] qıral musalahat-iştimal dame musalahatuhu ile yevmi'l-mizan tarafına muhabbetlik ile selam édüb nedir haliniz ve hatırınız iyümisiz ve hoşmısiz deyüp sorğanımızdan sonra
- [9] i'lam ve inha-yi hani budur ki merhum ve mağfur qardaşımız İslam Gërey Han 'aleyhi'r-rahmet ve'r-rızvan hazretleri tarafından siz qardaşımız canibine Süleyman Ağa qulları
- [10] göndürilüp bu günden sonra Qırım hanları ile dost ve qardaş olduq Qırım hanlarının dostuna dost ve düşmanlarına düşmanlıq édüp sizin düşmanınız olup
- [11] bu tarafdın yardım içün 'asker taleb êtdikde bu canibden 'asker vërilüp ve Qırım hanlarının düşmanı olup sizden 'asker taleb olunduqda siz dahi 'asker vërub
- [12] ömrinüz ahir oluncaya degin Qırım hanlarından ayrılmayup dost ve qardaş olup birlik êdeceginüze ve sizden sonra gelecek qıralar dahi bunun üzerinde
- [13] dostluq ve qardaşlıq êdeceklerine ve Mosqov üzerine 'asker çıqup Haq ta'ala hazretleri lutf ve ihsan édüp her ne zaman fethi nasib olduqda Ecderhan
- [14] ve Qazan ve Terek ve Tura ve her ne qadar Müsliman vilayetleri ve Tatar ve Noğay halqı var ise siz qardaşımız ve cümle Lëh bekleri qarışmayup bizim olacaqına ve qadimi
- [15] pişkeşinüz her sene vaqt u zamanıyla Qamaniseye göndürüp bu tarafdın adam varup getürüp asla Qırım tarafına yamanlıq sanmayup qardaşlıq ve dostluq êdeceginüze
- [16] siz qardaşımız ve cümle Lëh bekleri ve ruhbanları Süleyman Ağanın önünde 'ahd ü yemin édüp bunun üzerine 'ahdnamenüz yazdırıp Qırım tarafına elçinüz Maryuş İstanislav Yasluski<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Written with a final Arabic *he* (یاصلوسکه); its ending can be read *-ki* as in the word *ki* (که).



- [17] ta'yin olunduqda emr-i Haq ile biraderimiz İslam Gërey Han rahmet-i Haqqa vasıl olup lutf-i Haq ile babamız tahtı bize nasib olduqda sizinle dahi 'ahd ü yeminimiz budur deyü yeniden
- [18] 'ahd ü yemin êdüp taraf-i haniye göndürmüşsüz gelüp vasıl olup ve 'ahdnamenüz manzurumuz olup ve elçinüzle lisanen ısmarladığınız cevablarınuz 'arz êdüp
- [19] her ne qadar cevabınız oldu ise maqbul-i hümayunum olup bu taraftan dahi altun baysalu 'ahdnamemiz yazdırılıp göndürülmüşdür siz 'ahd ü yeminünüzde sadıq olup
- [20] 'ömrünüz ahir oluncaya degin Mosqov padişahı ile barışmayup üzerine 'asker çıkup Haq ta'ala hazretleri lutf êdüp fethi müyesser olursa Mosqov zaptında olan
- [21] Qazan ve Ecderhan ve Terek ve Tura ve ol vilayetde her ne qadar Tatar ve Noğay halqı var ise siz qardaşımız ve cümle Lëh bekleri qarışmayup bizim olup ve bundan gayri
- [22] her qanda bizim düşmanımız olub sizden 'asker taleb olunduqda bila-tereddüd 'asker vërüp ve size 'asker lazım olduqda bu taraftan 'asker vërilüp hasil-i kelim birbirimizin
- [23] dostuna dost ve düşmanına düşmanlıq êdüp sizin vilayetinüz tüccarı Qırma gelüp ve bizim tüccarımız sizin vilayetinüze varup ve gelüp
- [24] ortalıqda qatnav olub muhabbet ve meveddet üzere olayuz ve Özi qazaqı êtdüklerine nadim ve peşiman olup Mosqovdan ayrılıp
- [25] gelüp ayaqımıza yığılıp hidmet ve 'ubudiyet qabul êderlerse anlara siz qardaşımızdan ve beklerinüzden zarar u ziyan olmayup ve her sene Qırım hanlarına
- [26] vërilü-gelen pişkeş ve hedayanuz vaqt u zamanıyla göndürilüp kendi tarafınızdan ve cümle Lëh bekleri canibinden naqz-i 'ahd olmadıqdan sonra bu 'ahdnamemizde
- [27] yazılan cevablarımızda hilaf olmaq ihtimali yoqdur dostluqunuzda ve qardaşlıqınızda bolunup dostunuza dost ve düşmanınıza düşman olacaqımıza
- [28] biz dahi 'ahd ü yemin êderiz ma damki sizin tarafınızdan ve beklerinüz taraflarından naqz-i 'ahd olmayup 'ahd ü yeminünüzde sadıq olasız inşa'llahu ta'ala
- [29] bizim 'ahd ü yeminimiz tağayyür olunmayup eger bizim tarafımızdan ve eger qalga sultan ve eger nureddin sultan tarafından ve sair sultanlar taraflarından ve cemi' Qırım bekleri
- [30] ve mirzalarından ve ağalarından Ulu Noğay ve Küçük Noğay ve Orağ oğulları ve Şeydaq oğulları ve Mamay oğulları mirzalarından ve Or Mehmed Bey
- [31] oğulları mirzaları ve Toquz Çubar mirzalarından ve Aqkermen ve Can-kermende olan Tatar ve Noğay 'askerimizden sizin vilayetinüze ve serhad qal'elerinüze
- [32] zarar u ziyan olmaq ihtimali yoqdur baqi ve'l-du'a 'ala men tabi'a'l-Hüda tahriren fi mah-i Muharremü'l-haram sene-i 1065

bi-maqami  
Bağçesaray  
el-mahruse

**Mehmed Gërey Han bin Selamet Gërey Han<sup>b</sup>**

**La ilaha illa`llah Muhammadun ar-rasul`llah!<sup>c</sup>  
 ‘ahdname-i Mehmed Gërey Han<sup>d</sup>**

Translation:

*He!*

[tuğra] *Mehmed Giray Khan, son of Selamet Giray Khan: our word:*

*Let the abundant praise and endless gratitude be pronounced to His Excellency, the eternal Creator and the Provider of the needs of the inhabited portion of the earth (may His fame be exalted and may He be exalted!), whose beneficence is universal and continuous; also, let uncounted prayers and unlimited salutations be pronounced upon the exalted of the universe, the prince of all creation, the seal of the prophets, the intercessor [for sinners] on the Day of Punishment, namely his excellency Muhammad el-Mustafa<sup>1</sup> (may God—may He be exalted!—commend and salute him!), and upon [his] family, descendants, and companions (may the approbation of God—may He be exalted!—embellish them all!), for God (may He be blessed and exalted and may He render [them] prosperous and blessed!) with all His might elevated my prosperous person above all, put the robe of caliphate on my imperial shoulder, placed the crown of sagacity on my blessed head, and adorned and filled my throne, fortuneed with justice, with my sound, just body [i.e., person].*

*Thus, from his excellency of exalted dignity and great rank, of sunny appearance and mercurial intelligence [i.e., clever], me, the great Mehmed Giray Khan (may his [i.e., my] reign last until the Day of Judgment!), being the great padishah of the Great Horde and great country [yurt], the Kipchak Steppe, the Crimean throne, innumerable Tatars and countless Nogays, mountain Circassians,<sup>2</sup> and Tats and Tavgaches,<sup>3</sup> to our brother, the peace-seeking king John Casimir (may his peace [with neighbors] last until the Day of Judgment!), the king of great Ruthenia, Prussia, Poland, Lithuania, Mazovia, Černihiv, and the whole Nazarene [i.e., Christian] community: after having expressed amicable salutations and asked: “how is your condition and health?,” “do you feel*

<sup>b</sup> Text of the seal; on its additional elements, see n. 18 below.

<sup>c</sup> Engraving on the obverse side of the now lost golden seal (*baysa*), deciphered by Zygmunt Abrahamowicz and recorded on a separate sheet attached to the document. The unusual though grammatically correct form *ar-rasul`llah* (it should rather read *rasul`llah*) also appeared on the *baysa*, attached to the *şartname* sent by Islam III Giray to Moscow in 1646; the original *şartname* is no longer extant, but its text, along with the engraving on the *baysa*, is recorded in a contemporary Arabic-script copy; see RGADA, f. 123, op. 2, no. 52, fol. 3a (the text is published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, pp. 355–359, yet without the *baysa* inscription).

<sup>d</sup> Engraving on the reverse side of the now lost golden seal (*baysa*), deciphered by Zygmunt Abrahamowicz (cf. n. c above).

<sup>1</sup> Mustafa (lit. “the Chosen”) is the second name of Prophet Muhammad.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. “Circassians [living] among mountains.”

<sup>3</sup> On the Tats and Tavgaches, see Document 48, n. 8, and Document 49, n. 1.

well?” and “are you doing well?,” the monarchic message and communication is that:

Our late brother, whose sins are forgiven, his excellency Islam Giray Khan (God’s mercy and approbation be upon him!) sent to you, our brother, his servant Süleyman Agha;<sup>4</sup> and you, our brother, and all the Polish lords and priests,<sup>5</sup> swore and engaged in front of Süleyman Agha: “from this day on we will be<sup>6</sup> friends and brothers with the Crimean khans.” [And you engaged that] while you should be a friend to a friend of the Crimean khans and an enemy to their enemy, when you face an enemy and ask for help in troops, troops should be given from this [i.e., our] side, and when the Crimean khans ask you for help in troops, you also should give [them] troops; until the end of your life you should not separate from the Crimean khans, but you should be united like friends and brothers; also the future kings, who will succeed you, should likewise keep friendship and brotherhood; and if we set out with troops against Muscovy and—by the grace and favor of His Excellency, God (may He be exalted!)—it ever falls to our lot that we conquer Astrakhan, Kazan, Terek,<sup>7</sup> Tura,<sup>8</sup> or any [other] Muslim provinces, or [any provinces] inhabited by Tatars or Nogays, neither you, our brother, nor any of the Polish lords should interfere, as [these conquests] will belong to us; and each year you should punctually send your ancient gift [pişkeş]<sup>9</sup> to Kamieniec, while a man will be appointed by us and sent in order to [collect it and] bring [here]; and [you engaged that], having no evil designs, you should keep brotherhood and friendship with the Crimea; and in accordance with that [engagement] you ordered to write down your ‘ahdname and appointed your envoy to the Crimea, Mariusz Stanisław Jaskólski;<sup>10</sup> meanwhile, by a divine order, our brother, Islam Giray Khan,

<sup>4</sup> On Süleyman Agha, cf. Document 61, n. 5 and n. 10 below.

<sup>5</sup> An apparent reference to Roman-Catholic bishops, who were members of the Polish-Lithuanian Senate.

<sup>6</sup> The sentence is written in the past tense (*dost ve qardaş olduq*) but refers to the future.

<sup>7</sup> I.e., the land on the Terek river in the northern Caucasus.

<sup>8</sup> In Muslim sources the term Tura referred to the Siberian Khanate, conquered by Muscovy in the years 1582–1598. Originally the name Tura referred to a Siberian river as well as two important Siberian towns: Chingi-Tura (or Chimgi-Tura), the capital of the Siberian Khanate in the 15th century, and Kızıl-Tura, the seat of the Taybughid clan, prominent in Siberia in the 16th century; cf. Zaitsev, “The Khanate of Sibir,” pp. 860–866, and Gerxard F. Miller, *Istoriya Sibiri* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1937), p. 193.

<sup>9</sup> On the term *pişkeş*, explained in the Redhouse dictionary as a “gift brought to a superior,” cf. Document 50, n. 23.

<sup>10</sup> Mariusz Stanisław Jaskólski, the Crown prefect (*strażnik koronny*), was sent to the Crimea in February 1654 in reaction to the recently concluded alliance between Muscovy and the Cossacks (the so-called Union of Perejaslav), dangerous for both Poland-Lithuania and the Crimea. In April 1654, the envoy was favorably received by Islam III Giray and his powerful vizier, Sefer Ghazi Agha, and sent back to Poland along with the Crimean envoy, Süleyman Agha. The articles of the Polish-Crimean alliance were composed during the Diet in Warsaw in July 1654, and Jaskólski was again sent to the Crimea along with the Polish instrument. In exchange, he received the present document from the new khan, Mehmed IV Giray, at a solemn audience on 22 November 1654; see Wójcik, “Feudalna Rzeczpospolita wobec umowy w Perejasławiu,” pp. 97–108; Baranowski, “Tatarszczyzna wobec wojny polsko-szwedzkiej,” pp. 460–465;

reached God's mercy [i.e., died], and by the grace of God the throne of our father fell to our lot; and you announced: "our oath and engagement regard you as well," and you swore and engaged anew, and sent [your envoy] to [our] monarchic side; upon his arrival we inspected your 'ahdname, and your envoy submitted to us your answers [i.e., provisions] which you had instructed him with verbally; whatever you answered, it found our imperial acceptance; also on our part, we ordered to write down and sent our 'ahdname, provided with the golden baysa.<sup>11</sup>

You should sincerely keep your oath and engagement, and until the end of your life you should not make peace with the Muscovian padishah, but you should set out with your troops against him; if—by the grace of His Excellency, God (may He be exalted!)—God enables us the conquest of Kazan, Astrakhan, Terek, and Tura, being [presently] held by Muscovy, or any regions in that country inhabited by Tatars or Nogays, neither you, our brother, nor any of the Polish lords should interfere, as [these conquests] will belong to us; besides, wherever our enemy appears and we ask you for help in troops, you should give [us] troops without hesitation; and when you need troops, troops will be given [i.e., sent] by us; in short: we should be friends of the other's friend and enemies of the other's enemy; the merchants from your country should be able to come to the Crimea, our merchants should be able to travel to your country and return, and mutual communication should be established between us; we should live in amity and affection.

And if the Dnieper Cossacks are sorry for and regret their deeds, break with Muscovy, come and fall down to our feet, and accept [their] service and servitude, no damage or harm should be done to them by you, our brother, or your lords; and your gifts [piškeš] and presents [hedaya], which used to be given to the Crimean khans, should be punctually sent each year; provided that you and the Polish lords do not violate the oath, it is unlikely that anything contrary to the provisions [lit. answers] recorded in our present 'ahdname could occur [from our side].

We also swear and engage that we will remain in friendship and brotherhood with you, we will be a friend of your friend and an enemy of your enemy. As no violation of the oath should occur from your side or from the side of your lords, and you should sincerely keep your oath and engagement, God—may He be exalted!—willing, there will be no change [either] in our oath and engagement; it is unlikely that any damage or harm will be done to your country or

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*Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 2, pp. 197–199; and most recently Augustowicz, "Dwa poselstwa Mariusza Stanisława Jaskólskiego na Krym w 1654 roku," pp. 46–60.

<sup>11</sup> The term *baysa* refers to the golden seal (now lost but visible on the microfilm made in 1976) that was attached with a silvered string to the present document. In the early Genghisid states, the Chinese term *p'ai-tzü* (hence Mongolian *baisa*) referred to oval or round "tablets of authority," given to high officials as "badges of rank," or to envoys as safe conduct, entitling their bearers to provisions and horses on their journey. Depending on the rank of recipient, tablets were made of wood, iron, copper, silver, or gold. The term *baysa* resurfaced in the seventeenth-century Crimean diplomatic correspondence with Moscow, and then with Warsaw. At that time it began to refer to a hanging seal attached by a string to a document, apparently adopted by the Crimean chancery under the influence of the Russian and Polish chanceries; cf. the paragraph on the *baysa* in Part II.

your border castles by us or by the qalga sultan, or the nureddin sultan, or by other princes [sultans], or by any of the Crimean beys, mirzas, or aghas, or by the mirzas of the Great Nogay and Little Nogay [hordes], of the [clans] Oraq-oghlu,<sup>12</sup> Sheydaq-oghlu,<sup>13</sup> and Mamay-oghlu,<sup>14</sup> or by the mirzas of the [clan] Or-Membet-Bey-oghlu,<sup>15</sup> the mirzas of Toquz Chubar,<sup>16</sup> or by our Tatar and Nogay troops dwelling in [the vicinity of] Akkerman and Djankerman [i.e., Očakiv].

<sup>12</sup> The Oraq-oghlu ("the sons of Oraq"), along with the Mamay-oghlu (see n. 14 below), descended from the Little Nogay horde, whose grazing lands extended between the Don and northern Caucasus. The clan protoplast, Oraq bin Alchagir bin Musa, was the father of Ghazi Mirza, who founded the Little Horde in mid-1550s. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the Oraq-oghlu constituted one of the two major Nogay clans dwelling in Budjak, along with the Or-Membet-oghlu (see n. 15 below). Sometimes confused with the Manghits (Mansurs), in fact they arrived in the Crimean Khanate almost a century later. Although some of them came already in the 2nd half of the sixteenth century, their massive immigration occurred in the 1630s under the pressure of the Kalmyks; see "Précis de l'histoire des khans de Crimée depuis l'an 880 jusqu'à l'an 1198 de l'hégire." Translated by [W.] Kazimirski, *Nouveau Journal Asiatique* 12 (1833): 349–380 and 428–458, esp. p. 438; Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met. The Russian State and the Kalmyk Nomads, 1600–1771*, pp. 80–81; Senai, *Historia chana Islam Gereja III*, p. 186, n. 478; and especially Trepavlov, *Istoriia Nogajskoj Ordj*, pp. 178–179, 311, 409, 431, 434, 453–454, 656–657. In the 18th century, both the Oraq-oghlu and the Or-Membet-oghlu had their own cadis; see Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, *Aus den Aufzeichnungen des Sa'id Giray Sultān. Eine zeitgenössische Quelle zur Geschichte des Chanats der Krim um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1975), p. 126.

<sup>13</sup> The Sheydaq-oghlu ("the sons of Sheydaq") constituted another clan descending from the Little Nogay horde, although its protoplast, Sheydaq (Seyyid Ahmed) bin Muhammed bin Ismail, belonged to the family branch that had remained in power in the Great Horde (actually Ghazi Mirza, the founder of the Little Horde, rioted against Sheydaq's grandfather, Ismail); see Trepavlov, *Istoriia Nogajskoj Ordj*, pp. 430–431, 434, 656–657.

<sup>14</sup> The Mamay-oghlu ("the sons of Mamay"), along with the Oraq-oghlu (see n. 12 above), descended from the Little Nogay horde; their protoplast, Mamay bin Musa, was an uncle and tutor of its founder, Ghazi Mirza; see Trepavlov, *Istoriia Nogajskoj Ordj*, pp. 178, 431, 464, 656–657.

<sup>15</sup> The Or-Membet-Bey-oghlu or Or-Membet-oghlu ("the sons of Or-Membet," whereas Membet is a Nogay form of the name Mehmed) descended from the Great Nogay horde. The clan's protoplast, Or-Mehmed (Uraz-Muhammed) bin Din-Ahmed bin Ismail, was the horde's leader, killed in 1598. His death resulted in a prolonged civil war on the Volga and a massive Nogay migration to the Crimean Khanate in the summer of 1608. This wave was followed by another one caused by the pressure of the Kalmyks, and especially massive in the fall of 1636. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the Or-Membet-oghlu constituted one of the two major Nogay clans in Budjak, along with the Oraq-oghlu, and in the 18th century the two clans even had their own cadis (cf. n. 12 above); see Trepavlov, *Istoriia Nogajskoj Ordj*, pp. 388–394, 418, 430, 433–434, 453–454, 656–657.

<sup>16</sup> Apparently identical with the Toquz clan (whereas *toquz* means "nine"), listed by an 18th-century chronicler, Seyyid Muhammed Riza, among the nine principal Nogay clans, along with the clans of Mansur, Oraq, Mamay, Or-Mehmed, Qasay, Yedidjek, Djemboyluq, and Yedisian; cf. *idem*, *Es-seb'u's-seyyar fi ahbari muluki Tatar*, p. 106 (the name of the Yedisian is missing in the printed edition and the Qasay-oghlu should

*I have nothing to add but a prayer for whomsoever has followed the right path [i.e., Islam]! Written in the sacred month of Muharrem of the year 1065,<sup>17</sup> in the abode of Baghchasaray, the well-protected.*

[seal] *Mehmed Giray Khan, son of Selamet Giray Khan*<sup>18</sup>

[golden baysa] *There is no god but God! Muhammad is the Prophet of God! The 'ahdname of Mehmed Giray Khan*<sup>19</sup>

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be identified with the Sheydaq-oghlu, cf. Trepavlov, *Istorija Nogajskoj Ordj*, pp. 363 and 430–431). Though Seyyid Muhammed Riza referred to these names in a 16th-century context, the list reflected rather the realities of the 18th century.

<sup>17</sup> Muharrem 1065 A.H. lasted from 11 November till 10 December 1654; for a more precise, tentative dating, namely ca. 22 November 1654, cf. n. 10 above.

<sup>18</sup> In the middle of the seal there is the trident-shaped emblem of the Girays (*taraq tamğa*) and the Muslim year number 1064 (lasted between 22 November 1653 and 10 November 1654 A.D.). Moreover, a small signature ۛۛ is visible, identified by Zygmunt Abrahamowicz as an engraver's mark (a separate sheet, containing the transcription and comments of Abrahamowicz, is attached to the document).

<sup>19</sup> On the engravings on the *baysa*, see notes c–d above.

DOCUMENT 65 (3 SEPTEMBER 1666)

The oath by Dedesh Agha, the Crimean envoy, taken in Warsaw

Polish copies:

A. AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 60, t. 7, no. 7.

B. Bibl. Czart., ms. 1656, pp. 718–719.<sup>1</sup>

Przysięga odprawiona przez Dedesz agę, posła nowego chana, 3 septembra w Warszawie 1666 w Pałacu Jego Królewskiej Miłości:

die [3] septembris 1666 w Warszawie w Pałacu Jego Królewskiej Miłości odprawiona:<sup>a</sup>

Ja, Dedesz<sup>b</sup> aga, przysięgam Panu Bogu Wszechmogącemu, stwórcielowi nieba i ziemie, powietrza i morza, imieniem Chana Jego Miłości krymskiego Adil Gieraia,<sup>c</sup> pana mego nowo na Państwo Krymskie i Perekopskie osadzonego, imieniem sołtanów ichmości wszytkich, imieniem bejów, agów, murzów, i wszytkich inszych<sup>d</sup> jakokolwiek nazwanych, i wszelkiej conditiej ludzi Państwa Krymskiego i Perekopskiego, iż jako wielkiej pamięci zmarły Isłam Gierey,<sup>e</sup> chan krymski przyjaźń swoją i całego Krymu z najjaśniejszym Królem Jego Miłością Janem Kazimierzem, z bożej łaski polskim i szwedzkim królem, wielkim księżciem lithewskim i całą Rzeczpospolitą, Koroną Polską i Wielkim Księstwem Lithewskim,<sup>f</sup> tak swoim imieniem, jako i wszytkich Gierey<sup>g</sup> sołtanów i całego Krymu zawarł,<sup>h</sup> i onę przysięgą swoją rzetelnie wyświadczył, którą też przyjaźń zeszyły z państwa Mechmet Gieray chan także przysięgą swą potwierdził, i onej statecznie we wszytkim dotrzymał Jego Królewskiej Miłości i Rzeczypospolitey,<sup>i</sup> tak i terazniejszy Adyl Gierey,<sup>j</sup> Chan Jego Miłość krymski teźże przyjaźni ze wszytkim Krymem statecznie dotrzyma, nieprzyja-

<sup>1</sup> This copy contains several omissions and errors and is mistakenly ascribed to the year 1667.

<sup>a</sup> The B. copy is headed: *Przysięga Dadey agi Królowi Jego Miłości anno 1667 [sic]*.

<sup>b</sup> B. *Dodey*.

<sup>c</sup> B. *imieniem Chana Jego Miłości, pana mego miłościwego <i> Adel Gereia*.

<sup>d</sup> B. *innych*.

<sup>e</sup> B. *Gerey*.

<sup>f</sup> B. *z najjaśniejszym Królem Jego Miłością Kazimierzem, z Bożej łaski polskim i szwedzkim, wielkim księżciem litewskim, i całą Rzeczpospolitą Korony Polskiej*.

<sup>g</sup> Missing in B.

<sup>h</sup> B. *zostawał [sic]*.

<sup>i</sup> B. *i onym przysięgę swą rzetelnie oświadczał, którą też przyjaźń niegdy z państwem [sic] Machmet Gieray chan także przysięgą swą potwierdził, i onę dostatecznie we wszytkim dotrzymał Jego Królewskiej Miłości i wszytkiej Rzeczypospolitej*.

<sup>j</sup> B. *Adel Gerey*.

cielem być chcąc każdemu nieprzyjacielowi Jego Królewskiej Miłości, Korony Polskiej i Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, i przyjacielem przyjaciołom.<sup>k</sup> Tak mi Boże Wszechmogący, stwórco nieba i ziemi<sup>l</sup> dopomóż!

(po uczynionej przysiędze nazajutrz Dedesz Aga odprawiony w drogę)<sup>m</sup>

Translation:

[a heading on the reverse side] *The oath taken by Dedesh Agha, the envoy of the new khan, on 3 September 1666 in Warsaw, in His Royal Majesty's Palace:*

[heading] *taken on [3] September 1666 in Warsaw, in His Royal Majesty's Palace:*

*I, Dedesh Agha, swear to Almighty God, the Creator of heaven and earth, air and sea, in the name of His Majesty, the Crimean khan Adil Giray, my lord, recently enthroned in the Crimean State,<sup>2</sup> in the name of their majesties, all the princes [sultans], and in the name of the beys, aghas, mirzas, and all the others, whatever their title, and the people of the Crimean State of any condition, that as the late Islam Giray, the Crimean khan of glorious memory, entered friendship on behalf of his and the whole Crimea with His illustrious Royal Majesty, John Casimir, by the grace of God the king of Poland and Sweden, the grand duke of Lithuania, and with the whole Commonwealth, the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in the name of his, all the Giray princes [sultans], and the whole Crimea, and sincerely confirmed it with his oath, and as the deposed khan, Mehmed Giray, also confirmed this friendship with his oath and firmly observed it in all aspects towards His Royal Majesty and the Commonwealth, so His Majesty, the present Crimean khan, Adil Giray, will firmly observe this friendship along with the whole Crimea, in desire to be an enemy of every enemy of His Royal Majesty, the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and a friend of [their] friends. So help me Almighty God, the Creator of heaven and earth!*

[a note at the bottom] *(the day after taking his oath, Dedesh Agha was sent back)*

<sup>k</sup> B. *nieprzyjacielem chcąc być każdemu nieprzyjacielowi Jego Królewskiej Miłości polskiego i całego Księstwa Litewskiego* [sic].

<sup>l</sup> B. *nieba i ziemi, morza i powietrza*.

<sup>m</sup> This bottom note is entered in A.

<sup>2</sup> Pol. *Państwo Krymskie i Perekopskie*; the adjective *perekopskie* derived from Perekop but referred to the whole Crimean Peninsula and was synonymous with *krymskie*, therefore it is not translated separately.



DOCUMENT 66 (16 OCTOBER 1667)  
The Crimean instrument of the Treaty of Podhajce (Pidhajci)  
[Facs. XIII]

Original paper document in Polish: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 60, t. 125, no. 131.

A folded sheet of paper, written on both sides, thereby making 4 pages (1 page is blank).

sheet format: 30.5 × 38.5 cm; page format: 30.5 × 19.5 cm.

text (black)

four almond-like seals and six oval seals are impressed at the bottom

Polish copies:

A. AGAD, Metryka Koronna, Libri Inscriptionum, no. 206, fol. 717a–718a.

B. AGAD, Archiwum Zamoyskich, no. 3036, fol. 123a–123b [pp. 205–206].<sup>1</sup>

C. Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 465–466.

D. Bibl. Czart., ms. 162 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 553–556.

E. L'vivs'ka Naukova Biblioteka im. V. Stefanyka NAN Ukrainy, fond 5 (Oss.), opys 1, no. II-1848 (a digital copy also available in Wrocław in Bibl. Ossol.: kopia elektroniczna sygn. DE-894), pp. 97–99.

Published<sup>2</sup> in *Acta Historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, vol. 2: *Acta Joannis Sobieski*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 285–287.

Ponieważ Sołtan Jego Miłość Krym Gerey gałga nie z inną tu w państwa Jego Królewskiej Miłości i Rzeczypospolitej z wojskami krymskimi, nohayskimi, budziackimi, biłogrodzkimi wszedł intencyją, jeno aby dawne i od tak wielu

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<sup>1</sup> This copy also contains a list of the Polish commissioners who countersigned a copy of the treaty that was kept by the Tatars (today lost): *Strony zaś naszych na też punkta co się podpisali: Jan Sobieski m[arszałek] w[ielki], h[etman] p[olny] k[oronny], Alexander Polanowski, Michał Zbrożek oboźny wojskowy, Jerzy Bałaban, Władysław Wieladowski, Marek Matczyński [it should rather read Matczyński], Hieronim Kuropatnicki, Jędrzej Chełmiński, Samuel Czaplicki, stolnik chełmski, strażnik wojskowy. Jerzy Bałaban and Samuel Czaplicki belonged to the most experienced officers in the Polish army (cf. their biographies by Eugeniusz Latacz and Tadeusz Nowak in PSB, although the first one ignores Bałaban's activity after 1663 and the second one erroneously states that Czaplicki was absent at Pidhajci). Hieronim Kuropatnicki, Marek Matczyński, Aleksander Polanowski and Michał Zbrożek were close confidants of Hetman Jan Sobieski and owed their future careers to his patronage (cf. the biographies of the first three ones by Zofia Trawicka, Henryk Kotarski, and Eugeniusz Janas in PSB); on Bałaban, Matczyński, Polanowski and Zbrożek, see also Marek Wagner, *Kadra oficerska armii koronnej w drugiej połowie XVII wieku* (Toruń, 1995), pp. 102–103, 116, 121, and 135.*

<sup>2</sup> After the E. copy, with a note: *z odpisu sporządzonego przez St. Przyłęckiego*. This copy (and consequently the published version as well) is full of errors and spelling mistakes; for instance, instead of *Islam Gereiem* it reads: *i z Langurciem*, and instead of *Orakołów* and *Urumbetołów* it reads *Oczakowców* and *Visabetików*.

lat nieraz przysięgą stwierdzone z Królem Jego Miłością i Rzeczpospolitą imieniem Chana Jego Miłości teraźniejszego i po nim następującego, także i całego Krymu potwierdził i ponowił pakta, a mianowicie te, które świeżej stały pamięci tak z Chanem Jego Miłością Islam Gereiem, z świata tego zeszyłem, jako i następcą jego, Chanem Jego Miłością Mechemet Gereiem. Tedy tu na tym pod Podhaycami zszedłszy się z sobą miejscu, takowe do wiecznej przyjaźni i nigdy nie rozerwanego pokoju—Jego Miłość Pan hetman imieniem Jego Królewskiej Miłości i całej Rzeczypospolitej, a Sołtan Jego Miłość imieniem Chana Jego Miłości teraźniejszego i na potym następującego, jako i całego Krymu i ord wszystkich—umówiwszy, spólnie poprzysięgli punkta:

Naprzód: co się kolwiek stało między obiema narodami, tak zimy przeszłej, jako i teraźniejszych czasów, w wieczną puścić niepamięć, oddawszy to skrytym sądom boskim, ktokolwiek był przyczyną i okazją rozerwania tak dobrze ugruntowanej przyjaźni.

Żeby tedy teraz i na potym do takowego między sobą nie przychodzić przyjaźni rozerwania, tedy to sobie pod tą przysięgą waruje Jego Miłość Pan hetman, iż kiedy by jakieżkolwiek i z którejkolwiek okazji między pomienionymi państwami miały zachodzić różności, urazy, i pretensyje, takowe przez posłów odniesione być mają, do powrotu których spokojnie, żadnego nie zaczynając nieprzyjaźni znaku, zachować się powinny wojska Chana Jego Miłości.

A że Sołtan Jego Miłość imieniem Chana Jego Miłości teraźniejszego i następców jego, jako i całego Krymu, obiecuje i poprzysięga być nieprzyjacielem wszystkim nieprzyjaciółom Jego Królewskiej Miłości i Rzeczypospolitej i stawić się z wojskami, jakich Jego Królewska Miłość i Rzeczypospolita potrzebować będzie na każdą Rzeczypospolitej usługę, tedy też wzajem Jego Miłość Pan hetman upominki według dawnych zwyczajów należące Chanowi Jego Miłości i ordom krymskim od zaczęcia tej poprzysiężonej zobopólnie przyjaźni rokami po sobie następującymi oddawać imieniem Króla Jego Miłości i Rzeczypospolitej obiecuje i assekuruje, i swoich dwóch ludzi na znak tego i wiecznej z Chanem Jego Miłością i Krymem przyjaźni przy Sołtanie Jego Miłości na rezydencyją<sup>a</sup> do boku Chana Jego Miłości ordynuje, którzy tak długo<sup>b</sup> tam zostawać mają, póki poseł po upominki na sejm wyprawiony do Chana Jego Miłości nie powróci. Wojsk jednak żadnych Chan Jego Miłość w Ukrainę i państwa Jego Królewskiej Miłości bez wiadomości i wyraźnej woli Jego Królewskiej Miłości i całej Rzeczypospolitej posyłać nie ma.

A że niektóre ordy, jako to budziacka, biłogrodzka, także i Nohaiów, to jest Orakołów, Urumbetołów niemała część, nie mienia się być pod posłuszeństwem Chana Jego Miłości, tedy i w tym Sołtan Jego Miłość assekuruje Jego Miłości [sic] Pana hetmana i upewnia, że jeżeliby swowolnie lub torhakami, lub też wielkimi chcieli w państwa Jego Królewskiej Miłości chodzić kupami, tedy onych Sołtan Jego Miłość imieniem Chana Jego Miłości powściągać obiecuje, żadnej im nie dając protekcyej, ani swoim z nimi się dopuszczając łączyć wojskom.

Kozaków ponieważ za instancją Chana Jego Miłości i sołtan gałgi Jego Królewska Miłość i Rzeczpospolita jako własnych swoich przyjmuje do łaski

<sup>a</sup> In the original orthography: *residentia*.

<sup>b</sup> In the original orthography: *długą*.

poddanych, aby tym się kontentowali, cokolwiek onym przez kommissyją od Jego Królewskiej Miłości naznaczoną deklarowano będzie, i w tym uczynność swoją przysięgą stwierdzając obiecuje Sołtan Jego Miłość.

Na utwierdzenie zaś gruntowniejszej przyjaźni i wiecznego braterstwa obiecuje Sołtan Jego Miłość sprawić to u Chana Jego Miłości, iż więźniów pobranych pod Brayłowem, jako to pana Machowskiego i innych, którzy się już odzywają i odzywać będą, Chan Jego Miłość do Polski powróci. A Jego Miłość Pan hetman wzajem obiecuje to uprosić u Jego Królewskiej Miłości, iż na znak szczerego braterstwa z Chanem Jego Miłością Tatarów różnie do więzienia pobranych wypuścić na wolę każe.

Assekuruje i w tym Sołtan Jego Miłość ze wszystkimi ordami Jego Miłości Pana hetmana prawdziwie obiecując, iż tak z miejsca, jako i powracając do Krymu żadnych zagonów za wiadomością swoją i murzów w żadną stronę puścić nie każe, i owszem, aby nie chodziły surowo<sup>c</sup> zakaze, a swowolnych gromić pozwala, co się ma i przysięgą stwierdzić, a to na znak gruntowniejszego braterstwa.

<sup>d</sup>Co dla lepszej wiary z podpisem rąk<sup>e</sup> naszych i pieczęć przyciśniali. Data pod Podhayciamy 16 oktobra Anno 1667.

[1] <b>Qırım Gërey Sultan bin Devlet Gërey Sultan<sup>f</sup></b>	Krim Gieray, kałga sołtan wielkich ord krymskich <sup>g</sup>
[2] <b>‘İnayet Gërey Sultan bin Feth Gërey Sultan<sup>h</sup></b>	Nit Gieray Sołtan
[3] <b>Taht Gërey Sultan ibn Feth Gërey Sultan<sup>i</sup></b>	Tachtı Gieray Sołtan
[4] <b>Mengli Gërey Bek ceddühü Hacı Gërey Han<sup>j</sup></b>	Min Gieray Szyrim bey
[5] <b>xxx<sup>k</sup></b>	Karasz Aga
[6] <b>xxx Murtaza Bek<sup>l</sup></b>	Murtaza bey

<sup>c</sup> In the original orthography: *surową*.

<sup>d</sup> From here written by another hand, perhaps by a Tatar scribe who knew Polish and entered a corroborating formula along with the names of the Crimean dignitaries, whose seals are impressed below.

<sup>e</sup> In the original orthography: *rok*.

<sup>f</sup> Text of the seal in Arabic script; the almond-like seal measures 2 cm. in height.

<sup>g</sup> Here and in the column below all signatures in Latin script are entered by the same hand, perhaps by a Tatar scribe who knew Polish; cf. n. d above.

<sup>h</sup> Text of the seal in Arabic script; the almond-like seal measures 2 cm. in height.

<sup>i</sup> Text of the seal in Arabic script; the almond-like seal measures 1.8 cm. in height.

<sup>j</sup> Text of the seal in Arabic script; the almond-like seal measures 1.9 cm. in height.

The same seal is impressed on the three letters in Polish, sent by Mengli Giray Bey to the Polish king and chancellor in the years 1661–1664; see AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 61, t. 97, no. 239; t. 98, no. 240; t. 151, no. 295 (his forth letter, preserved in the Polish archives, is not provided with a seal; cf. *ibidem*, k. 61, t. 163, no. 307).

<sup>k</sup> The text of the seal is hardly legible; the oval seal, impressed upside down, measures 1.7 × 1.9 cm.

<sup>l</sup> The upper text of the seal is hardly legible; the oval seal measures 1.4 × 1.7 cm.

- |  |                            |
|--|----------------------------|
| [7] xxx <sup>m</sup>                                   | Adilsza Murza              |
| [8] Murad-şah Mirza <sup>n</sup>                       | Muratsza Murza Mansur uflu |
| [9] Mehmed-şah Mirza bin<br>Qutli-şah Bek <sup>o</sup> | Mehmesza Murza             |
| [10] xxx <sup>p</sup>                                  | Szah Murza                 |

Translation:

As His Majesty, the prince [sultan],<sup>3</sup> Qalga Qırım Giray, has entered the domains of His Royal Majesty and the Commonwealth along with the Crimean, Nogay, Budjak, and Akkerman troops with no other intention but to confirm and renew in the name of His Majesty, the present khan, his successor, and the whole Crimea, the ancient treaties with His Royal Majesty and the Commonwealth that had been repeatedly sworn since so many years: namely those [treaties] of recent memory that had been concluded with His Majesty, the late khan Islam Giray, and with his successor, His Majesty, the khan Mehmed Giray. Thus, having met at the present place near Pidhajci, they—His Majesty, the hetman,<sup>4</sup> in the name of His Royal Majesty and the whole Commonwealth, and His Majesty, the prince,<sup>5</sup> in the name of His Majesty, the present khan, his successor, and the whole Crimea and all the hordes—have agreed and mutually sworn the following articles of eternal friendship and unbreakable peace:

Firstly: whatever has happened between both nations, either last winter, or presently, one should forget it forever and leave it to the secret divine judgment, no matter who gave the reason and occasion for breaking of such well grounded friendship.

In order to prevent such breaking of mutual friendship, at present and in the future, His Majesty, the hetman, provides that, under the present oath, if any dissent, resentment, or claim arises between the aforementioned states for whatever reason, it should be committed to envoys, until whose return the troops of His Majesty, the khan, should behave peacefully, without displaying any sign of enmity.

As His Majesty, the prince, engages and swears in the name of His Majesty, the present khan, his successors, and the whole Crimea, to be an enemy of all

<sup>m</sup> The text of the seal is hardly legible; the oval seal measures 1.5 × 1.5 cm.

<sup>n</sup> Text of the seal in Arabic script; the oval horseshoe-shaped seal, impressed upside down, measures 1.0/1.3 × 1.5 cm.

<sup>o</sup> Text of the seal in Arabic script; the oval seal, impressed upside down, measures 1.5 × 1.7 cm.

<sup>p</sup> The text of the seal is hardly legible; the oval seal measures 1.3 × 1.5 cm.

<sup>3</sup> In the Crimea, the term *sultan* referred to a prince from the Giray dynasty; in the text of the present document it consequently refers to the qalga and is translated as “prince;” the original term *sultan* has been preserved in the translation only in occurrences, where it constitutes an integral part of a title (e.g., qalga sultan) or of a proper name (e.g., Qırım Giray Sultan).

<sup>4</sup> I.e., the field hetman, Jan Sobieski, the future king John III; he is referred to with the Polish title *pan* (*Jego Miłoś Pan hetman*).

<sup>5</sup> I.e., the qalga, Qırım Giray; cf. n. 3 above.

the enemies of His Royal Majesty and the Commonwealth, and to arrive with the number of troops required by His Royal Majesty and the Commonwealth, whenever the Commonwealth needs assistance, in return His Majesty, the hetman, engages and assures in the name of His Royal Majesty and the Commonwealth to send the gifts due to His Majesty, the khan, and the Crimean hordes, in accordance with the ancient customs, from the beginning of the present, mutually sworn friendship, in future annual installments; and—as a warranty of the above [engagement] and of his eternal friendship with His Majesty, the khan, and with the Crimea—he appoints his two men<sup>6</sup> to accompany His Majesty, the prince, [to the Crimea] to reside at the side of His Majesty, the khan, and to remain there until the [Tatar] envoy, sent to the [Polish-Lithuanian] Diet in order to collect the gifts, returns to His Majesty, the khan. Yet, His Majesty, the khan, should not send any troops to the Ukraine and to the domains of His Royal Majesty without knowledge and explicit permission of His Royal Majesty and the whole Commonwealth.

And as some hordes, namely the Budjak and Akkerman ones, as well as a substantial part of the Nogays, namely of the Oraq-oghlu and Or-Membet-oghlu,<sup>7</sup> do not regard themselves as subjects of His Majesty, the khan, also in this matter His Majesty, the prince, assures and convinces His Majesty, the hetman, that if they willfully enter the domains of His Royal Majesty in forays [torhaks]<sup>8</sup> or in big groups, then His Majesty, the prince, promises in the name of His Majesty, the khan, to restrain them without giving them any protection or letting their own [i.e., Crimean] troops join them.

As at the instance of His Majesty, the khan, and the qalga sultan, His Royal Majesty and the Commonwealth extend their grace towards the Cossacks as their proper subjects, the latter should be content with any provision to be passed by the commission appointed by His Royal Majesty, while His Majesty, the prince, declares his assistance in this matter, confirming it with his oath.

In order to strengthen the complete friendship and eternal brotherhood, His Majesty, the prince, promises to persuade His Majesty, the khan, so that His Majesty, the khan, send back to Poland the captives taken at Brajliliv, namely Pan Machowski and others, who have already given notice [of their whereabouts], or who will do so in the future.<sup>9</sup> In return His Majesty, the hetman,

<sup>6</sup> Not mentioned by names; these were Lieutenant [porucznik] Mikołaj Żłotnicki and Standard-bearer [chorąży] Adam Łychowski; cf Document 69, n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> The Oraq-oghlu ("the sons of Oraq") and the Or-Membet-oghlu ("the sons of Or-Membet," whereas Membet is a Nogay form of the name Mehmed) constituted the two major Nogay clans dwelling in Budjak; cf. Document 64, notes 12 and 15.

<sup>8</sup> The word *torhak* ("foray") was used in seventeenth-century Polish; cf. Stanisław Stachowski, *Słownik historyczny turcyzmów w języku polskim* (Cracow, 2007), pp. 426–427. It apparently originates from the Turkish word *turğaq* ("guard" or "watchman"); see Radlov, *Opyt slovarja tjurkskix narečij*, vol. 3, pt. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1905), col. 1458. I am very thankful to Henryk Jankowski for his help in tracing this etymology.

<sup>9</sup> On 19 December 1666, a regiment of Polish troops commanded by Colonel Sebastian Machowski was defeated by the Cossack-Tatar army in the battle of Brajliliv (Pol. Braiłów or Brahiłów; a town situated between Bar and Winnycja). Machowski and a number of Polish officers were taken prisoner by the Tatar commander, Nureddin Devlet Giray; see Majewski, "Podhajce," p. 50. The identity of the Tatar commander,

*promises to request His Royal Majesty to order to set free the Tatars taken prisoner in various circumstances, in display of his sincere brotherhood with His Majesty, the khan.*

*Moreover, His Majesty, the prince, along with all his hordes, assures and truly promises His Majesty, the hetman, that neither here, nor on his way back to the Crimea, will he or [his] mirzas authorize any incursion in any direction; on the contrary, he will severely forbid [such incursions] and he allows to rout marauders, which [declaration] should be confirmed with an oath in display of the most complete brotherhood.*

*To strengthen [the mutual] trust we have signed with our hands and stamped. Given near Pidhajci on 16 October 1667.*

[seals]

[1] *Qırım Giray Sultan,  
son of Devlet Giray Sultan*<sup>10</sup>

[2] *Inayet Giray Sultan, son of  
Feth Giray Sultan*

[3] *Takht Giray Sultan, son of  
Feth Giray Sultan*

[4] *Mengli Giray Bey, his forefather  
[was] Hadji Giray Han*<sup>14</sup>

[names entered in Latin script]

*Qırım Giray, the qalga sultan  
of the great Crimean hordes*

*Inayet*<sup>11</sup> *Giray Sultan*

*Takht*<sup>12</sup> *Giray Sultan*

*Mengli*<sup>13</sup> *Giray, the bey of  
the Shirins*

unnamed in the Polish historiography, can be established on the basis of the khan's letter to the king dated in Redjeb 1078 A.H. (17 December 1667–15 January 1668), announcing Machowski's release; see AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 64, t. 3, nos. 531–532. Machowski indeed returned to Poland in the spring of 1668; see his biography by Wiesław Majewski in *PSB*, vol. 18, pp. 637–639.

<sup>10</sup> Devlet Giray, also known as Choban Mustafa, was the illegitimate son of Khan Feth Giray (r. 1596–1597) and the founder of a side branch of the Giray dynasty, known as the Choban Girays. He was the father of Khan Adil Giray, his brother and qalga, Qırım Giray, and their older brother, Feth Giray, who in turn fathered Nured-din Devlet Giray and the princes Inayet and Takht Girays (see below); cf. Josef Matuz, "Eine Beschreibung des Khanats der Krim aus dem Jahre 1669," pp. 132–133. On the Choban Girays, see also notes 388 and 495 in Part I.

<sup>11</sup> Recorded in a corrupt form as *Nit*.

<sup>12</sup> Recorded in a corrupt form as *Tachti*.

<sup>13</sup> Recorded in a corrupt form as *Min*.

<sup>14</sup> Mengli Giray Bey, the leader of the Shirin clan, is already mentioned in the Crimean chronicle of Senai as a participant of the campaign of 1649; see Senai, *Historia chana Islam Gereja III*, p. 109. The fact that he was named after the former khan proves the ambitions of the Shirins, who customarily married princesses from the Giray dynasty (on the position of the Shirins, cf. Matuz, "Eine Beschreibung," p. 145). Personal ambitions of Mengli Giray Bey are best confirmed by his adoption of an almond-like seal, otherwise reserved for the Genghisids. A Shirin tradition, recorded after the Russian annexation of the Crimea, claimed that the right to use an almond-like seal had been first granted to Ruktemir, the then Shirin leader, by Tokhtamish Khan. The tradition is convincingly dismissed as spurious by Usmanov; cf. *idem*, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, p. 171. Yet, as we see, it might have been current long before the Russian conquest. Strikingly, the inscription of the Shirin leader's seal does not contain the name of his own father, but instead invokes Hadji Giray, his distant Genghisid forefather who had been the founder of the Giray dynasty

[5] xxx	<i>Qarash Agha</i>
[6] xxx Murtaza Bey	<i>Murtaza Bey</i>
[7] xxx	<i>Adil-shah Mirza</i> <sup>15</sup>
[8] <i>Murad-shah Mirza</i>	<i>Murad-shah Mirza</i>
	<i>Mansur-oghlu</i> <sup>16</sup>
[9] <i>Mehmed-shah Mirza, son of</i> <i>Qutlu-shah Bey</i> <sup>17</sup>	<i>Mehmed-shah Mirza</i>
[10] xxx	<i>Shah Mirza</i>

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and the Crimean Khanate. Having in mind the controversy regarding the legitimacy of the Choban Girays (cf. n. 10), this demonstration was telling.

<sup>15</sup> Perhaps identical with Adil-shah Mirza, the Crimean envoy sent to Sweden in December 1654; cf. Karl Zetterstéen, *Türkische, tatarische und persische Urkunden im Schwedischen Reichsarchiv* (Uppsala, 1945), pp. 90–91.

<sup>16</sup> I.e., from the Mansur clan; on the Mansurs (i.e., Manghits), cf. Document 58, n. 9.

<sup>17</sup> Qutlu-shah Bey should be probably identified with Bahadır Giray's envoy to Poland in 1637, whose long detainment the khan reproached in his following instrument from 1640; cf. Documents 52 and 55.

DOCUMENT 67 (16 OCTOBER 1667)  
The oath by the Crimean plenipotentiaries sworn  
at Pidhajci (Podhajce)  
[Facs. XIV]

Authenticated text in Polish: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 60, t. 126, no. 132.  
A folded sheet of paper, inscribed on one inside page.  
sheet format: 31 × 39 cm; page format: 31 × 19.5 cm.  
text (black)

Polish copies:

- A. AGAD, Metryka Koronna, Libri Inscriptionum, no. 206, fol. 718a–718b.
- B. Bibl. Jagiell., ms. 101, vol. 2, fol. 12a–12b.
- C. Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, p. 493.
- D. Bibl. Czart., ms. 162 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), p. 551.
- E. L'vivs'ka Naukova Biblioteka im. V. Stefanyka NAN Ukrainy, fond 5 (Oss.), opys 1, no. II-1848 (a digital copy also available in Wrocław in Bibl. Ossol.: kopia elektroniczna sygn. DE-894), p. 100.

Published in *Acta Historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, vol. 2: *Acta Joannis Sobieski*. Edited by F. Kluczycki, vol. 1, pt. 1 (Cracow, 1880), p. 287.

Przysięgamy Panu Bogu Jedynemu, temu, który stworzył niebo, ziemię, morze, i wszystko, że tego dotrzymamy wszystkiego i każdego z osobna z tych punktów, które są napisane i wyrażone w traktacie podpisanym. A jeżeli w czymkolwiek nie dotrzymamy i złamiemy przysięgę naszą, niech nas ten Pan Bóg, którego wzywamy, karze na tym i na tamtym świecie, i aby szabla nieprzyjacielska górę zawsze nad nami miała i nad potomkami naszymi. A to imieniem Chana Jego Miłości, sołtanów gałgi, nuradyna, i innych, jako i wszystkich bejów, agów, murzów, i całego Krymu, i innych ord i państw pod Chanem Jego Miłością będących.

J. Sobieski<sup>a</sup>

Translation:

*We swear to the one and only God, who created heaven, earth, sea, and everything, that we will keep all and one by one from among those articles that are written and formulated in the signed treaty. And if we do not keep and break our oath in any way, may the same God, whom we invoke, punish us in this and in the other world, and may the enemy's saber always prevail over us and*

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<sup>a</sup> Handwritten signature.



*our descendants. [And we swore this oath] in the name of His Majesty, the khan, the sultans: qalga, nureddin, and others, also all the beys, aghas, mirzas, and the whole Crimea, and other hordes and domains being under His Majesty, the khan.*

[authentication] *J. Sobieski*<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The signature by the field hetman, Jan Sobieski, served to attest that the oath actually took place.

DOCUMENT 68 (16 OCTOBER 1667)

The oath by the Polish commissioners sworn at Pidhajci (Podhajce)  
[Facs. XV]

Authenticated text in Polish: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 60, t. 127, no. 133.  
sheet format: 15.5 × 20 cm.  
text (black)

Polish copies:

A. AGAD, Metryka Koronna, Libri Inscriptionum, no. 206, fol. 718b.

B. Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 493–494.

My, komisarze wojska Jego Królewskiej Miłości i Rzeczypospolitej od Jaśnie Wielmożnego Jego Miłości Pana marszałka wielkiego i hetmana polnego koronnego do utwierdzenia przyjaźni między Królem Jego Miłością polskim i Rzeczpospolitą, a Chanem Jego Miłością krymskim, wszystkimi bejami, murdzami, i wszystkimi in genere ordami, wysadzeni, przysięgamy Panu Bogu w Trójcy Świętej Jedynemu, przed Naświętszą Panną i Wszystkimi Świętymi, iż tego wszystkiego dotrzymamy, cośmykolwiek pismami między sobą namówiwszy zatwierdzili, dokładając przy tej przysiędze naszej tego, iż jeśliby przyszło z Moskwą o pokój wieczny traktować, bez wiadomości i komisarza Chana Jego Miłości nie będziemy, assekurując i o tym, iż Jego Miłość Pan hetman wojsk Jego Królewskiej Miłości koronnych przed sejmem w Ukrainę nie pośle. Tak nam Panie Boże dopomóż i Męka Jego Święta.

J. Sobieski<sup>a</sup>

Translation:

*We, the commissioners of His Royal Majesty and the Commonwealth, appointed by His Majesty, the Crown grand marshal and field hetman,<sup>1</sup> to confirm the friendship between His Majesty, the Polish king and the Commonwealth, and [—on the other side—] His Majesty, the Crimean khan and all the beys, murzas, and all the hordes, we swear to God, One in the Holy Trinity, before the Holy Virgin and all the saints, that we will keep all [the points] that we have mutually agreed upon and confirmed in writing, adding on the occasion of this oath that if it came to negotiate an eternal peace with Muscovy, we would not proceed without the knowledge of His Majesty, the khan, and his commissioner*

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<sup>a</sup> Handwritten signature.

<sup>1</sup> I.e., Jan Sobieski, the future king John III; he is referred to with the Polish title *pan* (Jego Miłość Pan marszałek wielki i hetman polny koronny).

*[being present]; moreover, we assure that His Majesty, the hetman, will not send the Crown troops of His Royal Majesty to the Ukraine before the Diet [is held to confirm this agreement]. So help us God and His Holy Passion!*

[authentication] *J. Sobieski*<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The signature by the field hetman, Jan Sobieski, served to attest that the oath actually took place.

DOCUMENT 69 (15 APRIL 1668)

The instrument, confirming the Treaty of Podhajce (Pidhajci), issued by Khan Adil Giray and invoking his oath taken in Baghchasaray in the presence of two Polish residents<sup>1</sup>

Polish copy: Bibl. Jagiell., ms. 101, vol. 2, fol. 12b–13a.

Published in *Acta Historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, vol. 2: *Acta Joannis Sobieski*. Edited by F. Kluczycki, vol. 1, pt. 1 (Cracow, 1880), pp. 348–350.

Chwała Bogu Najwyższemu, który stworzył wszystkie narody, i nasze [sic] według naszych proroków biszurmański[ej] wiary!

Wielkich Ord, wielkiego państwa, stolice krymskiej, i ord kupczackich, i bez liczby ordy, i Nahaiów, Tatów i Tumanów, w górach cerkieskich wielki car, wielki Adilgierey chan.

Króla Jego Miłości wielkich państw Korony Polski i Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, Ruskiego, Pruskiego, Mazowieckiego, i wiele chrześcijańskich państw będący teraz Królem Jego Miłością polskim Janem Kazimierzem, bratem naszym, przyjaźni i braterstwa zawarte między nami przedtym omyłkiem przyjaźń i braterstwo naruszone były z naszej strony, względem dawnej przyjaźni i prawdziwego słowa naszego dla potwierdzenia, z wojskiem naszym brata naszego kałki sołtana, i innych sołtanów, i starszych bejów, agów, i murzów z polskiej strony gdyśmy wyprawili, z Królem Jego Miłością polskim, bratem naszym,<sup>a</sup> z wielmożnym Sobieskim hetmanem potkawszy się pod Podhajcami, umówiwszy się traktowali:

Jako nieboszczyk brat nasz starszy Asłgierey chan, i Mechmet Giercy chan, i Krym wszystek z Rzeczpospolitą Polską zostawali w przyjaźni, i teraz także według przeszłej przyjaźni zgodzili się, i poprzysięgli sobie między sobą, wiarę dawszy z obudwu stron, poprzysiężone wykonać punkta <między sobą wiarę dawszy> między się tak z tej strony, jako i z tej, podawszy. Wiel-

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<sup>1</sup> These were Lieutenant Mikołaj Żłotnicki, the cup-bearer (*częśnik*) of Poznań, and Standard-bearer (*chorąży*) Adam Łychowski, two officers, who had participated in the campaign of 1667 and, according to the Treaty of Podhajce, had accompanied the *qalga* to the Crimea in order to remain there as guarantees until the khan would receive the promised gifts; cf. Document 66, n. 6. In the heading, entered in the copy, Żłotnicki is erroneously referred to as Jan Mikołaj (whereas *Jan* is probably a copyist's error and should read *pan*) while Łychowski's first name is not given. For the correct form of their names and surnames, cf. their signatures under their letter sent to Sobieski from the Crimea on 17 April 1668; cf. *Acta Historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, vol. 2: *Acta Joannis Sobieski*. Edited by F. Kluczycki, vol. 1, pt. 1 (Cracow, 1880), p. 358 (curiously, in the heading of the same letter, the second signatory is referred to as Lichocki).

<sup>a</sup> It should rather read: *z Króla Jego Miłości polskiego, brata naszego [...] hetmanem*, as the king was not present at Podhajci.

możny hetman Sobieski<sup>b</sup> podpisane nam i poprzysiężone punkta obaczywszy i zrozumiałwszy, przyjaźń i braterstwa przysięgę utwierdzone<sup>c</sup> przyjęliśmy to wszystko, a kalka sołtan, brat nasz, ze wszystkimi sołtanami i bejami, agami, murzami wielkimi, i wszystkimi naszymi ordami, cokolwiek oni umówili i postanowili i poprzysięgli, na to pozwolić. Jako i przedtym Królowi Jego Miłości polskiemu, bratu naszemu, przyjaciołom być przyjacielem, nieprzyjaciełom zaś nieprzyjacielem zostawać będziemy, i pod władzą mo[ją] zostającą ordą, jako to krymskim, nahayskim, czerkieskim, perekopskim, oczakowskim, białogrodzkim wojska powściągnąć, w państwa Korony Polskiej i Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego aby nie wpadali, i niedozwalać im iść assekuruję. Podczas zaś nuradyn sołtana, Batysara murzy, podczas zniesienia wojska, i zabranych niewolników powrócić, i oddać żołnierzów, szlachtę, szlachcianek, i dziecię ich, żeby nie sprzedawali na żadne strony, zakazaliśmy.

A strony zaś Kozaków, aby byli w poddaństwie Królowi Jego Miłości według poprzysiężonych pakt, i nam na usługę będąc, z polskiej strony krzywdy im nie będzie i wojska na nich nie przyjdą. I z naszej strony wojska Kozakom nie damy przeciwko wojsku polskiemu. A jeśliby Kozacy nie byli posłuszni Królowi polskiemu Jego Miłości, bratu naszemu, a panu swemu, i poddaństwa nie oddawali, i według pakt, i przysięgi, i napomnienia naszego nie przyszli, a przysięgę swoją złamali, tedy z Królem Jego Miłością bratem naszym i wojskiem jego złączywszy się wojska nasze, na nich iść i znosić ich będziemy powinni.

Ażeby tedy strony Polski według umowy we wszystkim dotrzymali, my z naszej strony we wszystkim dotrzymać obiecujemy, że żadnej odmiany nie będzie według przysięgi naszej, i słowu swemu uczyniwszy we wszystkim dosyć. Przysięgam Bogu Najwyższemu, który stworzył niebo i ziemię, powietrze i morze, że w słowie moim żadnej zmyzy nie będzie tej przysięgi.

Dla utwierdzenia przyjaźni pieczęcią moją utwierdziłem i przycisnąłem. Niech będzie Bogu cześć i chwała!

Interpretative translation:<sup>2</sup>

*Glory to the highest God, who created all nations, by our prophets of the Muslim faith!*

*The great khan of the Great Horde, the great state, the Crimean throne, the Kipchak horde and countless hordes, and the Nogays, Tats and [Tavgaches],<sup>3</sup> and the mountain Circassians, the great khan Adil Giray.*

<sup>b</sup> It should rather read: *Wielmożnego hetmana Sobieskiego*.

<sup>c</sup> It should rather read: *przyjaźni i braterstwa przysięgą utwierdzone*.

<sup>2</sup> The Polish 17th-century translation is so corrupt that at places I decided to follow the spirit rather than the letter of the text in order to reconstruct the most likely meaning of the lost Turkish original.

<sup>3</sup> The Polish text reads: *Tatów i Tumanów* (lit. "of the Tats and Tumans"). Although the word *Tuman* could make sense here and refer either to a traditional Turco-Mongolian army unit (*tümen*, i.e., "ten thousand") or the town of Tiumen in Siberia (cf. Document 70, n. 2), most likely the original document referred to the Tavgaches, who were typically paired with the Tats in the official *intitulatio* of the Crimean khans.

As formerly the friendship and brotherhood established between us and our brother, His Royal Majesty, the present king of the great states: the Polish Crown, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, and many [other] Christian domains, His Majesty John Casimir, the king of Poland, had been mistakenly broken by our side, in order to confirm the ancient friendship and the sincerity of our word we sent our brother, the qalga sultan, and other princes [sultans], elder beys, aghas, and mirzas, along with our troops to Poland; and they met near Pidhajci with His Magnificence, Hetman Sobieski, from the side of our brother, His Majesty, the king of Poland, and they negotiated [the following] agreement:

As our late elder brother, Islam Giray Khan, and Mehmed Giray Khan, and the whole Crimea used to maintain friendship with the Polish Commonwealth, also now they have agreed to act in accordance with the former friendship, and have mutually engaged to execute the sworn articles, having mutually exchanged them [i.e., the instruments, containing these articles]. Having seen and comprehended the articles signed and sworn by His Magnificence, Hetman Sobieski, confirmed with an oath to keep friendship and brotherhood, we have accepted all this and resolved to authorize everything that had been stipulated, decided, and sworn by our brother, the qalga, along with all the princes [sultans], beys, aghas, great mirzas, and all our hordes. As in the past, we will be friends to the friends of His Majesty, the king of Poland, and enemies to his enemies; and I engage to retain the horde being under my power, namely the Crimean, Nogay, Circassian, Perekop, Očakiv, and Akkerman troops, from invading the domains of the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. And we have ordered to send back the captives taken by the nureddin sultan<sup>4</sup> and Batır-shah Mirza,<sup>5</sup> when they had routed the [Polish] troops; and we have forbidden to sell the [captured] soldiers, nobles, noble women, and their children, in whichever direction.

As regards the Cossacks, as long as they remain subjects of His Royal Majesty, according to the sworn treaty, remaining simultaneously in our service, they should not suffer any harm from the Polish side and no [Polish] troops should attack them. On our part, we will not assist the Cossacks with our troops against the Polish troops. But if the Cossacks display disobedience towards our brother and their lord, His Majesty, the king of Poland, if they deny their service and ignore the treaty, oath, and our admonition, and if they break their

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As the term *Tavgaç* was probably uncommon to the Polish translator or copyist, it was replaced by *Tuman*; on the *Tavgaches*, cf. Document 49, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> I.e., Devlet Giray, the son of Feth Giray and the khan's nephew; on 19 December 1666, he commanded the Tatar troops in the battle of Brajliv and took prisoner Colonel Sebastian Machowski and other Polish officers; cf. Document 66, notes 9–10.

<sup>5</sup> In May and June 1667, a foray commanded by Batır-shah Mirza, who had wintered in the Ukraine, raided Podolia and Volhynia, taking numerous captives; see Majewski, "Podhajce," pp. 61 and 67–68. Batır-shah Mirza was perhaps identical with a member of the Sulesh-oghlu clan, who had participated in the Crimean embassy to Moscow in 1655 and escorted the Russian envoys sent to the Crimea in 1657; cf. Sanin, *Otnošeniia Rossii i Ukrainy s Krymskim xanstvom v seredine XVII veka*, pp. 184 and 189–190.

*oath, then we should attack and rout them, having joined our brother, His Royal Majesty, and his troops, with our troops.*

*As this agreement should be thoroughly observed from the Polish side, [also] from our side we promise to observe it thoroughly and to keep our word without any deviation from our oath. I swear to the highest God, who created heaven, earth, air, and sea, that there will be no erasing of my word and this oath.*

*In order to corroborate the friendship, I have confirmed and stamped with my seal. Veneration and glory be to God!*

DOCUMENT 70 (23 OCTOBER 1672)  
Guarantee issued by the khan along with the Ottoman sultan's  
*'ahdname*  
[Facs. XVI]

Original paper<sup>1</sup> document in Polish: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 60, t. 60, no. 64.

A folded sheet of paper, inscribed on one inside page.

sheet format: 29.5 × 42.5 cm; page format: 29.5 × 21 cm.

text (black)

the black almond-like seal of Selim Giray (2.6 cm. in height) is impressed at the bottom

Polish copy: AGAD, Metryka Koronna, Libri Legationum, no. 25, fol. 483a–483b.<sup>a</sup>

Sielim Giray<sup>b</sup> z bożej łaski chan krzypski,<sup>c</sup> oczakowski, perekopski, białogrodzki, budziacki, czerkieski, kipczacki, tumiński, baszkurcki, Wielkiego i Małego Nogaiu<sup>d</sup> dziedziczny chan.

Daję tę assekuracją naszą Królowi Jego Miłości Mychałowi<sup>e</sup> z bożej łaski polskiemu, bratu naszemu, i Rzeczypospolitej, w ręce kommissarom<sup>f</sup> do pakt z Cesarzem Jego Miłością tureckim naznaczonych<sup>g</sup> daną, że mając sobie pak-tami dawnymi upominki od Korony Polskiej pozwolione, a teraz do dawnych przydatku tysięcy czerwonych złotych przez tychże kommissarzów assekuro-wany, ordy trzymać będziemy, i żadnej inkursyj w państwa Królestwa<sup>h</sup> Polskiego nie uczynią. A jeśli by przez inkursje swawolnie<sup>i</sup> tatarskie szkody miało ponieść Królestwo Polskie, tedy za ten rok ani upominków, ani przy-datku upominać się nie powinni będziemy, na co się ręką naszą podpisujemy i pieczęć naszą przycisnąć rozkazaliśmy.

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<sup>1</sup> The paper contains a watermark depicting a crown topped with a star topped with a crescent and in a countermark a trefoil with initials BB; paper provided with watermarks with similar motives (*croissants, étoiles, couronne*) was used in the Ottoman chancery, but the examples provided by Velkov are of different shape and origin from the late 18th century; cf. Asparouh Velkov, *Les filigranes dans les documents ottomans—Divers types d'images*, pp. 14 and 200–205.

<sup>a</sup> Entitled: *Assekuracja chana krymskiego pod Żwańcem kommissarzom 1672 dana, na sejmie 1673 oddana.*

<sup>b</sup> *Selim Gieray* in the copy.

<sup>c</sup> In the copy corrected: *krymski*.

<sup>d</sup> *Nohaiu* in the copy.

<sup>e</sup> *Królowi Jego Miłości Michałowi* in the copy.

<sup>f</sup> In the copy corrected: *kommissarzom*.

<sup>g</sup> *Sic*; it should read: *naznaczonym*.

<sup>h</sup> *Królestwa* in the copy.

<sup>i</sup> In the copy corrected: *swawolne*.



Działo się pode Żwańcem, w obozie naszym, dnia 23 octobra 1672.<sup>j</sup>

Sielim Giray chan Jego Chańska Miłość<sup>k</sup>

**Selim Gërey Han bin Bahadır Gërey Han<sup>l</sup>**

Translation:

*Selim Giray, by the grace of God the Crimean khan, the hereditary khan of Oçakiv, Perekop, Akkerman, Budjak, Circassia, the Kipchak [Steppe], Tiumen,<sup>2</sup> the Bashkirs,<sup>3</sup> and the Great and Little Nogay [hordes].*

*I give our present guarantee to our brother, His Majesty Michael, by the grace of God the king of Poland, and to the Commonwealth, in the hands of the [Polish] commissioners appointed to the negotiations with His Majesty, the Turkish emperor, stipulating that—on being entitled by the ancient treaties to the receipt of the [annual] gifts from the Polish Crown, and now being assured by the aforementioned commissioners a supplement to the ancient sum amounting to a thousand golden florins [Pol. czerwonych złotych]—we will retain the [Crimean] hordes so that they do not make any incursion to the Polish Kingdom. And if the Polish Kingdom suffers any harm due to willful Tatar incursions, then we should demand neither the gifts nor the supplement due for the given year; in order to attest it, we hereby sign with our hand and we have ordered to impress our seal.*

*Took place in our camp near Żvanec', on the 23rd day of October 1672.*

*His Majesty the khan, Selim Giray Khan*

[seal] *Selim Giray Khan, son of Bahadır Giray Khan<sup>4</sup>*

<sup>j</sup> The last numeral in 1672 initially read 1 and was corrected; in the copy: *dwudzie-stego trzeciego octobra 1672*.

<sup>k</sup> The khan's name was apparently entered by the scribe who wrote the entire document; the uncommon abbreviation *J<sup>o</sup>CM* can be solved as *Jego Chańska Miłość* or *Jego Carska Miłość* in analogy to the abbreviation *JKM*, solved as *Jego Królewska Miłość*.

<sup>l</sup> Text of the seal.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently a reference to Siberia, referred to as Tura in Mehmed IV Giray's instrument from 1654 (cf. Document 64, n. 8). Tiumen (or Tümen) was a Russian town, founded in 1586 in the place of Chingi-Tura, the former capital of the Siberian Khanate. Admittedly, there was also another Tümen in Daghestan; see Zaitsev, "The Khanate of Sibir," p. 864.

<sup>3</sup> This is the sole mention of the Bashkirs and Bashkortostan in the documents published in the present volume. Nevertheless, it is known that during the Bashkir uprising against the Russian rule in the years 1662–1664, Mehmed IV Giray envisioned a broad anti-Muscovian coalition, composed of the Poles, Ukrainian Cossacks, Tatars, Nogays, Bashkirs, and even Kalmyks, although the latter had no wish to join it; see Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met. The Russian State and the Kalmyk Nomads, 1600–1771*, p. 98.

<sup>4</sup> In the middle of the seal there is the trident-shaped emblem of the Girays (*taraq tamğa*).

DOCUMENT 71 (6 DECEMBER 1742)  
The instrument of peace (*yarlıq*) sent by Khan Selamat II  
Giray to King Augustus III  
[Facs. XVII]

Original paper document in Ottoman Turkish: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 60, t. 132, no. 138.

75 × 51 cm.<sup>1</sup> (shorter on the left side: 74 × 51 cm.)

invocation (gold): *nesih* script

*tuğra* (gold): 20 × 29.5 cm.

text (black, ornamented with scattered golden dots): *nesih* script

the black almond-like seal of Selamat Giray (2.3 cm. in height) is impressed at the bottom

Published in *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva*, pp. 774–777.

French translation: a) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 64, t. 30, no. 566; b) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 60, t. 132, no. 139 (by Antoni Crutta).<sup>2</sup>

## Hüve

### Selamet-Gérey<sup>a</sup> Han bin el-Hacc Selim Gérey Han sözüümüz

- [1] Cenab-i tebareke ve ta‘ala hazretlerinin ‘avn-i ‘inayet-i **ehadiye** ve lutf-i hidayet-i ezeliyesiyle ‘ali-hita-i hazra-i ğabra-i Qırım ve Or ve Bucaq ve Quban ve Çerakise-i kuhestan ve ‘amme-i ‘aşair-i Noğayluyan-i sahra-neşinanın han-i a‘zamı celadetlü celaletlü ‘inayetlü şahametlü
- [2] biz **Selamet Gérey Han** hazretimizden hala Leh cumhurinin qıralı ve liteviski ve ruski ve puruski ve mazeviski ve zmodoniski ve kiyoviski ve voloniski ve podoloski ve podlaski ve inflanski ve ismoloniski ve sa‘ır dahi niçe memleketlerin
- [3] hükümdarı ve qadimi Saqsonya begi olan hürmetlü rağbetlü mezid-i men-ziletlü kemal-i rağbet ile mu‘teber dostumuz **Fridirik Ağustu**<sup>b</sup> qıral-i haş-met-iştimal hazretine nihaye-i safa-i derun üzere selam-i selamet-encam iblağ ve ihda ve merasim-i tafahhus-i dosti-i
- [4] hatırları icra ve eda olunduqdan sonra münha-i meymenet-nüma-i hani bu dur ki kadimü‘l-eyyamdan berü hanedan-i haniyet-‘unvanımız ile eslaf-i haşmet-ittisafınız ve ‘umumen Leh cumhuri beynlerinde peзира-i in‘ikad olan sulh u musafat iktizası mürasele ve icra-i merasim-i

<sup>1</sup> Pasted onto a wider piece of linen that measures 53.5 cm.

<sup>2</sup> The second translation is more precise.

<sup>a</sup> Written together: سلا متکرای.

<sup>b</sup> فریدریک اغستو.

- [5] dostluq tağayyürat-i zaman ile bir qaç senelerden berü inqıtā olunub bu evan-i ümniyet-bünüyada dostane muhabere ve mükatebe tevarüdine müteraqqab iken bu def'a tecdid-i huquq-i qadime ve te'bid-i revabıd-i musafat-i müstedime zımnında tebrik-i merkez-i vala-i
- [6] haniyetimizi havi irsal olunan muhabbetnameniz işbu biñ yüz elli beş senesi şehr-i Ramazan-i şerif evailinde tebliğ ve isaline mu'ayyen mura-hhas elçiniz Yuzuf Lopuvski<sup>c</sup> pisar hilimski yediyle vasıl olub mu'tad üzere tercüme étdirildikde hulasa-i ma'alinde tebrik-i
- [7] mesned-i haniyetimiz ile tecdid-i sulh-i qadime ve te'bid-i revabıd-i müsaleme-i müstedime zımnında olduğı ma'lum-i dostanemiz olduqda izhar-i dosti ve icra-i müvalatdan inşirah-i fu'adımız müzdad olub öte-den berü miyanede mu'teber olan qadimi musafat her halde tağayyür
- [8] ve halelden masun ve gün günden mütezayid ve efsun olduğunda ca-i kelam olunmayub name-i meveddet-üslubunuzde merqum elçiniz mura-hhas deyü zıkr olunub ba'z husus lisanen taqririne havale olunduğuna bina'en kendüden su'al ve istintaq olunduqda
- [9] yedi madde tasrih ve beyan édüb taqrir ve ta'bir étdiğı mevadden evvelki madde Qarlovise<sup>d</sup>de vaqı' ve mün'aqid sulh u salaha i'tibar ve şurut-i müsaleme ve quyudat-i musafat taraf-i dostanelerinden mür'aat olunub fi-ma ba'd tarafeynden
- [10] ke-ma fi'l-evvel istihfaz olunmasını 'ayan ve izah étmekle miyanede qadimi rabt ve te'bid olunan emr-i müsalemeye ke-ma kan ri'ayet ve merasim-i müvalata eslafımızdan ziyade sıyanet olunacağında iştibah olunmaya ve ikinci madde tüccar ta'ifesinden Bucaq
- [11] taraflarına ve beri semtlere gelenlerden mu'tad olan vèrgülerinden ziyade şey taleb olunmamaq hususi olmağla erbab-i tüccardan olub bu havalıye gelüb gidenler qadimi vèrgü ile ticaretlerini serbestiyet üzere emti'alarını iştira ve bir taraftan qadiminden
- [12] ziyade şey talebiyle bir ferde cevır ve iza olunmamaq hususi hala Bucaqda zabıt ta'yin olunan yalı ağasına ve sa'ir iqtiza éden mahallere te'kid ve şedid yarlığlar tahrir ve isra olunmağla bundan sonıra ta'ife-i mezkure bu taraflarda azar<sup>d</sup>da olunmayacağına
- [13] şübhe olunmaya ve üçüncü madde ruhban ta'ifesinden seyyahat<sup>e</sup> tariqiyle bu havalilere vürudlerinde ve meks étdiklerinde bir dürlü ta'addi olunmaması serd ü beyan olunmağla ruhban maqulesinden olub bu taraflara vürud ve hasbe
- [14] 'l-iqtiza iqamet eylediklerinde qalam-rev-i hükümetimizde olan bilad ve qasabatda bi<sup>f</sup>-vech-i na-şer'i bir taraftan rencide ve ta'addi olunmayacağı ma'lum-i dostaneleri ola ve dördüncü madde bundan evvel Amasyada halik Lehlü bazarganın
- [15] metrukati Leh memleketine naql tasmimiyle sefineye vaz' ve Aqkerman iskelesine lengerendaz olduğı evanda sabıqa Bender canibi ser-'askeri

<sup>c</sup> يوزف لپووسكى.

<sup>d</sup> Mistakenly written without the second *elif* (آزر).

<sup>e</sup> Written with a *şedde* over the Arabic letter *ya*.

<sup>f</sup> Erroneously written with a redundant *ya* after *ba* (بی).

- olan vezir-i ruşen-zamir sa'adetlü Veli paşa hazretleri taraflarından ahz olunan iki bin yedi yüz
- [16] gurusun istirdadı asitane-i devlet-aşiyane 'arz ve inhası olmağla inşa'a'llahu ta'ala husus-i mezkur canib-i dostiden vuqu'ı üzere devlet-i 'aliyye-i ebedi'l-qarara tahrir olunacağında iştibah olunmaya ve beşinci madde
- [17] Potqaludan bir miqdar eşqıya sayd ü şıkar tariqiyle Aqsu taraflarında me'va ittihaz ve ta'ife-i Nogayluyandan ba'zı mirzayan ve sa'irleriyle mu'arefe peyda etmek taqribi ile re'aya ta'ifesine êtdikleri itale-i dest-i ta'addileri
- [18] ve şeqavetleri olunması olmağla mahall-i mezkure mahsus adamlar ta'yin ve bi-eyyi halin ahz ve haqlarında iqtiza êden cezaları tertib olunub ve ba'de'l-yevm ol tarafları tecessüs êdirmeden hali olunmayub bu maqule şaqilerin def'ine diqqat olunacağında
- [19] iştibah olunmaya ve altıncı madde merasim-i sulh u salahı taqviyet babında canibeynden bi'l-iqtiza elçiler ba's ve isra olunması olmağla ba'zı umur-i memlekete da'ir keyfiyatı muhabere zımnında muqtaza-i vaqt ve hale göre taraf-i dostanemizden
- [20] elçi göndürileceğinde ca-i iştibah olunmaya ve yedinci madde bundan evvel Mosqovlu taburı Hotin qal'esi üzerine hücumunda Leh memleketine duhul ve ol vaqıtta hasbe'l-iqtiza 'Osmanlu ve Tatar 'askerinden
- [21] dahi bir miqdar adam bulunmağla ol esnada gerek Mosqov ve gerek 'asker-i 'Osmanlu ve Tatardan ahali-i Lehlü miyanında vaqı' olan zayı'at mutalebesi da'iesiyle canib-i devlet-i 'aliyyeye ve Mosqovlu tarafına elçileriniz ba's olunduğı ve ol vaqıtta tabur-i mezkur
- [22] Hotin qal'esin istila ve hala vilayetinizde emanet tariqiyle vazı' eylediğı bir qaç qıt'a toplar ile bir miqdar cebehaneyi kendü vilayetlerine naql êtmeleriçün taraf-i dostanelerinden bir qaç def'a adam göndürüldükde mühimmat-i mezkurı qiymetiyle iştira
- [23] ve yahud taraf-i haşmet-ittisafınızda hibe ve ihda olmaq üzere Mosqovludan haber vürüdünde be her taqdir memleketinizde alı-qonulmasına rıza-dade olunmaduğı ve bir kerre zayı'at muqabili vêrilmek teklifi olur ise de qabul olunmayacağı yegan
- [24] yegan ma'lumumuz olmağla egerçi miyanede in'iqad-pezir olan musafatın semeresi levazım-i müsaleme olan keyfiyatın hayız-i imkanda olduğı vech üzere suret-yab ve temşiyeti ayduğı bedihiyatdan olub lakin husus-i mezkur için
- [25] devlet-i 'aliyye-i ebedi'l-qarara ve Mosqovlu taraflarına meb'us elçilere gerek devlet-i 'aliyye tarafından ve gerek Mosqovlu canibinden vêrilen ecvibe üzere taraf-i dostanelerinden dahi pezira-i hüsn-i nizamına diqqat olunacağı ve qa'ide-i mer'ıye-i
- [26] qadime ve qanun-i mu'tade-i müstedime üzere ifa-i huquq-i dostluq ve icra-i merasim-i hemcivarlıq için bir qaç gün zarfında mahsus adamımız göndürülmek üzere qarar-dade olunduğı siz haşmetlü mezid-i menziletlü dostumuzun ma'lumları
- [27] olmaq için dostane yarlığı-i meveddet-beliğ tahrir ve merqum adamınız savb-i haşmet-masirlerine i'ade ve tesyir olunmuşdur inşa'a'l-Mevla lede'l-vusul tecdid-i müsaleme ve te'kid-i musafat için bi'l-has qariben taraf-i dostanemizden

- [28] dahi adamımız ba's ve irsal olunacağı ma'lum-i dostaneleriniz olduqda bundan böyle dostluğa layıq ve hemcivarlığa muvafıq halatı izhar ve muris-i inşirah-i fu'ad olur peyam-i 'afiyetlerin tahrir ve iş'ardan
- [29] hali olmamaları me'mul-i dostanemiz dir işbu bin yüz elli beş senesi şehr-i Şevval-i şerifiñ doquzuncı pencşe[n]be günü tahrir olundu baqi hemvare sıhhat 'afiyet 'aqibet bad (**sahh**)<sup>8</sup>

### Selamet Gërey Han bin el-Hacc Selamet Gërey Han<sup>b</sup>

Translation:

*He!*

[tuğra] *Selamet Giray Khan, son of El-Hajj Selim Giray Khan: our word:*

*From our excellency, the brave, majestic, gracious, and valorous Selamet Giray Khan, [being]—by the aid of the monotheistic grace and by the favor of the eternal spiritual guidance of His Majesty [God] (may He be blessed and exalted!)—the greatest khan of the exalted sphere between the sky and earth, of the Crimea, Or [Perekop], Budjak, Kuban,<sup>3</sup> the mountain Circassians, and all tribes of the Nogays, dwelling in the steppe:*

*After we have sent and directed—with the utmost delight of mind—propitious salutations to his excellency, our venerable, esteemed, high-ranked, and respected friend of perfect esteem, the majestic king Frederick Augustus, being the present king of the Polish Commonwealth, the ruler of Lithuania,<sup>4</sup> Ruthenia,<sup>5</sup> Prussia,<sup>6</sup> Mazovia,<sup>7</sup> Samogitia,<sup>8</sup> Kiev,<sup>9</sup> Volhynia,<sup>10</sup> Podolia,<sup>11</sup> Podlachia [Podlasie],<sup>12</sup> Livonia,<sup>13</sup> Smolensk,<sup>14</sup> and many other domains, and the ancient [i.e., heredi-*

<sup>8</sup> Written in gold.

<sup>b</sup> Text of the seal.

<sup>3</sup> The territory on the right shore of the Kuban river, inhabited mainly by the Nogays, bordering on the south with Circassia and on the north with Cossack settlements along the Don; on its role in the Crimean-Russian relations in the years 1739–1774, see Koçekaev, *Nogajsko-russkie otnošenija*, pp. 133–191; Feofilaktova, “Kubanskij vopros v russko-tureckix otnošenijax v 1768–1774 godax,” pp. 69–74. For a Russian map of Kuban from the late 18th century, see Khodarkovsky, *Russia's Steppe Frontier*, p. 219.

<sup>4</sup> Pol. adjective *litewski* is rendered in the Turkish text as *liteviski*.

<sup>5</sup> Pol. adjective *ruski* is thus rendered in the Turkish text.

<sup>6</sup> Pol. adjective *pruski* is rendered in the Turkish text as *puruski*.

<sup>7</sup> Pol. adjective *mazowiecki* is rendered in the Turkish text as *mazeviski*.

<sup>8</sup> Pol. adjective *żmudzki* (or perhaps its alternative *żmudziński*) is rendered in the Turkish text as *zmodoniski*.

<sup>9</sup> Pol. adjective *kijowski* is rendered in the Turkish text as *kijoviski*. Though Kiev was officially ceded to Russia in 1686 (in fact earlier), a part of its ancient palatinate remained in Poland-Lithuania.

<sup>10</sup> Pol. adjective *wolyński* is rendered in the Turkish text as *voloniski*.

<sup>11</sup> Pol. adjective *podolski* is rendered in the Turkish text as *podoloski*.

<sup>12</sup> Pol. adjective *podlaski* is thus rendered in the Turkish text.

<sup>13</sup> Pol. adjective *inflancki* is rendered in the Turkish text as *inflaniski*.

<sup>14</sup> Pol. adjective *smoleński* is rendered in the Turkish text as *ismoloniski*. Though

tary] prince [beg] of Saxony,<sup>15</sup> and after we have performed and pronounced ceremonial and friendly inquiries about his health, the auspicious monarchic [hani, i.e., of the khan] announcement is that:

In the last few years, with the lapse of time, the reciprocal correspondence and performance of amicable ceremonies requisite for [keeping] peace and amity, which since the old days used to conform with the liaison between our monarchic dynasty and your majestic predecessors, and the whole Polish Commonwealth, have been interrupted; while in these auspicious years we were watching for the arrival of friendly news and correspondence, this time your friendly letter [muhabbetname], including the congratulations of our lofty monarchic office [i.e., accession] and sent with the purpose of renewing the old laws and perpetuating the bonds of lasting amity, arrived in the first decade of the noble month of Ramadan of the present year 1155,<sup>16</sup> by the hands of your deputed envoy, appointed to its transmitting and delivery, Józef Łopuski, the scribe of Chełm;<sup>17</sup> when it was translated, according to the custom, it was revealed to our friendly side that its summary purport was the congratulations on our monarchic dignity [i.e., accession] with the purpose of renewing the old peace and perpetuating the bonds of lasting reconciliation; [such] display of friendliness and performance of mutual reliance have increased the relief of our mind; [hence] it is indisputable that the respected ancient amity, existing heretofore between [us], should be safe from any change or injury under any circumstances, and should increase and augment from day to day; as in your friendly letter [name-i meveddet-üşlub] it was mentioned that the said envoy was your plenipotentiary, and some matters had been confided to him so that he could report them orally, while he was being questioned and interrogated, seven articles were pronounced and declared:

[This is] the first article from among the confirmed and phrased articles:

The peace and amity effected and concluded in Karlowitz<sup>18</sup> should be honored, and the conditions of reconciliation along with the clauses of amity should be observed by the friendly sides; while it has been made clear and explained that hereafter one should guard them from both sides, as it had been before, there should be no doubt that the ancient matters of reconciliation, bound and perpetuated between [us], will be observed as it used to be, and the ceremonies leading to mutual confidence will be preserved stronger than by our predecessors.

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Smolensk was conquered by the Russian army in 1654 and officially ceded to Russia in 1686, the city and its palatinate were still listed in the *intitulatio* of the Polish kings.

<sup>15</sup> Pol. *Saksonia* is rendered in the Turkish text as *Saqsonya*.

<sup>16</sup> I.e., the decade between 30 October and 8 November 1742.

<sup>17</sup> Pol. *pisarz [grodzki] chełmski*, rendered in the Turkish text as *pisar hilimski*. In the second French translation (b) his name is erroneously rendered as *Laprowski*. On his mission, see Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja 1683–1792*, pp. 149–152, and *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 2, pp. 382 and 412.

<sup>18</sup> The Polish and Ottoman instruments of the Treaty of Karlowitz, signed and exchanged on 26 January 1699, are published in Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 581–598.

*The second article:*

Those merchants, who come to Budjak and [other] regions of the hither side, should not be asked [to give] anything above the customary taxes [vèrgü]; in particular those merchants, who come to these regions and go, having paid the ancient taxes should be able to conduct their trade and buy their goods freely, and no individual should be oppressed or tormented by demands from whichever direction [to give] anything above the ancient [taxes]; in particular, firm and severe orders [yarlıks] have been now written and sent to the yalı agha,<sup>19</sup> appointed to command over Budjak, and to other places, wherever it is necessary, so that there should be no doubt that hereafter the said [merchants] will not be molested in these regions.

*The third article:*

It has been set forth and declared that no sort of oppression should happen to the traveling [Christian] monks,<sup>20</sup> who would arrive and stay in these regions; [therefore,] let it be notified to the friendly sides that while such monks arrive in these regions and reside as long as it is necessary, in the towns and boroughs under my rule, where my written mandates are obeyed, they will not be annoyed or oppressed in any manner contrary to the Islamic law [şerī'at], and from whichever direction.

*The fourth article:*

In regard to the request and memorandum, directed to the prosperous threshold [i.e., the Ottoman Porte] and demanding the restitution of 2,700 piasters [gurush]<sup>21</sup> [as an equivalent] for the effects of a Polish merchant, who had died in Amasya, which [effects]—loaded on a ship anchored in the port of Akkerman with the purpose of being transported to Poland—had been seized by his excellency, the enlightened and prosperous Veli Pasha, being formerly the commander-in-chief [serasker] on the Bender front:<sup>22</sup> God—may He be

<sup>19</sup> *Yalı agha* ("the agha of the seashore") was the khan's deputy in Budjak; he commanded over the Budjak Tatars, collected tribute from the local Christians, and resided in Hanqışla/Hanqışlası (lit. "the khan's winter quarters;" today a Ukrainian village named Udobne) near Ottoman Akkerman; cf. Senai, *Historia chana Islam Gereja III*, p. 184, n. 447; *Księga podróży Ewliji Czelebiego*, p. 427, n. 103; Trepavlov, *Istoriia Nogajskoj Ordı*, p. 451.

<sup>20</sup> The term *ruhban* also applies to friars, priests, and in this case especially missionaries; from Łopuski's report, submitted after his return to the king, we learn that this article regarded both the "Latin and Greek Fathers missionaries" (OO. *missionarzów łacińskich i greckich*); it seems that the latter term referred to Greek-Catholic rather than Orthodox priests; see AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 64, t. 26, no. 560.

<sup>21</sup> On the value and silver content of an Ottoman piaster, see Pamuk, *Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 163.

<sup>22</sup> During the war of 1736–1739, the *serasker* of Bender commanded the main Ottoman army on the Russian front. In 1738, Veli Pasha, assisted by the Crimean troops headed by a Giray prince, Safa Giray, pushed back a Russian offensive from the Dniester. Although the Ottomans were unable to reconquer Očakiv, lost in 1737, the Russian commander-in-chief, Field Marshal Münnich, ordered its evacuation as his soldiers were facing famine. In 1739, during the next Russian offensive, Veli Pasha was unable to prevent the Russian invasion of Moldavia and his defeat at Stavučany

exalted!—willing, there should be no doubt that [also from this side] a friendly writing will be directed to the eternal, high [Ottoman] state, describing the aforementioned matter as it really happened.

*The fifth article:*

A number of plundering brigands from among the Zaporozhian Cossacks [Potqalu]<sup>23</sup> have taken shelter on the Boh river;<sup>24</sup> also some Nogay mirzas, along with others, have extended the hand of oppression and have been committing villainous acts against the [peaceful] subjects [re'aya] under the pretext of reconnoitering; [therefore,] trusted men have been appointed to the aforementioned place in order to capture [the culprits] and distribute necessary punishments without fail; from now on, these regions should not remain unpatrolled and deserted, and there should be no doubt that the utmost attention will be paid in order to expel such brigands.

*The sixth article:*

Dispatching and sending envoys from hither and other side, whenever necessary, strengthens the celebration of peace and amity; [therefore,] it should not be doubted that envoys will be sent from our friendly side with the aim to communicate the conditions regarding some state matters, while keeping with the exigencies of time and situation.

*The seventh article:*

Formerly, when the Muscovian army had been storming the fortress of Hotin,<sup>25</sup> it had entered Poland; at that time also a number of men from the Ottoman and Tatar troops had found themselves [in Poland,] according to the necessity; [therefore,] your envoys were sent to the high [Ottoman] state and to Muscovy

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gave way to the Russian conquest of Hotin. A further Russian march was prevented by the Peace of Belgrade; see Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 7, pp. 513–515 and 531–532.

<sup>23</sup> According to Omeljan Pritsak, the Ottomans referred to the Cossacks dwelling on the right (i.e., western) bank of the Dnieper as *Sarı Qamış*, to those dwelling on the left bank as *Barabaş*, and to the Zaporozhian Cossacks as *Potqal* or *Potqalı*; this typology is generally correct though the Ottoman sources are not always as precise as a modern historian would like them to be; see Pritsak, “Das erste türkisch-ukrainische Bündnis (1648),” pp. 292–296.

<sup>24</sup> During the Ottoman-Russian demarcation, following the Peace of Belgrade, the Porte refused the Russian subjects access to the lower Boh and Dnieper, fearing border skirmishes; cf. Rumjana Mixneva, *Rossija i Osmanskaja imperija*, pp. 58–59. Yet, even after the border convention was signed on 12/23 October 1742 (the first date according to the Old Style), in a note dated 22 December 1742/2 January 1743, the Russian resident in Constantinople, Aleksej Vešnjakov, was instructed to raise this issue again and demand to grant the Cossacks the right to fish, hunt, and extract salt in the vicinity of Qilburun; see Moscow, *Arxiv vnešnej politiki Rossijskoj imperii*, f. 89, op. 1, 1742 (year number), no. 6, pt. 2, fol. 481a–485b.

<sup>25</sup> Hotin was conquered by the Russians on 30 August 1739, after Münnich's victory over Veli Pasha (cf. n. 22 above) at Stavučany on 28 August 1739; see Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, vol. 5, p. 797; Iorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 4, pp. 440–441; Solov'ev, *Istorija Rossii s drevnejšix vremen*, vol. 20, p. 443.



*with the intention to claim [indemnities] for the casualties that had been committed in that period to individuals from among the Polish people, both by the Muscovians, and by the Ottoman and Tatar troops; also, at that time, the aforementioned [Muscovian] army had conquered Hotin and deposited a few pieces of guns along with munitions in your country, in order to transport them to their own country; as they are still [in your country], several times men have been sent from [our] friendly side [with the proposal] to buy the aforementioned munitions at their value; yet, a rumor has arrived from the Muscovians that they are about to give them as present to your majesty;<sup>26</sup> in any case, no consent has been given so that they might be kept in your country; likewise, if a proposal is made that they may be given [to you] as an indemnity, we all know that there will be no consent, even though it is evident that the fruit of the amity, concluded between [us], brings and advances the conditions, requisite for reconciliation, in any possible manner; still, when [ultimate] answers are given to the envoys sent [previously] in the said matter to the eternal, high [Ottoman] state, and to Muscovy, either from the high state, or from Muscovy, also from [our] friendly side one will obey and proceed accordingly with the utmost attention;*

*in order to fulfill the laws of friendship and execute the customs of neighborliness according to the ancient observed rule and the lasting customary code, it has been decided that within a few days our special man [i.e., envoy] will be sent; in order to notify [of his coming] you, our majestic and highly ranked friend, a friendly yarliq full of affection has been written, and your said man [i.e., envoy] has been returned and sent [back] to the abode of [your] majesty. God willing, when he arrives, your friendly side will be notified that in a short time also our man [i.e., envoy] will be sent and dispatched from our friendly side particularly in order to renew the reconciliation and perpetuate the amity; it is our friendly hope that henceforth there will be no lack of letters and notices letting known their [i.e., your and our] health, which would manifest the conditions fitting for friendship and suitable for neighborliness, and [which would] bring the relief of mind.*

*Written on Thursday, on the ninth day of the noble month of Shawwal, of this year 1155.<sup>27</sup> I have nothing to add but: let [us] always be healthy and sound. ("correct")<sup>28</sup>*

[seal] *Selamet Giray Khan, son of El-Hajj Selim Giray Khan*<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Lit. "to your majestic side."

<sup>27</sup> 9 Shawwal 1155 A.H. coincides with Friday, 7 December 1742; however, as in the Muslim calendar a day is counted from the preceding evening, this document was apparently issued in the evening of 6 December.

<sup>28</sup> *Sahh*, a typical bureaucratic formula of approval appended at the end of the text.

<sup>29</sup> In the middle of the seal there is the trident-shaped emblem of the Girays (*taraq tamğa*).

## ABBREVIATIONS

AGAD	Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych [Main Archives of Early Acts, Warsaw]
A.H.	the Hegira year, based on the Muslim calendar
AKW	Archiwum Koronne Warszawskie [Warsaw Crown Archives in AGAD]
AO ASH	<i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
Ar.	Arabic
Banionis, LDK <i>pasiuntinybių</i> <i>tarnyba</i>	Egidijus Banionis, <i>Lietuvos Didžiosios Kuni- gaikštystės pasiuntinybių tarnyba XV–XVI amžiais</i> (Vilnius, 1998)
Bibl. Czart.	Biblioteka Czartoryskich [Czartoryski Library, Cracow]
Bibl. Jagiell.	Biblioteka Jagiellońska [Jagiellonian Library, Cracow]
Bibl. Kórn.	Biblioteka PAN w Kórniku [Polish Academy of Sci- ences Library in Kórnik]
Bibl. Ossol.	Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich [Ossolineum Library, Wrocław]
Dz. tat.	Dział tatarski [Tatar division in AKW]; k. = <i>karton</i> [box], t. = <i>teczka</i> [folder], no. = <i>numer</i> [number]
EP <sup>2</sup>	<i>The Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 2nd edition (Leiden- London, 1960–2002)
f.	fond [Russian and Ukrainian term for a division in the archives; i.e., Pol. <i>dział</i> ]
fol.	folio
Germ.	German
Jankowski, <i>Historical- Etymological Dictionary</i> <i>Kniga posol'skaja</i> , vol. 1	Henryk Jankowski, <i>A Historical-Etymological Dic- tionary of Pre-Russian Habitation Names of the Crimea</i> (Leiden-Boston, 2006) <i>Kniga posol'skaja Metriki Velikago Knjažestva Lito- vskago, soderžaščaja v sebe diplomatičeskija snošenija Litvy v gosudarstvovanie korolja Sigizmunda-Avgu- sta (s 1545 po 1572 god)</i> . Edited by M. Obolen'skij and I. Danilovič (Moscow, 1843)
<i>Kniga posol'skaja</i> , vol. 2	<i>Kniga posol'skaja Metriki Velikago Knjažestva Litovskago, soderžaščaja v sebe diplomatičeskija snošenija Litvy v gosudarstvovanie korolja Stefana Batorija (s 1573 po 1580 god)</i> . Edited by M. Pogodin and D. Dubenskij (Moscow, 1843)
Lat.	Latin

<i>Le khanat de Crimée</i>	<i>Le khanat de Crimée dans les Archives du Musée du Palais de Topkapı</i> , présenté par A. Bennigsen, P. N. Boratav, D. Desaive, Ch. Lemerrier-Quelquejay (Paris-The Hague, 1978)
lit.	literally
Lith.	Lithuanian
Malinovskij, "Istoričeskoe sobranie"	"Istoričeskoe i diplomatičeskoe sobranie del proisxodivšix meždu rossijskimi velikimi knjaz'jami i byvšimi v Kryme tatarskimi carjami s 1462 po 1533 god." Collected by A. Malinovskij, in: <i>Zapiski Odeskago Obščestva istorii i drevnostej</i> , vol. 5 (Odessa, 1863): 178–419
<i>Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva</i>	<i>Materialy dlja istorii Krymskago xanstva izvlečennyja, po rasporjaženiju Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk, iz Moskovskago Glavnago Arxiva Ministerstva Inostrannyx Del</i> . Edited by V. Vel'jaminov-Zernov and X. Faizxanov [Fejzhanov] (St. Petersburg, 1864)
Mong.	Mongolian
ms.	manuscript
op.	<i>opis'</i> (Rus.) or <i>opys</i> (Ukr.), a subdivision in the archives; lit. "register"
<i>Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij</i> , vol. 1	<i>Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij Moskovskago gosudarstva s Krymskoju i Nogajskoju ordami i s Turciej</i> , vol. 1: c 1474 po 1505 god. Edited by G. Karpov, in: <i>Sbornik Imperatorskago Russkago Istoričeskago Obščestva</i> , vol. 41 (St. Petersburg, 1884)
<i>Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij</i> , vol. 2	<i>Pamjatniki diplomatičeskix snošenij Moskovskago gosudarstva s Krymskoju i Nogajskoju ordami i s Turciej</i> , vol. 2: 1508–1521 gg. Edited by G. Karpov and G. Štendman, in: <i>Sbornik Imperatorskago Russkago Istoričeskago Obščestva</i> , vol. 95 (St. Petersburg, 1895)
Pol.	Polish
PSB	<i>Polski Słownik Biograficzny</i> [Polish Biographical Dictionary] (Cracow [then Wrocław etc.], 1935–)
Pułaski, <i>Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną</i>	Kazimierz Pułaski (ed.), <i>Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną od połowy XV wieku</i> , vol. 1: <i>Stosunki z Mendli-Girejem, chanem Tatarów perekopskich (1469–1515). Akta i listy</i> (Cracow-Warsaw, 1881)
RGADA	Rossijskij gosudarstvennyj arxiv drevnix aktov [Russian State Archives of Early Acts, Moscow]
Rom.	Romanian
Rus.	Russian
Ruth.	Ruthenian
Senai, <i>Historia chana Islam Gereja III</i>	Hadży Mehmed Senai, <i>Historia chana Islam Gereja III</i> . Edited by Z. Abrahamowicz (Warsaw, 1971)
sing.	singular

<i>Slovnyk staroukrajins'koji movy</i>	<i>Slovnyk staroukrajins'koji movy XIV–XV st.</i> Edited by L. Humec'ka and I. Kernyc'kyj, 2 vols. (Kiev, 1977)
<i>Słownik geograficzny</i>	<i>Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich.</i> Edited by F. Sulimierski, B. Chlebowski, and W. Walewski [then also J. Krzy- wicki], 15 vols. (Warsaw, 1880–1902)
Syroečkovskij, “Muxammed-Geraj i ego vassaly”	V. Syroečkovskij, “Muxammed-Geraj i ego vassaly” <i>Učenyje zapiski Moskovskogo Gosudarstvennogo Uni- versiteta im. M. V. Lomonosova</i> , vyp. 61 (1940): <i>Isto- rija</i> (vol. 2): 3–71
Tat.	Tatar
Tur.	Turkish
Ukr.	Ukrainian
<i>Urzędnicy centralni i dostojnicy WKL</i>	<i>Urzędnicy centralni i dostojnicy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego XIV–XVIII wieku. Spisy.</i> Edited by H. Lulewicz and A. Rachuba (Kórnik, 1994)



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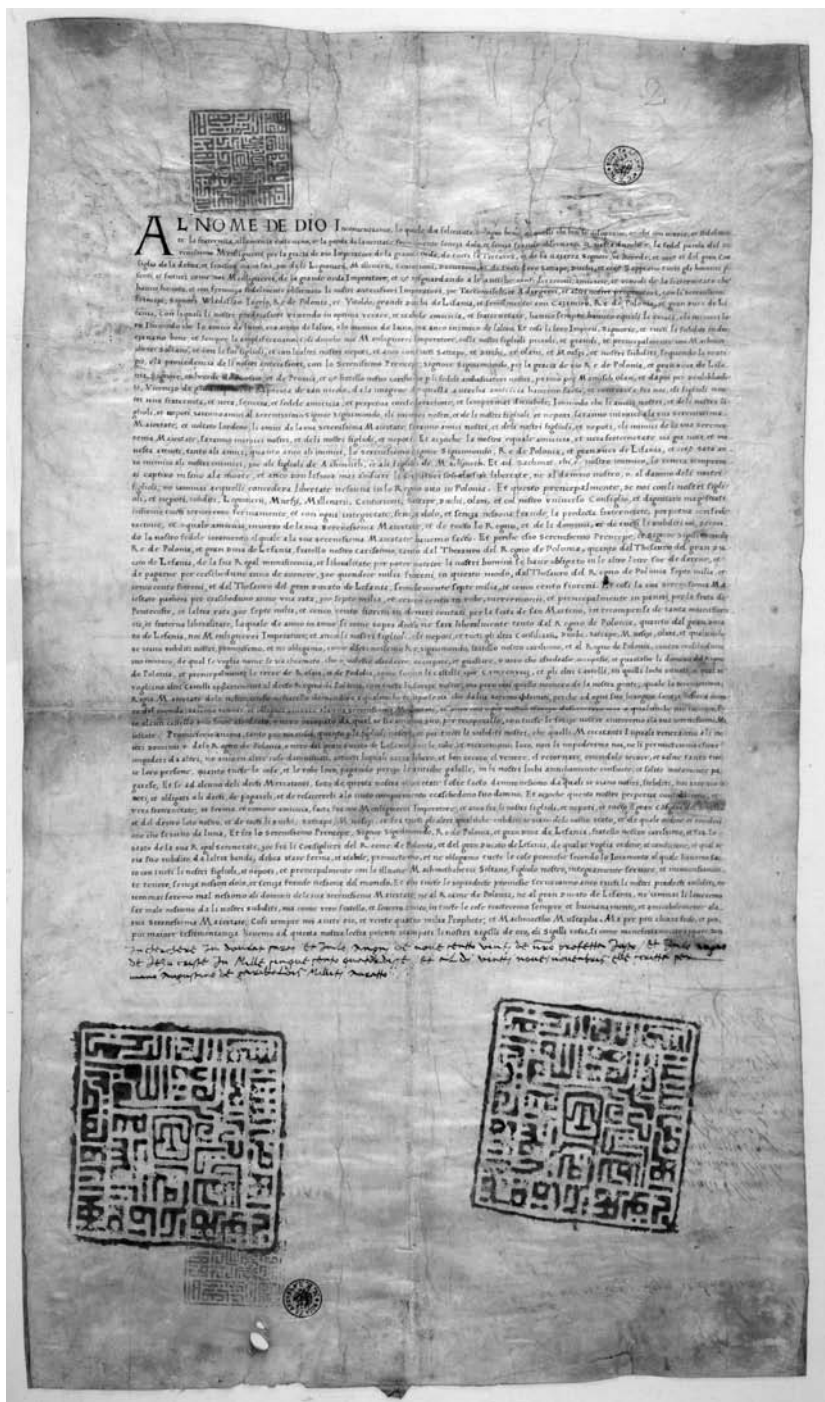
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FACSIMILES  
AND  
MAPS





Fac. I DOC. 16 (29 November 1514) The *şarname* (*lectra patente*) regarding Poland sent by Khan Mengli Giray to King Sigismund. All facsimiles are reproduced by courtesy of the Main Archives of Early Acts (AGAD) in Warsaw.



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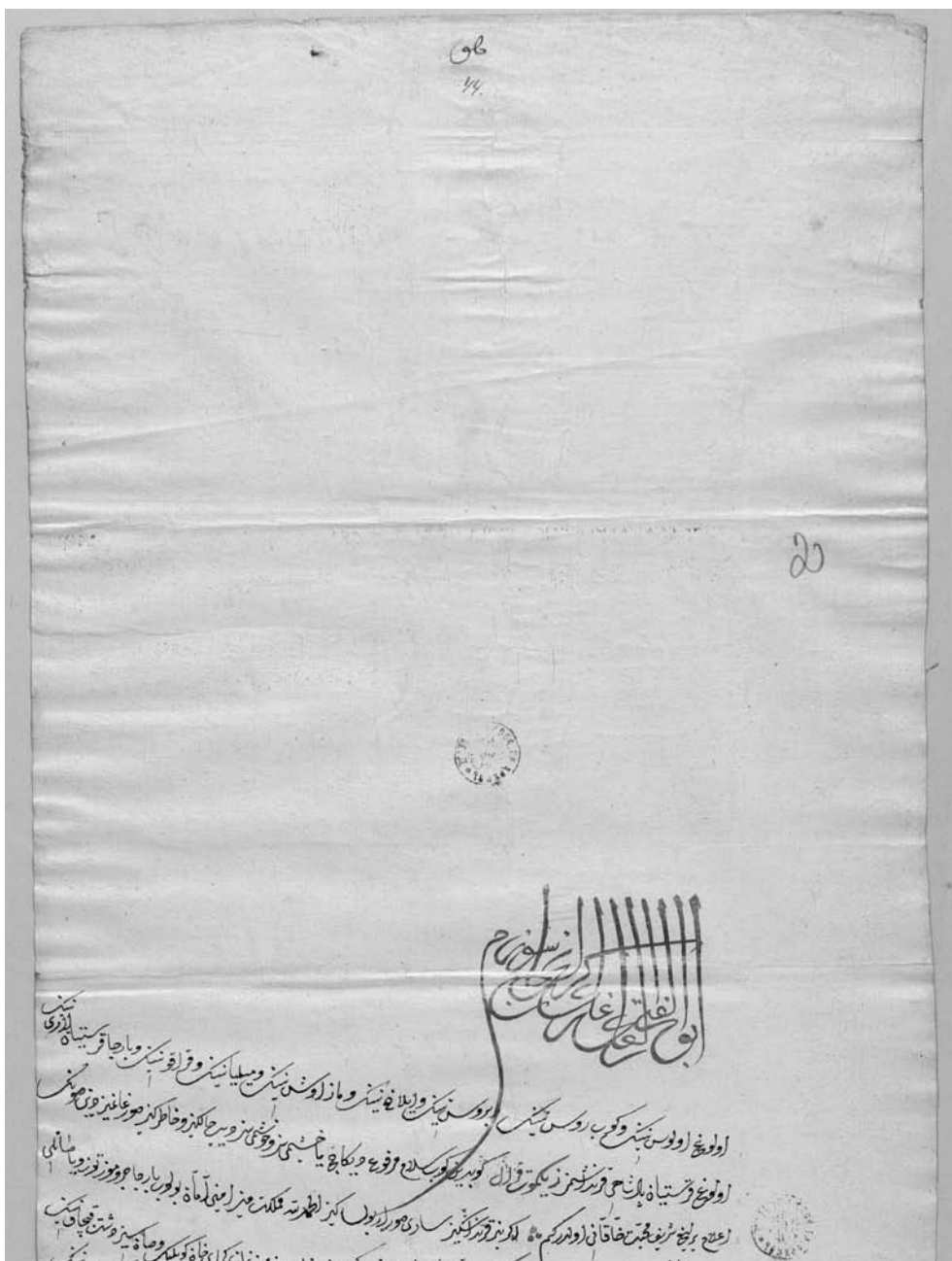












Facs. IVa-c DOC. 35 (14 February-14 March 1592) The [oath-]yarliq sent by Khan Ghazi II Giray to King Sigismund III



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[illegible]







9

Receptionem et transcriptionem sub cancellariatus Illmi. et  
 Excellenti Dni Hyacinthi Palaeo Cantabrigiae, Mathuchewice, Nola-  
 chewshi, summi Regni Cancellarii, Audierunt, Amice, et  
 Jurdice, Cantabrigiae. Item transcriptionem Consularium, Episcopatum,  
 et praelectionem Interimem Linguarum Germanicarum, Graecae, Hebraeae,  
 Hispanicae, Latinae, Lusitanae, Persicae, etc. et. Annis, Mense,  
 Anno Dni 1749.

Antonijs Crilla

اولیخ رودل و اولیخ بر نیک و دشت قچاق نیک و دشت قور نیک و صانیه کوب نمان نیک و دشت نر نیک و اولیخ  
خاک کاج نیک و طاق ادر کاج نیک و جله مونی نیک و اولیخ بادشاهی غمطلی و دشت کالی نیک و اولیخ

King Vladislaus IV









[illegible]





Przetłomaczanie tego Listu  
Od Nureddina Saltana Kirim Giraya  
List Dziwniorny do s. K. M. oddany  
w Warszawie 29. Novembris 1640.  
N. 5.

Revisum 1730.

Revisum item, et transcriptum sub cancellariatu  
Alm. et Excellent. Pni Ksawintki Nulicz Komitis a  
Matlachowice Matlachowski supreni Regni Janice Marij  
Radostywny, Janicowy, et podkocz. Capitanei; Et me  
Subscriptum Consiliarium, Legationum, et primarium  
Interpretum Linguarum Orientalium Sacrae Regiae  
Majestatis, et Romae Reipublicae.  
Havnavia die 6. Mensis Martij. Anno Pni 1790.  
Antonius Cratta

Facs. VIIIa-c DOC. 56 (10-18 August 1640) The 'ahdname sent by Nureddin Qırım Giray to King Vladislaus IV

[illegible]



Od Ismail Pienia Galic Królewskiego do Krol. Ma  
przez Anthon. Bapa Paster Wielkiego List Brzy  
mierny dodany w Wigilię <sup>1790</sup> Pienia w Warszawie  
Roku 1840.

1.1

*Revisum 1730.*

Revisum item et transcriptum sub cancellariatus Muni et  
Excellenti. Dni Regacinski Nalcz Comites. Malachowice Malachowski  
Supremi Regni cancellarij. Radoszysen et Luricon, et Froccen  
Cavallarij. Necne subcancellarij consiliariorum Legationum et primariorum  
Interpretem Linguarum. Procuratorem honor. Regie. Majestatis et Civicae  
Reipublicae. Varadina de S. Mensis Martij Anno Dni MDC.

Antonius Prutta



اوله در و رتین دلوغه وران کین دختنه زبسن درک نیج کین مده از این کتابی که در غرور

Facs. IXa-c DOC. 57 (19-28 August 1640) The '*ahdname*' sent by Qalga İslam Giray to King Vladislaus IV







Łakta od Islam Giray Chana  
Tatarskiego, 24. Aprilis 1646. przez  
Posła Wielkiego Islam Gira przyniesione  
Kewisum 1730

63-54

بولالير

2

N.º 8

Exemplum item et transcriptum sub cancellariatu  
Almæ et Excellentissimæ Dni Hieronymi Nalecz Janitis de  
Matkuchowice Matlachowski supremi Regni cancellary,  
Nadaryusen, Janicen, et prodicen Capitanei,  
Per me subscriptum Consiliarium Legationum, et prima-  
rium Interpretem Linguarum Orientalium, Sacre  
Regie Majestatis et Serenæ Reipublicæ  
Varsoviæ die 24. Mensis Augusti Anno Dni 1799.

Antonius Krulla

قزاق

Handwritten signature in Arabic script, likely the 'ahdname sent by Khan Islam III Giray to King Vladislaus IV.

Facs. Xa-c DOC. 58 (February 1646) The 'ahdname sent by Khan Islam III Giray to King Vladislaus IV









[illegible]

*Pakta Hana J. M. Rymskiego  
 Mehmet Jereia przez P. Tuskulskiego  
 do J. K. M. przystane Anno Dni 1654.  
 Revisum 1730.*

7.

11.10

152

22

6

*Revisum et transcriptum sub cancellaria Almi  
 et Excellent. Dni Jacynthi Nalcz Comitis. Malachowski  
 Malachowski, Supremi Regni Cancellary, Audax, pasci  
 Junion et Produca, Cipriana, Petrus Lubomirski  
 Censurarius Legationum, et primarius Interpres Lingua  
 rum Orientalium Regni Regia, Magistatus et consilio  
 Republice. Varavia Dni 10. Mensis Martij, Anno 1654.*

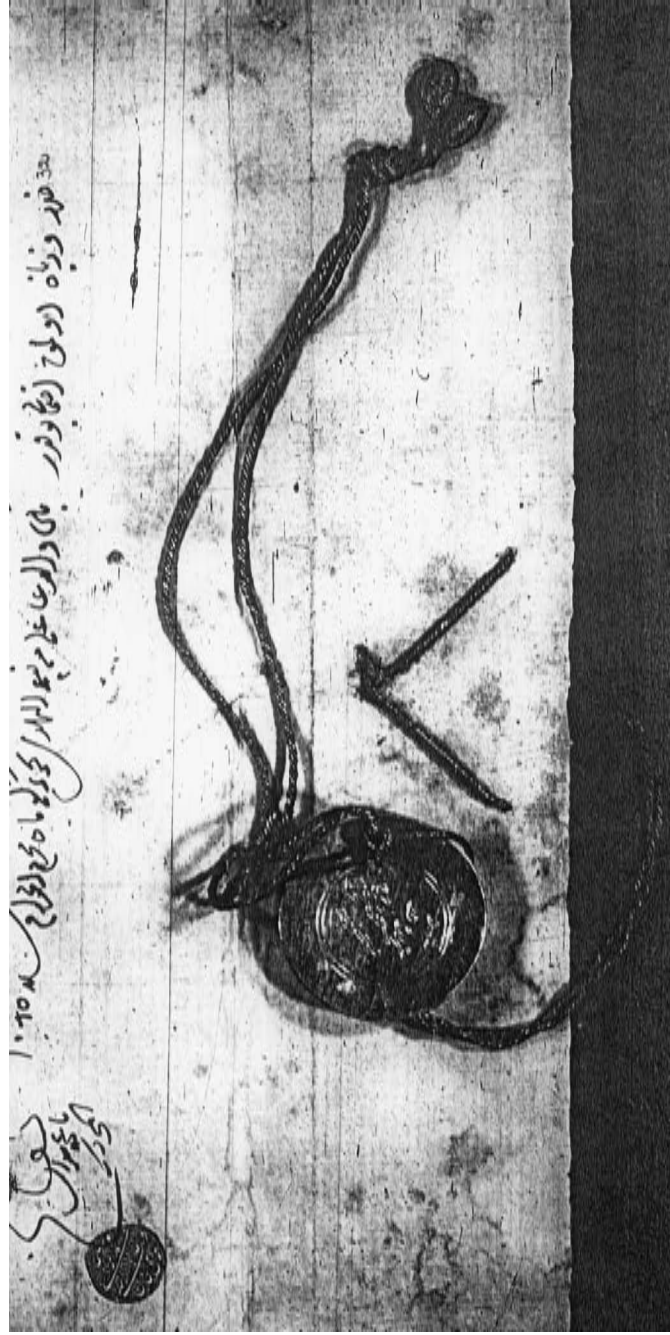
*Antonius Rutta*



Facs. XIIa-c DOC. 64 (11 November – 10 December 1654) The 'ahdname sent by Khan  
 Mehmed IV Giray to King John Casimir







Facs. XIIId The *baysa* (now lost) as visible on the microfilm from 1976










[illegible]

 Universitätsbibliothek Bonn  
Verm. Hieray Natsa Jofan  
wielnisch ord. Vermisch.

Мухтаза бей

Kavasz Age

*Dilsza Nurza*

Murafsza Murza Mansur i t.

Szab. Murza

*Mesimporia murza*

Przyrzęgamy Panu Bogu Jedynemu temu ktorzy stworzył Niebo, Ziemię, Morze i wszystkie; Ze tego dostrzymamy wszystkiego i każdego osobna z tych Punktów, które są napisane i wyrażone w Traktacie podpisanym. A iżh wczymślnich nie dostrzymamy i stamiemy przyrzęce Nasze nich nas ten Pan Bóg ktoręgo wzywamy Karze na tym i na tamym świecie, i ahij. Kaba Nieprzysięcielska gorę zasę nad nami miata i nad potonkami naszymi. A to imieniem Hana Polto Pot, tanon Catgi, Nuradyna, i innych, jako i wszystkie Biosa, Agon, Murzon i Catego Kogmi i innych Ord i Państwa pod Hancem Polto i Bedajech.

*[Signature]*





4

Selim Czaj Zbożej Łaski Ustan Kizymek Ouzakowski Berekpyski Biaty  
 wozki budziacki Uzerkieski Kipraczi Tumianski Berekpyski Wiel  
 kiego y ma legonogaru dzedzienny Ustan

Jakie as se u nariq nacz Kishori Kizymek Ouzakowski Berekpyski Polakom  
 bratu naczemu y Berekpyski, w Sece Comissarom do Polki Z Cesarzem  
 Kom: Turckim naczemym dany Se nariq Kizymek Ouzakowski Berekpyski  
 upominaki do Kizymek Polski goz wolnie atacz do dawnych gozolat  
 ku tyhki Uzerkieski Berekpyski przez tyhki Comissarom do Polki Z Cesarzem  
 ny Berekpyski Kizymek Ouzakowski y Zadrej Incuri Kizymek Ouzakowski  
 Kizymek Polski nie uczyni daczki przez incuri Kizymek Ouzakowski  
 Tatarski Szlady miato ponow Kizymek Ouzakowski Polski Kizymek Ouzakowski  
 Kizymek Ouzakowski upominaki om przydachu upominaki nieponiny berekpyski  
 na co se w Kizymek Ouzakowski podpisaniu y przez nacz gozolat Polki  
 Zadrej Kizymek Ouzakowski podczekanem Kizymek Ouzakowski dnia 23 Octob 1671

Selim Czaj Ustan Kizymek Ouzakowski Berekpyski



Facs. XVI DOC. 70 (23 October 1672) Guarantee issued by the khan along with the Ottoman sultan's 'ahdname





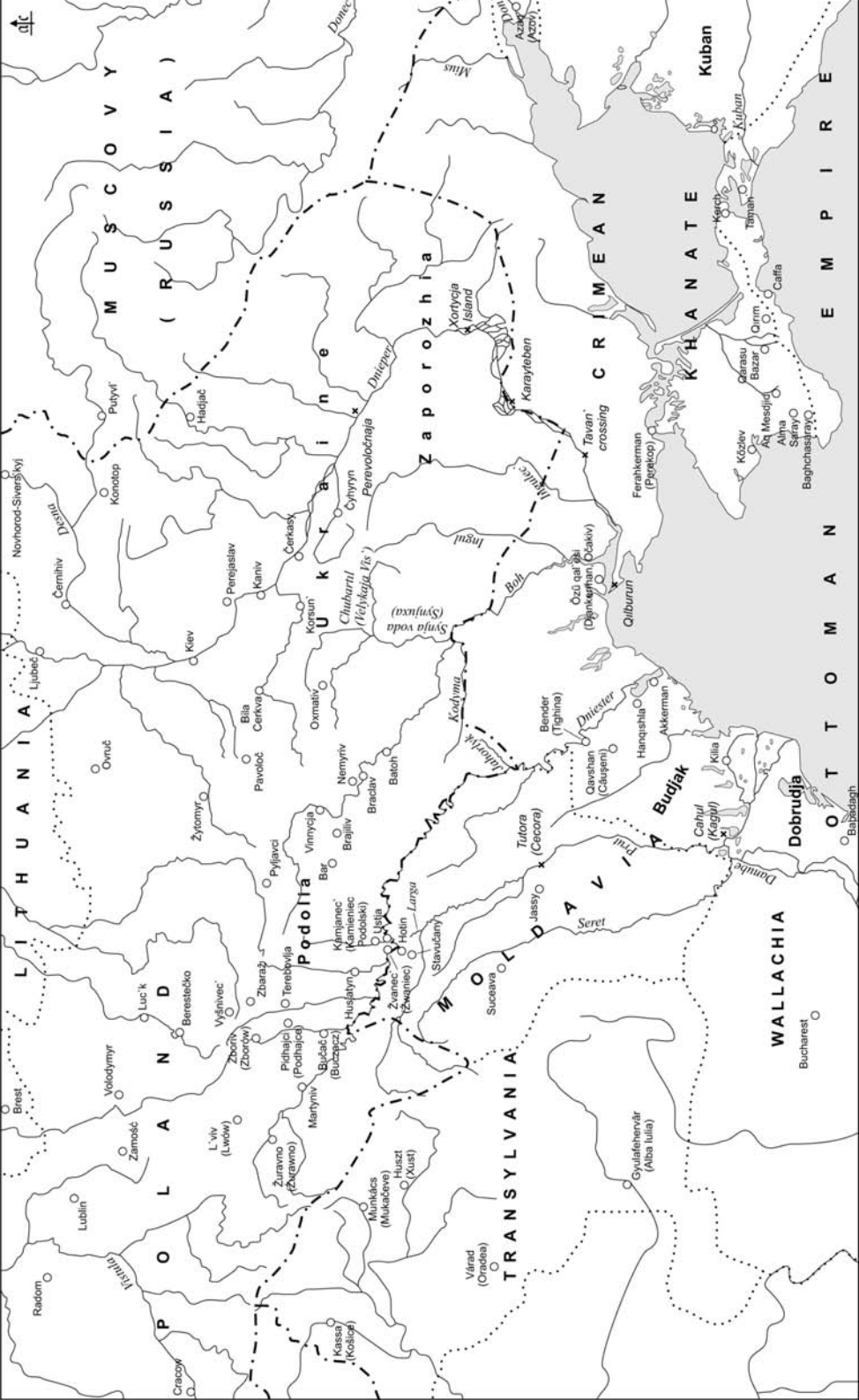








Map 1 Poland, Lithuania, and the Crimean Khanate around 1503



Map 2 Poland-Lithuania and the Crimean Khanate around 1648

